



# MOSCOW

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## MacManus Call to British Communist Party.

Unprecedented—troubled times are upon us. The heavy hand of capitalism has held the Party in an endeavour to crush out the life that is newly-born within us.

Last week our Headquarters were raided, and every scrap of its contents was confiscated. The books of all the departments were taken and the machinery of the organisation was dislocated. The General Secretary was arrested and sent off to jail.

Immediately on top of this, our National Organiser, Comrade Robert Stewart, was also arrested and taken to Wales to await a speech delivered there recently, and was sentenced to three months hard labour. Numerous others of our members are even as I write being arrested and sentenced, until the total number incarcerated is now over 60. And the appetite of the vulture is evidently not yet satiated. "Further arrests are coming", writes the Daily Press.

Well, Comrades, we must still just carry on!

In our case the darkness must not only precede the dawn, but knowing our system, we know that the darkness will be very dark indeed. Hopelessly demoralised as they are in the face of the consequences of the forces which they themselves let loose in 1914, and utterly incapable of grappling with the chaos of their creation, they are in a frenzy. And like all frenzied animals, they can do nothing but snarl and howl.

On their own traditional cunning and craft, which had won for them a pre-eminence in the politics and diplomacy of the world, has deserted them and they have one argument left, and one only—viz, brute force.

Well, the extent to which it can carry them is very limited indeed, and they would be well advised to retire to their den—books are it becomes too late. Social forces, when manifested in their isolated character at birth, act as the stimulus to what is known as adaptation. Systems which fail either to adapt themselves or to suppress the new-born social force begin from that moment to pile up the means of their own destruction.

When an aggregation of these social forces are allowed to develop unheeded, and no provision is made to ensure expression then trouble lies ahead for the particular system.

But when these forces compel expression, and do it in concentrated volume, then it is Nemesis. Either the old system or the new forces must go. And the Law of Life is with the Young.

Therefore, Comrades, whatever else happens, our work must go on. The working class has greater need than ever of our unflinching exposure of the hollowness of capitalism. The events of the last few weeks have demonstrated the indispensability of the outspoken organisation such as the Communist Party, and the present struggle of the workers calls for just such unerring guidance and direction as the Party can give. The rally of the workers to our standard is proof that they now realise this, just as the persecution by our rulers gives evidence of their appreciation of the same fact. Hence the latter's attempt to hush our voice. Our voice must not be hushed!

The vigour of their persecution must determine the vigour of our protest. So carry on, Comrades, and maintain the high standard which we have already set during the short period of our existence.

Arthur MacManus.

## TELEGRAPHIC NEWS.

### ENGLAND.

#### The Miners Negotiations.

London, May 30. The proposal for government compulsory arbitration on the solution, based on district settlements, in case the miners will not agree to voluntary arbitration, will be referred to the districts by the miners' executive committee on June 4th. The "Daily Herald" continues to print resolutions from the districts, emphasizing their support of the miners' original demand and for the holding of monthly conferences. The Lancashire and Cheshire miners' federation passed votes of censure on officials who made a statement recently, admitting the possibility of a withdrawal of the demand for a national pool.

#### Lloyd George's Ultimatum.

Lloyd George has submitted to the miners a final proposal to concede to the formation of a court of arbitration with equal representation on both sides.

#### Threatened Lockout of Engineers.

London, May 30. The "Daily Herald" states that a lock-out is threatened of one million and a half of engineering workers on June 16th in connection with the employers' demand for a reduction of wages of from 13 to 30 shillings per week. Another crisis, involving the wages of half a-million of workers takes place in five days in the cotton industry, in which the ballot of the spinners' most powerful union shows 95% of votes for the strike policy.

#### Message of Encouragement to Miners.

The following message has been sent to the Miners Federation of Great Britain: by the Joint Committee of the Finnish Trade Unions. "The Finnish working class follows your gigantic struggle against Capitalism, Endurance will secure you the victory". (Daily Herald, 21, 5).

#### Bourgeoisie Still Hoping.

"Petit Parisien", in commenting on Krassin's report on his mission to England, which was published in the Soviet press, calls attention to Krassin's "cautious hints" concerning the repayment of Russian loans, which it considers still far from the French standpoint, for the recognition of the Soviet Government will wholly depend on its formally accepting the obligations of the old regime and not on the International conference.

#### The Relations between Great Britain and France.

Lyons, May 31. (Wireless). The French Government answering the new British note, stated that it appreciated the endorsement by Britain of the necessity to form a commission of experts and, though it thought it would be inconvenient that it should be working at Oppeln, it, nevertheless, accepts the British proposal in this respect. As to the convocation of the Supreme Council this week, the French government maintains its objections.

#### The Inter-Allied Commission in Upper Silesia.

Lyons, May 31. (Wireless). The Inter-Allied commission in Upper Silesia unanimously decided to ask the allied governments, that no communication to the public be made about its meetings regarding the future attribution of Upper Silesia, considering that any indiscretion might bring forth new fights between the Poles and the Germans.

### GERMANY.

#### Persecution of Communist Press.

"Kommunist", the organ of the organ United Communist Party of Wurtemberg on the basis of Par. 48 of the Wurtemberg Constitution, was subjected to preliminary censorship for one month. On the 7th of May the "Kommunist" was confiscated on charge of high treason and sowing sedition.

#### Trial of War Culprits Demanded.

The "Daily Herald" demands the trial of the Allied war criminals, who could be charged by the German authorities.

#### Guarantee Commission.

In accordance with the ultimatum accepted by Germany the Inter-Allied Guarantee Commission has already been established. The chief of the said Commission is to control Germany export, particularly commercial exchange on the German-Russian border.

#### Paying the indemnity.

On the 20th of May Meyer handed over the three monthly German treasury bonds, each to the value of ten million dollars having a total value of 840 million gold marks to the indemnity committee. Besides this, Meyer has issued a written note stating that the Committee has at its disposal 15 million gold marks, which is above the sum Germany has already paid. Hence the total obligations of one milliard golden marks to be paid by Germany before May 31st has been met.

### AMERICA.

#### Five Millions Unemployed in U. S.

According to the data of the Executive Council of the American-Federation of Labor there are five millions unemployed in the United States. Apart from this about 300,000 workers work only one or two days in the week.

#### U. S. Workers Protest against Aristocratic Blacklegs.

Crowds gathering on the Cunard piers at New-York demonstrated against the Aquitania's blackleg stewards while the liner was being docked.

A thousand strikers, says the Central News, assembled at the West Street entrance of the Cunard piers, carrying banners inscribed:

"Dukes and Lords are taking our places on the Aquitania".

"Down with the English aristocracy".

"Join the Irish-American Federation".

Stones were thrown at the police, who numbered only 40, and the latter retaliated by using their batons and firing revolvers into the air.

The struggle lasted fully half an hour. (Daily Herald, 21, 5).

#### Wishing to Trade.

American experts are clamouring for permission to send 4000 tons of wheat to Russia. Besides this the American Government has been approached by large firms, who urged the necessity of permitting 4000 tons of coal to be sent to Murmansk.

#### The Communistic Movement in Switzerland.

London, May 30. The Geneva correspondent of the "Humanite" announces that seven Swiss trade union federations, including wood, building, leather and textile workers, as well as sixteen trade councils have decided to support the Swiss communist party.

### RUSSIA.

#### From the peoples Commissariat for Foreign Affairs.

Translation of the note, dated June 1st, addressed to the Roumanian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Take Ionescu.

The Russian and Ukrainian Governments agree that a torpedo boat or some other Russian man-of-war, with the Russian and Ukrainian delegation on board, should meet in the Dniestr Liman with the Roumanian delegation, arriving on a Roumanian vessel. The citizen Yabovley, member of the Ukrainian People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs and its representative in Odessa shall be the chairman of the Russian and Ukrainian delegation. The officers Medel of the general staff and Stepanov of the naval general staff shall be members of the Russian and Ukrainian delegation.

The People's Commissary for Foreign Affairs of the R. S. F. S. R. Tchitcherin. The Chairman of the People's Commissaries Council and the People's Commissary for Foreign Affairs of the U. S. S. R.

Rakovsky.

#### No End to Them.

A Congress of Russian Monarchists was opened on the 29th May in Reichenhale. The meetings are held in camera. "Ruh" endeavours to steer clear of the monarchist congress, and considers it stillborn.

### FRANCE.

#### Communists Raided.

In Paris on the morning of the 30th May over seventy raids were carried out at the homes of communists.

#### Demonstrations of French Soldiers Against the War.

London, May 30. The "Humanite" continues to print reports about demonstrations which took place in various regiments and where soldiers demonstrated against the war by singing the "Internationale". Such demonstrations occurred in Luneville, Vendome and other places.

#### Attack on Briand.

"Action Française" of May 25th, launching a fierce attack on Briand, writes that if it is not yet late to avert the certain catastrophe that is threatening France, Clemenceau should be called to take the place of Briand as President of the Ministerial Council and War Minister Poincare as Minister for Foreign Affairs.

### POLAND.

#### Bloody Collision With Police.

At Dombrov (Poland) on the 29th May the communists arranged a meeting to discuss the question of the income tax imposed on the workers and the forthcoming agreement between the Miners' Union and the Council of the Congress of Industrialists. At the demand of the workers, who came to the Union, Stan-chik gave the meeting an account of the progress of the negotiations. The Police had surrounded the meeting at the very start. When the meeting closed and the communists formed in ranks to march through the town, the police closed in and left only a very narrow passage. Upon the workers attempting to break through the latter began to load their rifles. One armed workman tore a gun from a policeman's hands. Without warning the police began to fire into the crowd, firing a few rounds. One worker was killed on the spot, and some scores were wounded. A large number of workers have been arrested in Sosnovitsi and Dombrov. Arrests are still being carried out.



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# The International Situation.

## The Tasks of the Congress of the Communist International

Karl Radek.

(Continued from May 28).

### Faith or action?

#### III. The Struggle with Centrism.

In a number of communist parties of Middle and Western Europe the main discussion turns on two questions — the relation between propaganda and action, and the problem of waiting or of deliberate discouragement of mass actions. The contradictions between these two contending tendencies — the opportunist and the revolutionary become more and more acute. Whoever lays exceptional stress on propaganda only and waiting only is an opportunist. We must do our utmost to combat these two kinds of opportunism, the right and the left, which pins its faith exclusively on the spontaneous rising of the masses, which is perpetually expecting the masses to rise of their own accord, and which proclaims that the duty of the communist organisation consists only in placing itself at the head of the workers mass risings, after they have already broken out.

The 9 months which have elapsed since the Second Congress of the Communist International, have been occupied with the struggle against the centrist elements within and without the Communist International. The 21 points which the Communist International has erected as a barrier between itself and the opportunist elements, have most effectually separated the Communists from the opportunists. The Hilferdings, Crispiens, as well as the Longuets, who were ready to join the Communist International, provided that adherence to it did not necessitate revolutionary policy and left them free to meander between revolution and counter-revolution, understood that such a game would be utterly impossible, and that once they had joined the Communist International, they would be forced by the revolutionary workers to adopt revolutionary tactics on the strength of the 21 points. Being in closer union with the bourgeoisie, than with the revolutionary workers, they severed their connection with the latter and went over quite openly to the counter-revolution. In consequence of the part which these elements have been playing from that time—the direct assistance given by the independents to the counter-revolution during the March events in Germany, the open association of the German independents and the followers of Longuet with the Kronstadt counter-revolution,—every vestige of doubt concerning the character of these gentry has disappeared from the minds of the revolutionary workers. All their protestations of belief in the dictatorship of the proletariat and the Soviet system have proved as we foretold, mere lip service. By means of the Amsterdam Yellow International they are endeavouring to prevent the conquest by the revolutionary workers of the last bulwark of the bourgeoisie, the reformist trade unions. In the great world crisis, which finds expression in the continued devastation of the whole world by the rival capitalist groups, they occupy the same position as the liberal bourgeoisie, and are endeavouring to conciliate the latter with the remnants of Cobdenism. Their sole care is not world revolution, but the creation of an atmosphere leading to reconciliation with the bourgeoisie, which is nothing more nor less, than siding with the counter-revolution. The Second and a Half International an inane mixture of "ifs and buts" is the true symbol of their international union. "The International is a problem of patience"—said one of the leaders of this international society of penitents. Quite right, the Second and a Half International is a problem of patience; as long as these are proletarians who are willing to bend their necks under the yoke of capitalism, this International will lead them slowly to the grave.

True, such situations may occur as in Germany for instance, at the time of the Kapp rising. But the Communist Party failed to turn this situation to good account. At the present time we witness a similar state of things in England, and we fear that the small Communist Party of England is not yet in a position to guide that enormous Labour Movement. However, if the Communist Party only waits for such rare opportunities it will thereby renounce its leadership. It is dangerous opportunism to take the whole socialist movement on any such "Miracles". We must fight all such opportunist conceptions. We must emphasize that the most important task of all communist parties at the present moment is to take the initiative and act. By imitating energetic, deliberate actions, the party cannot wait until its propaganda succeeds in converting the last worker to Communism, nor may they allow the principles of their actions to be influenced by reactions. At the present stage of the economic and social crisis of capitalism the communist parties must everywhere take the initiative and act.

The March rising of the U. K. P. D. (The United Communist Party of Germany) was an action guided by revolutionary Marxian considerations. We must carry out partial measures even if they do not end in final victory. Victory does not come in one blow. The workers cannot be expected to become so ripe as to be able to seize power at the first onslaught by mere propaganda. Final victory will inevitably be preceded by defeated partial risings.

To-day every movement which prevents the actions of the masses is opportunist. When a leader like Daumig wished to postpone action in Germany on the ground that the masses lack training for it, he must be regarded as an opportunist.

To-day when it is opportunism certain frightfully "Left" Communists refuse to organise communist mass parties, when the wish to preserve the absolute "purity" of the movement, and thus reduce the party to powerless impotence. To-day it is opportunism, and of a most dangerous kind, (for it sounds Marxian) to proclaim as do Communist "Statesmen" (Serrati, Levi) the watchwords: "Spontaneity of the Masses" "No isolated communist actions, which isolates us from the masses" and to advocate tactics consisting in passive attitude expectation of miracles, postponement of action for some indefinite period, allowing the reaction to take the initiative.

We must candidly confess that opportunism, which wholly dominates in the Social-Democratic parties, is now rising its head in the Communist Parties. True, the words may be different, but the essence of opportunism is everywhere the same; it tends to put the communist parties and all the workers on a defensive, which will be both permanent and hopeless.

The conscious and consistent advocacy of action is the cornerstone of the offensive tactics of the communist parties.

The Communist Party and revolutionary action must become indistinguishable. From the First Congress of the Communist International till Halle, Tours and Leghorn, the masses had to go through a long process of enlightenment in order to become converted, not only to a platonic

masses who have joined the Communist International in the course of the last two years are comrades who imagined themselves to be good revolutionaries, and who long as communism remained only a matter of propaganda and agitation, and not of open and direct action, and subsequently proved to be mere opportunists. Where the situation became such that the separate communist parties had to face the question of conflicts with the bourgeois governments of armed resistance where the parties had grown and developed beyond mere propaganda work, where they had been compelled to begin the fight on their own initiative, we see that the heretofore unconscious opportunists are realising what they are and are confessing their opportunism. In Italy Serrati's group betrays its opportunism by its evasion of a fight with the arrogant reaction, by its reluctance to expel from the Party the mediators between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie,—the reformists,—and thus fails to steer the Party ship to the left, into the deep water of revolutionary struggle. In Livorno, Serrati severed his connection with 60,000 communists in order to remain united with 14,000 opportunists. The Executive of the Communist International says quite plainly to the followers of Serrati: he who cannot leave the reformists has no room in the ranks of the International which prefers temporarily to abandon those revolutionary workers whose consciousness is not on a level with their communist conception. The International knows full well that the best way of bringing these very same workers back into communist fold is—to deal drastically with the game which the centrists are carrying on under the cloak of communism, and to show to these masses, by the example of its own revolutionary policy, the difference between communism and the centrist policy dressed up as Communism.

The Italian crisis, the determined refusal of the Communist International to trifle with communist principles has caused a flutter in the opportunist doves of other communist parties. They are aware that their policy is akin to Serrati's, and they are afraid that, as in the case of Italy, the Communist International will insist on a truly revolutionary policy. The opportunists do not feel safe even in those parties where the severance from the declared centrists is already an accomplished fact and where, consequently, the necessity for expulsion or split does not arise. They fully realise that in it is not merely a question of expulsion of declared opportunists, but rather one of communist Parties carrying on a truly revolutionary agitation. In the German Communist Party a group is being formed under the leadership of Paul Levi, consisting of Left Independent parliamentarians and trade-union leaders, in order to oppose the Communist International on the subject of the Italian split. The watchword of this group is: does not patiently educate the ignorant masses it does not recognize the Serratis and Turattis as their leaders and therefore the Communist International is tending towards the formation of sects rather than mass parties. It should recognize these leaders in order not to lose control over these masses. This group is continually in the midst of proletarian revolutionary mass movement, as for instance in the March rising. For the purpose of sabotaging the active proletarian movement raising the cry that it is a "putsch" (a reactionary rising). The banner bearer of this group, Levi, acts as a traitor, goes over to the enemy, denounces the representatives of the Executive to German Ebert police and even the Executive itself as the alien instigators of the "putsch". Although the party declares itself, with complete unanimity against this renegade act of its former president and insists on getting rid of him, the opportunist group of leaders still adheres to the traitor. It maintains an attitude of "splendid isolation, and thus proves more than could be done theoretically, that its claim to be the representative of the mass principle is nothing but empty talk. The opportunist leader group in the U. K. P. D. (United German C. P.) is nothing but the guiding spirit of opportunist mass parties, but as there is no room in Germany for a Levi opportunist mass party, in addition to the already existing Scheidemann-Crispien party, this group is content to lead the miserable existence of a small oppor-

tunist sect. The U. K. P. D. has suppressed the rebellion of the handful of opportunist leaders in its ranks, and now they will have to make its choice between complete submission to the will of the party or severance from it.

In Tchecho-Slovakia the nude lessons which the capitalist State has taught the working masses have had the effect of cooling the nationalism of the masses, and of converting the majority of the social-democratic workers to communism. A section of the leaders of the left wing workers including the former opportunist social-democrat Smeral has endeavoured to hamper this development. What pleased them in communism was its slow development. The fact of the gradual development of the proletariat which, we communists, recognise as the precursor of an all the more clear and firm Communist policy, is for the Smerals only ground for a policy of delay and vacillation. Our advice to them not to leave the Czech social democratic party as long as they have a large following of social democratic workers, has been used by them as a pretext for as long as possible preventing the formation of a communist party by the majority of the social-democratic workers who had turned their backs on social-democracy. Because we had told them to gather strength before throwing themselves into open strife they left the revolutionary mass strike of a million workers, which broke out last November without any leadership, nay they sabotaged it. And even when they saw that the enormous sacrifices, imposed on the workers by the strike, had not shaken their belief in communism, but had spurred them on to new efforts, these strange communist leaders did not deem the moment ripe for the formation of a centralised communist party. The Czechoslovak bourgeoisie exists by the exploitation, not only of Czechs, but also of Hungarian, Slovak, and German workers. Nevertheless the Smerals are opposing the close union of the proletarians of all nationalities in Tchecho-Slovakia in order not to rouse the nationalism of the bourgeoisie as a consequence of the clear internationalism of the proletariat. The Communist International will joyfully welcome the 400,000 Tchecho-Slovak workers who have joined it. Nevertheless, it will make clear to them that adherence to the Communist International is incompatible with the toleration of the game carried on by the Smerals and Co.

The Serratis, Levis and Smerals have declared that the Communist International had altered its tactics. The answer of the Communist International to this is: thou art like the spirit whom thou understandest and not like me! The Communist party, is, now as ever, for the formation of mass parties, and not of sects. In order to attract the masses it will make use of all means at its disposal. It will not rest contented with the teachings of communism alone. On the contrary, it will throw itself into the strife of the masses, no matter how vague and indefinite those masses and their struggle may be. But its task consists in dissipating this vagueness and not in fostering it, in overcoming this hesitation, and not in establishing it as a theory. The Communist International will, now as ever, restrain small communist groups from taking part in premature action which may mean their annihilation, but it will say to every large proletarian party: it is your duty to lead the revolutionary masses and by deeds, spur the wavering proletariat. It will attack all those who, under the cloak of communism and under the pretext of gradual development, are defending a "stick in the mud policy". For acting thus it will draw the revolutionary masses, for these masses have understood and instinctively felt that the decisions of the Second Congress of the Communist International were, so to speak, the plans and beginnings for the coming battle, and not a declaration of a "wait and see" policy. They have left the centrists because they are opposed to a policy of inactive waiting, and not in order to continue this policy under a beautiful new flag. The Communist workers feel that the world situation requires increased activity on our part. Moreover they understand that this will be impossible unless we remove the chief obstacle:— opportunism in whatever disguise.

But the severance from the conscious opportunists did not represent the end of the struggle of the Communist International with the lack of faith in the revolution, with the spirit of vacillation and of evasion of every fight. In many countries the leaders of the revolutionary

acknowledgement of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, but also to the idea that communists must be organized in fighting units. Now we must go a step further. So far only lip service was rendered to the watchword of "civil war". The Communist Mass Parties founded under the banner of the proletarian dictatorship must now, both in theory and practice conduct the civil war. The Communist Parties must therefore mobilize all their resources of ideas and organization for the realisation of their task to make the party mainly rely on its illegal work, and to propagate the idea that it is absolutely essential not only to disorganize armed forces of the capitalist states and the bourgeoisie, but also to organize the forces of the workers on a military footing.

Such illegal military organisation must not be a parallel organisation to the "legal" party organisation. The illegal and military organisation must embrace the whole party and must be the embodiment of the idea that the whole party must pin its faith on the preparation and the carrying out of the civil war.

Joseph Pogany.



# Lenin's Speech on the Agricultural Tax

## The urgency of the special Party Conference.

(Continued from yesterday.)

The opposite, however, turned out to be the case. Some places were affected by a fuel crisis, more serious than the food crisis, and a complete inability to satisfy the demands of the villages for town goods. A most serious crisis in agriculture was the result. As a result of these circumstances we could not under no circumstances maintain our food policy and we were compelled to consider: the immediate basis of co-operation between the workers and the peasants, the introduction of new measures.

The change must be such as to allow for the exchange of the products of industry; to arrange a system whereby the peasant would not have to give up his produce except in exchange for town and factory goods. At the same time we must not subject him to all those standards which are unavoidable under a capitalist regime. However, economic circumstances have never made us consider this. That is why we have accepted that temporary state of affairs about which I have been speaking. We even had to resort to an issue of paper money and to take corn as a tax without giving an equivalent in return, in order to obtain supplementary product in the form of an exchange of goods. But our reserve is negligibly small and the possibility of enlarging it by means of foreign trade was only made feasible this year in the form of trade agreements with foreign capitalists but they are only preliminary for real trade has not even yet been started. Efforts to break and sabotage these agreements continue incessantly. The most characteristic however is the Russian White press including the Social Revolutionists and Mensheviks, which has devoted all its energy and time to little else but this trade agreement.

### Struggle not over.

The bourgeoisie is well trained to the struggle, and is more highly developed than the proletariat, its class consciousness has become more intense with all the unpleasant experiences through which it has passed, hence it is now more sensitive than usual. And it is enough to glance at its press, to see how hard it is striving to kill our policy. The aim of all the Russian White Guard press is to try and break the trade agreements and thus retaliate for all its defeats on the battlefield. The entire campaign of last spring, in which the Social Revolutionists and Mensheviks occupied the front ranks of the counter-revolutionaries, had only one object in view; to destroy the economic relations of Russia with the world's capitalists. Although many agreements have been reached, although the number of these agreements increase, although we are overcoming the opposition, nevertheless there is a delay. These are the conditions under which we have to labour, and which primarily promoted the questions about the re-establishment of trade for the peasantry.

### Concessions.

I will not concern myself about the question of concessions because it has already been well discussed in our party branches and no longer causes surprise. Theoretically, it is absolutely useless for us to discuss this question, and I believe that a general impression of its utility exists. We must grant concessions and conclude agreements so that we can increase our stock of supplies of raw materials and machines for the re-establishment of our large industries, in the shortest possible time. For large industry is the sole basis upon which we can enlarge our resources and build up the Socialist Common-wealth.

In general no talk of socialism, especially when it has to deal with a peasant country can be delivered without the capitalists' large industry or a highly increased production being mentioned. We, in Russia, now understand this more concretely than in former times and instead of that indefinite, vague phrase—"the re-establishment of large industry"—we now speak of a definite, accurately worked out and concrete plan of electrification. We have an accurately worked out scheme, planned with the aid of the best Russian experts and scientists, which gives us some idea of the material required, including the natural peculiarities of Russia, by means of which we can put into operation. We must and we will do so. Without this we can deliver no speech on the real, socialist foundation of our economic life. This is

absolutely indisputable. Lately, in connection with the agricultural tax, one used to speak of the prime necessity for re-establishing large industry" in vague terms. I have myself heard many comrades speaking in such a manner. Of course one can only shrug one's shoulders in reply. "To imagine that we could forget this fundamental aim would be foolish and absurd". The only question here is how could our comrades have such doubts, how could they imagine that such a fundamental question, without which the material, industrial basis of socialism is impossible, would be considered by us, of secondary importance. These comrades have simply misconceived the relations between the peasants, the state and small trading.

### Last Years set-back.

Our most important question is the re-establishment of large industry. But in order to be able to reach the re-establishment of this large industry somewhat seriously and systematically, we must re-establish small trading. During this year and last, we experienced a tremendous set back in our work of re-establishing large industry. During the autumn and winter of 1920, we re-started many of the more important branches of our large industry, but we were compelled to stop. Those factories which were able to command a sufficient supply of labour and raw material had to cease work. Why? Because we had not an ample reserve of food stuffs and fuel. We must have 400 million poods of corn (I give the approximate figure; as a government reserve), otherwise it would be difficult to speak of a sound economic structure and a re-establishment of large industry; Without this we are again in the position of having to hold up our work after making a start in the task of re-establishing large industry. Without a sufficiently guaranteed and ample reserve, of food there can be no mention of the government devoting all its energies or systematically beginning the re-establishing of large industry for any length of time, even if in a meagre form, but at any rate without hitches with regard to fuel; until the reconstruction of the Don Basin, until there is a regular supply of oil, we are again left without wood, and that means that again we are dependant upon that self same small industry.

That is the reason for the error and the misconception of our comrades who did not understand why we have to devote all our energies at the present moment on the peasants.

### Need for reserve stocks.

When we said "We must apply to the peasant not requisitions but a tax" what was the chief economic factor of this policy? Simply this, that the peasants small industry did not have a sound economic foundation under requisitioning. Under such circumstances small trading cannot exist and develop, because as a small trader, he loses all incentive to better and develop his small undertaking and fails to increase his production. In view of this we have no economic base. Without concentrating large stocks of supplies in the hands of the government, there can be no talk of re-establishing large industry. That is why we are introducing at the first possible moment this policy. We are introducing it so that we may have a reserve for re-establishing large industry; may carry on production without hitches and free the proletariat from having to look for means often in a non-proletarian manner to furnish his wants amongst distressing circumstances, often in the petty bourgeois method of speculation or even worse. He produces articles in the factory for his own self, and exchanges them for food and that is where our chief economic danger lies, a danger threatening the very existence of our Soviet Republic.

### Large Industry is the Economic Basis of the Proletariat.

In order that the proletariat may be able to realise its dictatorship, it is necessary that it feels itself secure as a class and stands upon solid ground; but this ground is giving way. Instead of a constantly and smoothly operating large machine industry, the workers observe stoppages, and hitches and is forced to enter the economic sphere as a speculator and small producer. We must spare no sacrifices during the present transitional

period in order to save the proletariat from this degradation. In order to bring about an uninterrupted, even if a slow restoration of our large industry we must not flinch from offering any concessions to foreign capital. From the standpoint of constructive Communism it is at present worth while to pay hundreds of millions to foreign capitalists and get from them machinery and materials for the reconstruction of our large industry which will create the economic basis of the proletariat and render it powerful.

The Mensheviks and the S. R's have dinned into our ears that since the proletariat is being de-classed, we should repudiate the dictatorship of the proletariat. They have yelled about this since 1918 and it is surprising that they are not yet tired of repeating this until 1921. In replying to this criticism, we do not say that no such de-classing is taking place, and that their are not defects. No, we saw that the conditions of the Russian and the world situation are such that, despite the de-classing of the proletariat and all the defects that it must come in contact with, the proletariat is in a position to perform its task of capturing and holding power.

To deny that de-classing the proletariat is a loss would be sheer folly. At the beginning of 1921 we observed that after the conclusion of the war against foreign enemies, our greatest danger consisted in that we were unable to carry on uninterrupted work in the few large factories which remained in our possession. This is the main issue. Without such an economic basis the proletariat cannot maintain its political power. In order to bring about the restoration of our large industries, it is imperative that we create an agricultural fund consisting of something like 400 million pounds, which would be properly distributed. This has been proved by our experience of 1920-1. The old methods will not solve the problem. New methods must be employed. We must solve the problem by means of the agricultural tax and by introducing proper relationships with the peasantry as an element of small producers.

### The Peasantry Must be Given a Freer Hand.

We have hitherto expended much energy to prove the above proposition theoretically. It seems that judging by the concessions of opinion in the party press, by the discussions in our party meetings, that we have proved theoretically the possibility of successfully solving the problem. While retaining transport and the large factories, i.e. the economic basis, together with the political power in the hand of the proletariat, we must give the peasantry a freer hand. Without raising the agricultural industry we cannot hope to settle the acute food situation.

It is in such a form that we should consider the question of the development of small industry on the basis of free trade and free exchange. Freedom of exchange is the means for the development of proper relations between the working class and the peasantry. We now have at our disposal an increasing amount of data as to the extent of our agricultural industry. All indications tend to assure us that we shall be perfectly able to solve the economic problem, especially this year. The expectations of the coming crop have improved very much since spring. There is an undoubted possibility for accumulating an industrial fund and devoting ourselves wholly to the restoration of our large industry. In order to achieve the task of accumulating the industrial fund, it is necessary to find the proper form of relationship towards the peasant, the small producer. Here no other form than the agrarian tax can be employed. No other form has been offered and can hardly be conceived of. Now this task must be solved in practice by organising the agrarian tax properly. It will have to be carried out by the same methods of requisition but with much greater skill and care. During the use of the old requisition methods, it quite often happened that in some localities 2-3 collections were made, while in other localities, where the corn was hidden even the normal quota was not obtained. It often occurred that the more honest and conscientious peasant suffered the most, while the user (the rich peasant) and speculator gained the most. As a result the possibility of regular economic relations was hindered. The Agrarian Tax, being also a measure of compulsion with regard to every peasant,

must be carried out in an entirely different fashion.

We must give the peasants an immediate improvement in their position. There is no doubt on that point.

Our local men are confronted with the task on the one hand to carry out the food tax to the full, and on the other, to carry it out within the shortest possible time. The difficulty is enhanced moreover by the fact that the new crops will be unusually early this year, and if we were to adhere now to the customary period we would find ourselves late. That is the reason why the early convening of the Party conference is important and opportune. We must work, with greater speed than before, and adjust the whole of our apparatus to collect the food tax. Upon the rapid collecting of the tax depends the guaranteeing to the State of a minimum fund of 240 million poods and ensuring the position of the peasants. Every delay in collecting the tax represents a certain constraint for the peasants. The collecting the tax will not go voluntarily, we shall have to resort to coercion, for the very act imposes a number of constraints upon the peasant farms. Should we delay this operation longer than is necessary the peasant will become discontented and say that he was deceived because he gets no freedom to dispose of his surplus. The collecting of the tax must be carried out swiftly, to ensure that the tax gatherer does not stand to long over the peasants. This can be done by shortening the period between the harvest and the completion of the tax

### Revival of Capitalism Not Dangerous.

That is one task. The other is to raise small industry within the limits of free trade given to the peasantry, and to give a certain amount of freedom to the development of that capitalism which will thrive on the basis of small ownership and petty trade, without showing the least sign of fear, for there is nothing dangerous in it for us.

In the present general political and economic situation, in which the proletariat holds in its own hands all the sources of large industry and where there can be no talk of any denationalisation whatsoever, we have no reason to fear it. When we suffer more than anything from a complete lack of products, from absolute impoverishment, it would be silly to fear that capitalism on the basis of petty industrial agriculture would be a menace. To fear it would mean that we have no idea of the correlation of forces in our economics. It also means to be ignorant of the fact that peasant economy, as a petty economy, will never be established in any measure unless it is given a certain degree of freedom of trading and consequently of capitalist relations. This, comrades, we should insistently bear in mind, and our chief task consists in giving a local impetus everywhere, in displaying the utmost initiative and daring. That is what we still lack. We fear to expand ourselves in this respect.

We possess no concrete local experience of a practical character on the question as to how things stand in the provinces in connection with commercial exchange and free trade, to what extent we have established and developed small industry, which is capable of alleviating the position of the peasants immediately without the great work required by large industry. In this respect something is being done in the localities. It is desirable at congresses that people should really share their local experiences, so that when they return to the provinces they should be able to say; Out of a thousand examples we have found one good one which we are going to imitate. Such good examples we have, and infinitely more than one in a thousand.

### Collective Provisioning of Workers.

I would nevertheless like to say a few words on the collective provisioning of the workers, that is, the transition from the card-system to that of supplying a given enterprise with a certain quantity of food, in so far as it actually works and in proportion to the output. The idea is a splendid one, but it has become transformed with us into something half-phantic. In this direction we have done no real preparatory work. We have no instance yet where we could say that in such and such a province, at such a factory, be it even with a small number of

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## Women Workers and Women Peasants in the Soviet Construction.

### Protection of Mothers and Children.

The broad organisation for the protection of mothers and children in Russia commenced only after the October Revolution. In this work mainly the women from the towns and villages took part. The greater share of the work fell to working women, the peasant women were only drawn in recently.

During the period of the Soviet regime in Russia, 331 homes, 456 nurseries, 176 medical consultations, 79 homes for mothers and babies, 21 maternity homes were organised by the efforts of the women alone.

### Learning to Build.

One of the most important tasks of the Department of Women Workers, is the attraction of the women workers and peasant women into practical Soviet work. Realising the backwardness and the passivity of the broad mass of the women workers and peasant women, as a consequence of long years harsh conditions of life, the department of women workers, formed the Institute of probationers for the purpose of instructing women in Soviet work.

The department has the command of the women workers elected at the delegate meetings of Women Workers and Peasant Women, to the council of the Department, where for the period of two months, they served as probationers. The probationers become acquainted with the work of the Council by personal observation in order to be able to conduct it afterwards independently. For the greater attraction of the women workers, and women peasants into Soviet structure, the Council of People's Commissars has published a decree according to which each probationer of the Council Department, is equal in standing to the instructors, (the housekeepers women peasants), the women workers who are called away from enterprises for work as probationers to the Soviet Department during the period of the two months continue to receive food and house room in that same enterprise from where they were called away, and wages from the Soviet Department on the same scale as the instructors. In decree of the Council of Peoples Commissars, they recommend all Soviet Departments to give all assistance to the work of the probationers.

This decree considerably increased the attraction of Women Workers to the Soviet construction and at the present moment in all Uzeds of Russia there are large number of women probationers. In the Yaroslaff Gubernia for the year 1920 there were 800 probationers in the Department.

### Helping the children.

The economic collapse, caused by the imperialist and civil wars, has placed the children in Russia in a very difficult position. The Soviet Regime, in order to better the position of the children organises different campaigns, in which the working women and peasants take an immediate part.

Thus in the Odessa Gubernia, the working women themselves took a hand in collecting gifts during the "Protect the Children Week", simultaneously with the agitation for an active participation of working and peasant women in the improvement and founding of children's institutions and hostels.

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workers, our method has been applied, and these are the results. We have not got that. That is the greatest defect in all our work. We must untiringly repeat that, in place of the general questions which had place in 1918, viz., so long ago, we should now, in 1921, place the question on a practical basis; we should relate at our congresses first of all where we have models of the proper organisation of things, and of such examples we have plenty. These examples become obligatory for the others, who must pull themselves up to what has been attained in rare places with better practical results. This refers to the work of the Trade Union Congress, but it also refers to all work in connection with food supply, collection of the food tax, exchange, and so on, a little of which has been done in some places. This is precisely what we have failed to learn. It is our duty now to pass on to this work, to weigh experience and pull up our backward provinces and districts. At our congresses the utmost attention should be given not to studying general theses and programs but to studying practical experience and examples of satisfactory and more than satisfactory results with the aim of raising the level of the backward parts and provinces that predominate.

## The Second Congress of the Young Communist International.

Immediately after the Third Congress of the Communist International the Second Congress of the Young Communists' International will open in Moscow. The object of the present article is to deal briefly with the fundamental tasks of the Young Communists' International and, consequently, of its Second Congress. These tasks emanate from the general political situation and from the position of the International Young Communist movement itself.

1. The remnants of the centrist young peoples organisations are now endeavoring to establish a two and a half young socialist international. It is hardly likely that the latter will have much influence among the broad masses of young working people, in so far as it has no support in the various countries (Austria excepted). At the same time social-patriotic organisations of youth still enjoy a certain influence in a few countries (especially in Germany, Holland and Belgium). They are now setting up their Yellow International of Youth which they say, unites about 120,000 members of various organisations. Of this number 60,000 belong to the German organisation "Young Labour". It should be stated that the members of these organisations (at any rate in the above mentioned countries) could not be called conscious social-patriots, for they can be pulled out of the mud if they are released from the organisational fetters of the social-patriotic leagues. The fight against the Yellow International is the most important task of the Young International in the immediate future. Success in this field can be attained, first of all through a vigorous economic struggle (especially in view of the influence wielded by the social-patriots over the young workers through the reactionary trade unions), more of which will be said below. But all methods of political struggle as well should be set going to destroy this, at present the chief enemy of the Young Communist International.

2. Until recently the young communist organisations were carrying on, almost exclusively, political work in the narrow sense of the word. While continuing to carry on their work for attaining definite political results, they should now take up the economic struggle as well. The Second Congress should work out in detail the clause of the program adopted at the Berlin Congress, which deals with the economic position of the working youth and adopt a precise economic program, the basic principles of which should be the reorganisation of young labour on socialist lines. The watchwords for the moment should be worked out concretely and in detail. Of utmost importance is the question of using them for revolutionary advantage. This constitutes the fundamental task of the Young Communists' International on this question.

3. In view of the new tasks that the labouring youth are taking upon themselves, the establishment of special economic organisations, would undoubtedly be unnecessary and unprofitable from the point of view of the young communist movement.

The mere aping of the position in the labour movement should be opposed by converting the young communist leagues into mass organisations of the working youth. Up till now our organisations in no way differed (politically) from party organisations, whereas their role in the proletarian revolution is different from that of party.

They are schools of communism (schools where the chief method of teaching is that of revolutionary struggle) educational organisations. The young communist leagues can carry out the task of educating the young generation of the workers in the communist spirit only by attracting the broad masses of the working youth into their ranks. Of course, in times of acute struggle it is necessary to act cautiously in this direction, limiting the acceptance of new members with the possibility of their re-education, and so forth. The Congress, however, should take a hard and fast line with regard to the mass character of the young movement.

At the same time, with a view to establishing closer contact with the masses of the unorganised youth and to effecting a more expedient carrying out of political work and of the leadership of the economic struggle of the working youth, it is necessary to reconstruct the young communist organisations at the places of employment (fractions) and not at places of residence, as is being practised at the present time.

4. The next highly important task of the Congress is to establish a rigid line on the question of the inter-relationships between the Communist Parties and the Young Communist Leagues.

The bitter dregs of the pre-war period of social-democratic guardianship over the young movement has remained in the rank of the latter. During the war the revolutionary organisations of youth finally broke with the social-traitor parties, and owing to the absence of Communist parties were objectively forced to carry out the functions of the latter. This still more deepened the distrust among the revolutionary youth of the organisations of their elders and of the idea of the independence of the young workers movement.

The Berlin Congress made a step forward from this idea, which, never revolutionary, has now, under the altered circumstances resulting from the establishment of Communist parties, become counter revolutionary. The Congress recognised it as obligatory for the young workers organisations to have a communist program and the necessity of organisational contact between the young communist Leagues and the Parties.

The theses adopted by the Executive Committee of the Communist International concerning this question has placed it on a sound foundation.

Nevertheless they did not react sufficiently concretely on the actual inter-relationships in separate countries. There must be a new authoritative resolution of the Second Congress of the Young Communists' International on this point. The precise inter relations between the party and the league in each country of course, depends on the local conditions. But the International of Youth should take up a correct stand on this question and should: 1) extirpate the ideology of the movement of the youth for absolute independence and change it to political subordination (by no means excluding the discussion of political question) and organisational contact, without infringing the self-activity of the movement, and with the parties, 2) exercise greater influence, during everyday work, in effecting closer relations between the Party and the League in each country.

5. Of great importance in the political activities of the Young Communist International, and perhaps of decisive importance, is the relations between the Executive Committee of the Young Communist International and that of the Third Communist International. The political leadership of the latter is not being carried out in sufficient measure. The Young Communist International up till now does not have any well-regulated contact with the Communist International, whereas the leadership of the latter is indispensable to the Young Communist International, as an international organisation much greater than any communist party.

It is quite understood that, parallel with the five points formulated above, the agenda of the Congress contains many other not less important questions, such as: the peasant youth, the intelligentsia, educational work of the young organisations, work among the colonial peoples, work among the children, and a number of minor organisational questions, to deal with which in detail would occupy too much space.

In any case the II Congress of the Young Communist International is faced with great tasks, the proper solution of which will signify the turning point in the history of the International young workers movement.

We hope that the Second congress of the Young Communist International, which is gathering in one of the most difficult moments in the development of the world revolution and in the life of the Russian Soviet Republic, will consider the political circumstances, carefully verify the experience of the preceding activities of the Young International and indicate the correct path for the further development of the Young International movement.

The importance of the Congress and the complexity of the tasks confronting it should induce the Communist International and all the delegates of Communist Parties to pay special attention to the World Congress of their vanguard and their future relief force.

L. Shatskim.

## What Stinnes Owns.

Sometime ago the socialist press published the following interesting list (which is not by any means complete) of the Stinnes undertakings:

### I. Mines.

Directorate of the Stinnes concerns: Matthias Stinnes, Count Beust, Ernestine, Friederich Ernestine, Carolus magnus, Victoria, Matthias United Welheim, Schtvarize June.

Bochum Association of mining and Steel Works: Ems Friedrich, Friedrich der Grosse, United Teutoburgen, United Engelsburg, United Carolsmenglück.

Germany, Luxembourg Mining Company: Sophia Friederika, Karl Friederich Elbstellen, Brockhaus Underground Structures, Amatus Basker, Mulde, Glückauf, Tiefbau, Hasenwinkel, Tremonia 2 Krüger, Julius Philipp, Friederika Termoma I, Dannenbaum and Eulenbaum, Frielicher Nachbar, Kaiser Friederich, Prinzregent.

Gelsenkirchen Mining Company: Erin, Castrop, Zollern I and 2, Westhausen, United Hamburg and Franziska, Thias, United Rheinelbe and Alma, Stein and Hardenberg, Pluto, monopol Grimberg, United Germania, Hansa, United Bonifazius, Grille Wilhelm, Concern Diergardt.

### II. Ironstone Mines.

Ironstone mines: Bückecurg, Grosse Burg, Neukirchen, Friederich Niederhövels, Dannenbaum, Laer Eulembaum, Laer, Union, Eisenfeld, Wohl verwahrt, Florentine.

### III. Iron and Steel works.

German, Luxemburg Mining Company: Friederich, Wilhelm Hütte, Dortmund Iron and Steel Works, Rote Erde, Dortmund, Meggen Rolling Mill, Hasp Steel Works, Chain Factory Schlieper, Medgard, Bremen North Sea Works, Emdem, Weber, Brandenburg.

Bochum Company A G Steeworks, Bochum Company of the Steel Industry, Bochum.

Gelsenkirchen Mining Company: Vulcan, Dursburg, Flensburg Works, Drainage Work, Dusseldorf, Drainage Works, formerly Tiedl, Weiss, Sheetmetal Works, Hüsten, Blastfurnace Works, Galsenkirchen, Steetworks Patibor, Steelworks Bros. Böhler A. G. Düsseldorf, Foundry Galsenkirchen.

### Other Undertakings.

Königsberg Cellulose Works A. G., Königsberg, North German Cellulose Factory A. G. Königsberg, Buck and Cellulose Works, Hugo Stinnes, Berlin.

North German Printing and Publishing Company, Berlin Printing Werke Büxenstein, Berlin Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung, Berlin Industrie und Handelszeitung, (Industrial and Commercial News), Berlin Wirtschaftliche „Nachrichten aus dem Ruhrgebiet“, (Economist News from the Ruhr District) Esben.

Electrical Works, formerly Schuckert-Nürnberg Simens Schuckert, Berlin Siemens I. Halske, Berlin Rhenish Westphalian Electrical Company, Essen Saxon Power Works, Osnabrück Roddergrube, Knappsack, Rhenish Electro, Steelworks, Koholyt A. G.

Motor Works Leo, Charlottenber, German Motor Lorries' Works Ratingen.

Shipping and Overseas Trade Company Hugo Stinnes, Hamburg, Coal Shipping Business Hugo Stinnes, Hamburg, Neuhof Yard, Hamburg, Hamburg Traffic Company, Hamburg General Food Import Company (Alnari), Hamburg plus a large number of other shipping yards and newspapers.

Rote Fahne 18th May 1921.

## Drugging the Workers.

"Latwijans Vestneus" of the 31st states that there are sufficient stocks of spirit for producing vodka to last the whole of the summer. 12 factories will be engaged in the production of spirit; it is hoped to increase this number to 20 towards autumn.

## Bolshevist Agitation.

The Riga newspapers report that on the night of the 29th May open bolshevist agitation was carried on among the public promenading in the Verman Park. One hundred and sixteen agitators were detained by the police, and steps are being taken to ascertain their identity. A certain Leverens was fined five thousand roubles and given six months imprisonment for disrespectful remarks about the government.