

WORKERS OF THE WORLD, UNITE!
M O S C O W

ORGAN OF THE III CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

« № 2 »

MAY 26th 1921.

ENGLAND.

English spies.

In Angora several British subjects are being prosecuted on a charge of espionage. The "Times" adds that twenty two British subjects are prisoners in the hands of the Nationalists.

AMERICA.

New Plan of Legalised Plunder.

The "New-York Herald" communicates that the American Ambassador in London, Mr. Harvey, has received Mr. Harding's plan for a new Association of Nations. The Association is constructed on the plan of the Hague Conference, and is based on the idea of an International Tribunal. Mr. Harvey however, will act on this plan only in the event of his becoming convinced that the Great Powers will show any intention of adopting an attitude of fairness towards the rights of other nations. The proof of this will be the recognition of the rights of the United States in the Mandate Territories, as the United States has never abandoned its claims to these territories in spite of, whatever decisions have been taken by other Powers. The New-York correspondent of the Daily Telegraph adds that America refers here also to the questions of oil and the Yap Island.

SILESIA.

Situation more acute.

It is reported from Nauen that the situation in Upper Silesia has become more and more difficult owing to Poland having concentrated large masses of troops near the frontier which at certain places have actually been crossed. Serious fighting is taking place near Rosenberg the Poles are committing indescribable atrocities which are evidenced by the mutilations of the German policemen. From English sources it is reported that during last week several thousand men of the regular Polish army have joined Korfanty. Refugees state that Korfanty with the aid of these troops, and supplied with engineering material is preparing to destroy, first of all, electrical constructions and then, railways, telegraphs, coalmines, and buildings.

Kattowitz and other towns have been deprived of light and water since the 20th of May. It is rumoured that four British battalions are on the way to Upper Silesia, for the purpose of reinforcing the Allied troops.

Mass meetings of workers and employees have taken place in Berlin to protest against Polish atrocities in Upper Silesia. Resolutions were carried protesting against the violation by Poland of the right of Silesia to self-determination guaranteed to it by the Versailles Treaty. The Powers were also called upon to cease these acts of violence, and to determine the fate of Upper Silesia by handing it back to Germany, in accordance with the results of the plebiscite.

The situation in upper Silesia.

Lyons, May 24. (Radio.) As a result of the appeal of the interallied commission to the German representative in Oppeln, the German attack in the direction of Gross-Strelitz is reported to have ceased. The "Petit Journal" notes that the correspondents of the London papers seem to have somewhat exaggerated the gravity of the German offensive which, according to the latest reports, only lasted one day. That paper understands that Briand has notified the German ambassador in Paris, Doctor Mayer, that in case the German offensive is resumed the allied governments would proceed with the necessary sanctions.

The Situation in Upper Silesia.

Hanover, May 24. (Radio.) Both Germans and the rebels are suffering heavy losses in killed and wounded. Overwhelmed by the powerful onrush of the Germans, who are advancing to attack in mass formations, the insurgent forces are retreating in scattered groups.

FRANCE.

Against War.

A mass meeting took place in Saint-Etienne on the 6th of May to protest against war. More than five thousand persons responded to the call of the Organisation Committee, and after listening to the speeches of Ferdinand Faurat, Lorduron, Chauvet, and others, energetically protested against the blind imperialist policy in the finances. "Humanité," 7th. of May.

In Favour of the Moscow Int. Coun. T. U.

On the 6th of May, a Congress of the Railwaymen of the Paris-Orleans lines in Montlucon. The delegates representing all federations, among other things, had to determine their attitude to the Confédération Générale du Travail, to the Red Trade Unions and the Moscow International. These questions roused a very lively discussions which lasted two days, and in which comrades Montmousseau Delagrangé, Olivier, Berg and others, as partisans of Amsterdam took part.

At the end of the second day, a resolution of a strikingly revolutionary character was carried by the overwhelming majority demanding that the Confédération du Travail leave the counter-revolutionary Amsterdam International and affiliate to the Moscow International Organisation of Revolutionary Trade Unions. For the resolution there voted 29 syndicates with a membership of 861 and the number voting for the resolution of the reformists demanding the expulsion of the supporters of Moscow was 15 syndicates with a membership of 3,194. 6 syndicates abstained from voting. The Paris Syndicate voted for the first resolution, but abstained from supporting affiliation to the Moscow International, until the return of their delegates from the Organising Congress of the New International. Humanité, 8th of March.

Memorial to Jaures.

On the 1st of May in the town Cransac, the ceremony was performed of unveiling a memorial to Jaures. The memorial was erected by the Communist Municipality. Workers in large numbers assembled in the public Square where a great meeting was held. The communist groups from neighbouring localities marched to the place with unfurled banners. After a short speech by Comrade Becks, the member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, comrade Pelico delivered an address on Jaures and touched upon some questions of the day. Concluding his speech comrade Pelico said "We are living through a revolutionary period, and you comrades, workers, and exploited must overthrow the reign of disorder and bloodshed. ("Humanité", 5th of March).

Quaking With Fear.

The "Humanité" of the 18th of May reports the arrest of the delegate of the Young Communist League of the Department of Pas de Calais, Perier for distributing leaflets among the soldiers guarding the Gare du Nord, entitled "Mobilisation means War". The arrest is also reported of a Communist, Boloret, for distributing manifestoes headed "Down with the Mobilisation, Down with War" Rosta.

"We will Gain our independence"

The Commander of the Ushak front, and now President of the Angorian Council of People's Commissaries, Refed Pasha, declares: "Our great aim is to secure complete independence, and we will secure this at all costs. Our Army so far is honourably and heroically carrying out its duty".

Poles active.

Warsaw communicates; The Commander in Chief of the insurgents in Upper Silesia has issued an order prohibiting the payment of any kind of taxes to the German authorities. Breaches of this order are liable to be punished by a fine of one million German marks, or twelve months imprisonment.

GERMANY.

Sentences Passed by the extraordinary Courts.

The sentences passed by the Extraordinary Courts in Germany up to the 7th of May, are as follows: 267 accused have been sentenced to an average of 1.042 years and 2 months confinement in houses of correction. 217 accused have been sentenced to 306 years and 10 months imprisonment. 6 accused have been sentenced to imprisonment for life and 2 have been sentenced to death.

The New German Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Nauen, May 24. (Radio.) The German minister at the Hague Doctor Rosen has been appointed Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Trials of War Criminals in Germany.

Nauen, (Radio.) Before the Reichsgericht at Leipzig the trial commenced of a former non-commissioned officer, charged with ill-treatment of British war prisoners in the camp of Munster. Sixteen English witnesses are present. A British commission, headed by solicitor-general Bollock is witnessing the proceedings.

A vain appeal.

The German War Obligations Commission has called the attention of the Inter-Allied Reparation Commission to the extreme shortage of coal in Germany arising from the complications in Upper Silesia, and which are continuing as the result of the indifference displayed by Inter-Allied Commission.

ITALY.

Expected Departure of the Russian Representative Vorovsky from Rome.

Rome, May 24. The Soviet representative in Rome Vorovsky had received a special note from the Italian Minister for Foreign Affairs, inviting him to proceed to a conclusion of a trade agreement. In order to discuss this agreement the Soviet delegation had to insist on receiving guarantees that they would have the possibility of working under peaceable conditions. It was, however, quite impossible to work quietly, owing to the various excesses on part of the police and of the Fascisti against the members and staff of the Delegation. The Foreign Office failed to reply to any of Vorovsky's notes and it avoids personal explanations. Now after the Foreign Office has refused to acknowledge the diplomatic immunity of the members of the Soviet mission and after the law courts have reduced the delegation to the degree of "private persons", whilst all attempts to come to an explanation with Giolitti have failed, the delegation can no longer remain in and is leaving the country. The passports of the members of the delegation have been handed to the Foreign Office for obtaining visas to leave Italy.

White Guards Active.

The Russian Constitutional Democrats in Berlin arranged a so-called "non-Party meeting" for the purpose of defining the attitude of the Berlin emigrés towards the forthcoming Congress of Emigrés in Paris. Nabokoff in his speech advocating the participation of the Berlin Cadets in this Congress pointed to the absence of any energetic opposition on the part of the emigrés to Bolshevism. The meeting resolved in favour of participation in the National Congress in Paris.

The Russian Commercial Industrial Congress in Paris is greatly alarmed at the concessions which the Soviet Government is prepared to grant. All the resolutions submitted assert that the regenerated Russia will never recognise any concessions, agreements contracted by the Bolsheviks.

RUSSIA.

Conference of the Russian Communist Party.

A National Conference of the Russian Communist Party will open at 11 a.m. to-day in the Sverdlov Hall in the Kremlin.

From the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs.

Translation of the note, dated May 23 rd, and addressed to the Roumanian Minister of Foreign Affairs Take Jonescu in Bucarest.

In spite of the frequently repeated assurances of the Roumanian government and of the many protestations of the Russian and Ukrainian governments, hostile acts against Russia and Ukrain continue on part of the Roumanian forces, in Bessarabia. It is sufficient to state that on May 11th in the neighbourhood of Mohileff-Podolsk sixty shots were fired by the Roumanian artillery against the Russian and Ukrainian forces on the other side of the river. The Russian and Ukrainian Governments once more protest most energetically against such acts and draw the attention of the Roumanian government to the unbearable situation which has been created by these attacks perpetrated so many times by the Roumanian forces.

The People's Commissary for Foreign Affairs of the R. S. F. S. R. Tchitcherin.

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

From all corners of the Republic.

The Smolensk Gubernia Commission for the improvement of the conditions of children has sent five thousand children, from all the ouezds of the Smolensk Gubernia for recuperation in the Children's Sanatoria.

Gemel Gubernia has four hundred communal farms and three hundred and thirty two Soviet farms. On the Soviet farms there are twenty clubs and fifty Reading Huts. A great work in political and ordinary education is proceeding. On the Soviet farms and the communal farms there are more than one hundred communal groups.

The Ukrainian Commission for simplifying the Soviet apparatus has ordered the operation of the reducing the staff of the Commissariat for Food to be completed by the 25th of May. A Committee for the reduction of the staff is operation in every central institution in Kharkoff.

The Committee for improving the conditions of the workers in Kieff has resolved to carry out the re-distribution of the furniture of all the inhabitants of the town, and also to remove all upholstered furniture from civil and military institutions, and distribute them among the workers.

The Congress of the Young Workers' League of Bokhara has accepted the rules and programmes of the Young Communist League and has passed a resolution affiliating to the International Young Communist League. The Congress recognises, as its urgent task, to increase educational work. More than a hundred delegates were present at the Congress.

In Krasnarmelsk (alta) a Committee has been established of Turkish subjects for assisting the successful progress of commercial exchange between Soviet Russia and Turkey. So far contracts have been made with the Committee for supplying articles of nourishment like rice, fats, condensed mil etc.

"MOSCOW"

Editor: T. L. Axelrod.

Published by the Press Bureau of the Comintern.
Editor, Denezny 5, room № 13. Telephone: 1.77.77 and Kremlin, Nizhni 151.
Hours from 3 to 5 (except Sundays).
Responsible Secretary, Tverskaia 48. Telephone 5.48.10 and 3-79-05.
Hours 6 to 8 daily (except Sundays).

Strike Breakers.

The bourgeois "Matin" publishes with éclat, the following curious episode. A strike of stewards took place on a Cunard liner "Aquitania" against a reduction of wages. Several days ago the Company despatched three hundred men to take the places of the strikers, on board the ship which should already have put to sea. Among these strike breakers, there were a number of volunteers including a baronet, Sir Percy Betts, a director of the Company, and one of the principal Liverpool shipowners. This gentleman demonstratively travelled in a third class carriage. In an interview he stated that like the other strike breakers, including his brother and a fellow director of the Company, he signed an ordinary contract as a steward. A number of passengers on the Aquitania also proffered their services as stewards during the journey. Among these is mentioned the respected Arthur Villiers, a brother of the Earl of Jersey.

That the aristocracy at heart are lackeys in the most degrading sense of the word, is a well known fact. The history of all peoples and of all times bears witness to this. They pride themselves on their voluntary servitude, and regard it as an honour. If the workers have to face only such foes, they would have little to fear. The workers however, have much more to fear from the voluntary lackeys of their own class. At the present moment a strike of seamen is taking place in Norway, which is accompanied by bloody conflicts with the police. The police are protecting the strike breakers, who are continuing to work, thus damaging the cause of their fellow workers. Who are these betrayers of the cause of Labour? Members of the "Christian Labour Party". Everywhere and always, these "Evangelist" "Catholic" "Christian" etc. "Labour" Unions are nothing else than hothouses of espionage, treachery, and strike breaking. But these lackeys from among the workers together with the voluntary lackeys from among the rich moneybags would be powerless to resist the working class if they limited themselves to mere treachery.

At one time, these traitors from the working class were labelled "Yellow". Since then much has changed and many who formerly appeared to be "Red" have now become "Yellow". The whole of the Amsterdam Trade Union International, and the whole Second International of politicians represents nothing else than a colossal "Yellow" organisation, numerically much greater, and therefore much more dangerous than the former "Yellows" who were a small crowd. Even those who desire to appear "pink" become irresistibly yellow every day like leaves in autumn.

Indeed, observe the work of the "Independent" Social Democrats in Germany; the French Socialist Centre and their perfectly "yellow" newspaper "Populaire" etc., and one is compelled to admit that if the bourgeoisie are still able to maintain and even strengthen their tottering position, it is due entirely to the direct and indirect support which it receives from these "Yellow" socialists. Indeed, what are the services of a couple of crazy baronets and a small crowd of Christian drunkards compared with the services of political parties and complete international organisations of the social-traitor type? The services are rendered to the bourgeoisie, not merely at some Norwegian port, or in some out of the way German township, but on the political, national, and even on an international scale, by people who trade on the influence which they still wield over the masses.

But no "Yellows" will save the doomed bourgeois regime. The Alliance of the propertied and property-less existed previous to the war, and previous to the revolutionary shocks, but this did not save any of the free emperors from their deserved fate. Neither will it save the bourgeoisie from the fate prepared for it by destiny. This Alliance will exist even after the social revolution, as is shown by Russia where the "Yellow" Mensheviks and Social Revolutionists united with the baronets and money bags to combat the working class. The "Yellows" will not save the capitalist regime, but they are in a position to render the struggle of the proletariat more difficult and cause useless sacrifice and suffering. Therefore in order to render them physically harmless, it is necessary, first of all, to render them morally harmless, and universally discredit them.

G. Steklov.

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tually thinking, like all other philistines, that universal happiness, socialism, communism will arrive not as a result of an inevitable and ferocious struggle and as the final victory of the proletariat, out somehow as if by the touch of a magic wand.

Gorki, however, is a man of social and political interests and he cannot remain passive. He understands the entire deception and folly of the slogans! "Art for art's sake." He equally understands where this slogan enigmatically from. Gorki became an active factor right from the beginning of the October revolution, more correctly, he continued to be an active factor, but... already in a different camp. Gorki is not for the victory of the capitalists, not for the Constituent Assembly, not for Chernov and Savinkov. But he is not also with the Bolsheviks, not with the proletariat. He is in a "high-minded opposition". Day after day he poured out on the pages of his paper the most colourless and typically philistine "Irrelevant Thoughts" which the entire right wing; mad with anger against the Bolsheviks read with tremulous delight. The further to the right Gorki's paper went the more furious was the hatred which they aroused against Bolshevism.

The proletariat looked at Gorki's "thoughts" as on a puzzle, because these thoughts were strange to him and hostile. They were causing him evident harm, prolonging and complicating the struggle, delaying the victory. Like all cultured people afflicted with ugly disease (especially ugly in the period of the class struggle) of eclecticism, he constantly confused important and essential phenomena with insignificant and petty superficialities and details.

For the Bolshevik-eclectic Lunacharsky the possible destruction of a certain church is more terrible than the death of the best proletarian fighters. For Gorki a mediocre short story of some backwood writer, which was not published for the reason of the shortage of paper that is more needed for agitation literature, is more important than the victory of the Red Army somewhere near Kazan or Samara even though from this victory would depend the entire destiny of the Russian proletarian revolution and even a great deal more... depended on this victory. This, however he did not understand possibly just because of his absolute confidence in the victory of the revolution.

Cultural eclecticism is the most widely spread disease among the intellectuals who are working with the Soviet Government and for the revolution. It is like a cholera of which among the educated classes there is, instead of diarrhoea and vomiting, an uninterrupted eruption of the most subtle pessimism based very largely on the pettiest and often altogether non-existent "facts".

There is an anecdote going the round that Maxim Gorki was very glad that the Soviet Government closed his paper.

— Wen "Novaya Zhizn" was closed, Gorki said, I became a Bolshevik. Otherwise I was a "Newlifer".

If this story be a fable it was certainly invented by a real Marxist.

Indeed: around a certain establishment there was centered a group of men who exerted a reciprocal influence upon each other and were absorbed by their group interests. The paper is closed and the group fell apart. The influence also vanished. What is most important is that this influence no longer effects Gorki who has an inclination (which is in the nature of every artist) to become strongly attached to one person or another and be entirely under their controlling influence. The "Novaya Zhizn" was merely his, so to speak seasonal, "fad" and this, of course, is very useful for him as an artist. But what is useful for the artist is not always useful for the revolution. Eclecticism is a very detrimental thing. Eclecticism the natural child of romanticism is less harmful, but undoubtedly harmful. It is especially harmful under conditions of intense class warfare necessitating the utmost concentration upon a few highly important and extremely urgent issues. Gorki did not understand this necessity. It was still less understood by all the representatives of Russian art and (what is most surprising) especially by that section which was formerly sympathetically (at least tolerantly) inclined towards the Russian proletariat that is achieving the greatest revolution in all recorded history!

Georg Ustinov.

*) "Novaya Zhizn" means "the New life".

Art in Soviet Russia.

I. Art and the class struggle.

At the beginning of 1918 an important meeting of Russian writers was held in Moscow on the premises of the Literary-Art Circle. It was the usual so-called "Wednesday". Each week on Wednesday the most eminent Russian writers living in Moscow gathered in circle, read their newly written productions, exchanged views about art and discussed literary affairs.

But the meeting that I am now describing was entirely different from the preceding meetings... The foremost Russian writers, who have so glowingly written about the ignorant and downtrodden peasant and who (in words) sympathised with the revolutionary movement of the proletariat (when it was only words, but in reality adopted themselves very nicely to the Czarist regime), on this memorable "Wednesday" held a trial over their comrade, the writer A. Serafimovitch, for the most outrageous literary crime. For this crime pronounced its most-severe sentence.

— A. Serafimovitch must be expelled from the "Wednesday".

They would have, perhaps, passed a severer sentence, but, most happily for A. Serafimovitch, their authority was limited by the fact that the affair took place in Soviet Russia.

What constituted the outrageous crime of the writer A. Serafimovitch?

Treachery. He turned traitor to art and became mixed up with politics. He assumed the post of editor of the literary section of the Bolshevik paper, "The Ivestia of the Moscow Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Delegates".

The sentence was passed unanimously. It was signed by all the non-political creators of contemporary Russian literature who were at the time in Moscow: Ivan Bunin, Ivan Shmelev, U. Bunin, A. Tolstoy, M. Artzibashev, etc.

Perhaps, the sentence was really just? It might be that art always remained, still remains and will remain outside the sphere of politics, outside of life, outside human relations, outside of the class war? Perhaps literature does not admit of the application of our method, the materialistic conception of life and of human relationship? Or shall we recognize as correct the non-political slogans: "Art for art's sake" and "Art has no aim", which are being advanced by the exponents of the separation of art from state and from politics, i. e. from social life and from the the class struggle?

However, the exponents of the doctrine of "pure art" were the first who failed to pass the test as dispassionate observers and re-creators of real life. As among all other social groups, among the adherents of "pure art" and of art in general the most typical class distinctions began to manifest themselves. The writers and poets who were most closely related to the bourgeoisie immediately came over to the side of the active enemies of the Proletarian Revolution. In this respect the exclusion of the Bolshevik Serafimovitch from the literary "Wednesday" was the first shot fired by the bourgeois-intelligensia group of writers into the head of the workers' and Peasants' Revolution. The reason for this is quite clear. Owing to the social conditions which grew up under the Czaristic regime, not everybody could acquire an education and become a writer. This was the privilege of the ruling classes, — of the landowners and of the bourgeoisie.

The overwhelming majority of the member of the literary "Wednesday" consisted of representatives of these classes: Ivan Bunin — landowner and a noble. A. Tolstoy — a landowner, a count, Ivan Shmelev — a second rank official of the monarchy, a tax inspector, M. Artzibashev — the natural child of the decomposing bourgeois society and its faithful commercial agent who furnishes it with that sort of literary stimula which tickles the perverted sex instincts of bourgeois degenerates... As a matter of fact it would be extremely unnatural and in opposition to the methods of the materialist conception of history, if this Crowd, or any member of it had joined the ranks of the revolutionary proletariat. But miracles do not happen, and our method of investigation here, too was fully justified.

Have these writers really remained non-political?

Those comrades who are acquainted with the activities of our writers abroad know better than we the non-political character of Bunin Tolstoy, Auslander, Kuprin and Averchenko who are on, the pay roll of French and English and all other capitalists whom they please by telling all the bluff stories about Soviet Russia, that the fertile brain of these obedient lackeys of the master class are capable of inventing. For instance, Bunin upon the arrival of an English cruiser in Odessa fell prostrate before the

English lieutenants (specialists in subjecting colonial uprisings) and with tears on his eyes slavishly begged "in the name of humanity and of God":

Pacify the beast and crush the demagogue".

"The beasts", of course, symbolizes the Russian peasant, the "demagogue" represents the Russian proletariat and its leaders.

What has been written about Soviet Russia by Kuprin, Gippius, Merezhkovsky, and all other Russian writers in conjunction with all their admirers and patrons is now known universally. All these Russian writers have brilliantly demonstrated to what extent art is non-political and to what extent it stands outside the class struggle... And it would have been utterly unnatural and incomprehensible, if the facts were not at they are at present.

* *

"Social Consciousness is determined by his mode of life"... A fathomlessly deep law that is terrific in its inexorability. The bourgeoisie has all power to shape the mode of life in its interests by showering favors upon those who are of value to it. In the West the bourgeoisie very cleverly, using one bait or another, succeeded in buying off most of the prominent labor leaders. In Russia the bourgeoisie has acquired a splendid capacity for speculating in persons who are influential in liberal-democratic and other circles of society. The modification of the mode of living is very often achieved by a direct bribe. Oh, how multifarious are the forms of graft applied in capitalist society? A direct bribe, or an open bid of graft would be "dishonest". But it is entirely "lawful" to pay colossal salaries, to lure by an offer of sudden recognition and fame, and finally, to take anybody out of the environment in which he lives and surround him with comfort and attract him to that class toward which only yesterday he felt a burning hatred. Thus it is easy to prove to him that "Man's aman for all that". Capital is holding power for some purpose. It gained power and is holding it not for fun nor for mere pleasure.

Many of the most eminent and "most honest" representatives of science and art were found to be in the white guard camp precisely because the bourgeoisie has skillfully modified their mode of living. A writer will invariably reflect the environment he lives in. The interests of this environment will always be nearer to him than the interests of any other environment. A most splendid illustration is the history of the literary work of the most eminent and most honest Russian writer, Maxim Gorki. Following his productions arranged in chronological order, we are able as if ascending the steps of a ladder, to enter into the life of the various groups and classes with whom Gorki at one time or another became closely associated. And Gorki of all Russian writers has been most intimately identified with the revolutionary movement! Yet by following the course of his writings we reach the plane of "high society" or that social group which is either out of touch with or entirely hostile to the proletariat, — and this is the environment in which Gorki was caught by the sweep of the revolution at its most critical turn in October 1917. And from those people he received the money for his daily paper "Novaya Zhizn". He received 50,000 rubles from a certain capitalist as a personal favor, a private loan. Gorki did not understand that if a capitalist during the Czaristic regime offers money to a revolutionary, it is for the purpose of overthrowing the monarchy in order to open the road to power for him, for the capitalist. If a capitalist offers money to a paper that is opposing the proletarian revolution, it is his desire to direct the paper's policy towards achieving victory for the bourgeoisie. This is elementary mathematics which is not accessible to the mind of many honest proletarian ideologists stupefied by the opium of the artificial idealism, which they inhaled in the parlors of the bourgeois liberals. Of course, Gorki's ideas had nothing in common with those 50,000 rubles. But that these ideas were not harmful to his friend the capitalist is beyond the shadow of doubt.

Like all other leaders of art and science who lost contact with the masses, Maxim Gorki was filled up with this poison. He was converted into a peaceful citizen, who horribly detests barbarian shooting upon live human beings, irrespective of whether they are well armed with rifles and machine guns and are ready to use them for certain purposes or not, Gorki who once upon a time was called to the active struggle — in words, is now ac-

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International Trade Unions.

Tasks of the forthcoming International Red Trade Unions.

I.

An interview with the General Secretary of the International Council of Trade Unions, Comrade Lozovsky.

In an interview with our representative, comrade Lozovsky gave a general outline of the achievements and successes of the International Red Trade Union Movement, for the past year, and in broad lines pointed out the tasks that confronted the forthcoming International Congress of the Red Trade Unions in Moscow.

The coming International Congress of the Red Trade Unions, — said Comrade Lozovsky, will have an equal importance with regard to policy, as the Second Congress of the Communist International had for the Communist Movement: our Congress must work out, a general line of action for all revolutionary Trade Unions.

This task is much more difficult than the one which confronted the Second Communist International. The Communist International only unites the advance guard of the proletariat, but the Trade Unions embrace broad non-party masses. That which is quite intelligible and needs no argument for the front rank communists needs explaining for the columns of the general Trade Union Army.

The Growth of the Trade Unions after the European War.

Up to the war, the number of members of Trade Unions were estimated at nine and a half million; at present their number reaches forty millions. In some countries, the growth of the Trade Unions proceeded with unheard of rapidity. Thus, in Germany, in the Trade Unions, previous to the war, there were nearly two and a half millions of members, now their number has increased to more than ten millions. In England the three million increased to eight million, in Italy the membership increased from 300,000 to more than two million. The late Austro-Hungarian monarchy previous to the war had 400,000 members, and now we have in Austria 800,000 members and Hungary 400,000 (at the time of the Soviet regime, Hungary numbered more than two million members), in Techecko Slovakia there are nearly 800,000. In France on the eve of the war, there were 500,000 members of Trade Unions, but at the beginning of 1920 there were nearly two million, which decreased after a non-successful strike in May 1920 to 1,300,000.

The same applies to the Far East, in India, China, and in Japan, we observe in recent years an unprecedented growth of the Trade Unions.

The great forty million International Proletarian Army, organised in Trade Unions, unfortunately for the Proletariat is not permeated with a united proletarian spirit; it is united intellectually, and a considerable part of its officials are corrupt to the marrow.

Those leaders of the Trade Unions in all countries of Europe and America, who during the war sold the interests of the working class right and left and incited the workers of one country, against their brothers of the other side of the frontier attempted to revive the Trade Union International.

They began with the conquerors in working out the Versailles Peace. Then at the same time with the representatives of the so called neutral governments, created International Bureau of Labour, with the notorious socialist renegade Albert Thomas at the head. Apart from this, these gentlemen created an International Federation of Trade Unions at Amsterdam which was to pursue on an international scale the policy of „heroic class cooperation“ which was pursued in their respective countries. The basic principle of which this peculiar International cooperation can be explained in a few words: *the deadly fear of the Revolution, class cooperation the gradual growth of Socialism, fierce hatred against the Revolutionary Mass Movement and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.* All these purely bourgeois virtues adorn the facade of the building upon which the renegades of all countries, like Appleton, Legien, Thomas, and others, have written the Amsterdam International Federation of Trade Unions.

The Revolutionary Spirit in the Trade Union Movement.

Of course this policy of treachery can create nothing but abhorrence, in the front ranks of the working class of the whole world. The principal cause for the rise of the International Council of Trade Unions lies in the abhorrence of the treachery of its „leaders“, the des-

ire to put to the working class of all countries, the question of the Social Revolution.

The International Council of Trade Unions was formed in Moscow on July 15th 1920, on the initiative of the All-Russian Central Council of Trade Unions, together with the representatives of the Trade Union Movement of Italy, France, Spain, and other countries.

Hardly a year has passed, since the formation of the International Council of Trade Unions, and in spite of the fact that the council is being anathematised at all the temples of reformism, by all the priests of reformism in spite of the fact that the leading circles of the Trade Union Movement, in France, Germany, and other countries, have gone over from platonic cursing to expelling tens of thousands of revolutionary workers from the Trade Unions in spite of all that, the Red International Trade Union grows from day to day. Like the Communist International, it is the child of the developing world revolution, and every big strike, every social conflict, which shakes the feudal capitalist basis of Europe and America adds water to the mill of the Red Trade Union Movement.

The Amsterdam International proudly declares, that it numbers in its ranks 23 million members, but that is a statistical mirage, because Amsterdam includes a million and a half of Communist skilled workers in Germany, who are on our side, and the hundreds of thousands of workers of France who have declared for affiliation to the International Council of Trade Unions, it also includes the revolutionary workers of Italy, and generally those Trade Unions which have nothing in common intellectually and politically with the gentlemen from Amsterdam. These revolutionary workers remain in their old Trade Unions so as to capture them from within.

The International Council of Trade Unions has not such large numbers, it unites from 13 to 14 millions of adherents to the social revolution, and the revolutionary class struggle.

II.

The tasks Confronting the International Congress of Trade Unions.

The International Congress of Trade Unions must first of all unite the opponents of Amsterdam, and work out a general policy, unity exists in the midst of the revolutionary workers in relation to Amsterdam, and the recognition of the necessity for the revolutionary struggle on the lines of practical questions, but the methods and means of the struggle there are various opinions among us. First of all there is a group, true not a large one, in the trade union movement, against politics and the political struggle. For them the Dictatorship is the Beast of the Apocalyp. These elements go so far in their hatred of politics that they are beginning to take up a clearly anti-revolutionary policy. This, the German Syndicalists, who joined the International Council of Trade Unions, during the March events in Germany, not only worked hand in hand in the struggle with the Communists, but took part in the disgusting persecution of the revolutionary workers. This persecution in its cynicism can be compared with the persecution of the Scheidemanists, cannot but bring the question before the Congress: Can organisations who are affiliated to one International be in conflict with each other in their own countries? The German syndicalists, even made an attempt at the International Conference of the Syndicalists (Berlin December 1920) to dissuade the Syndicalists of all countries from participating in the Congresses of the Revolutionary Trade Unions in Moscow. Fortunately for the Syndicalists, this primitive Anarchism met with very little sympathy, and the majority of Syndicalists taking to heart the lessons of the revolution understood that in the struggle with the bourgeoisie it is necessary to create a centralised power, otherwise the Proletariat will be crushed.

The second question which will engage the attention of Congress will be the part that the Trade Unions will play in transition stage. Here the purely Anarchistic view, which stands for the immediate handing over of production to the separate Trade Unions, will cross that of the middle tendency of the French Syndicalists which is not against forming Soviets, but stands in the Trade Union basis, and our Communist point of view for mutual relations between the Soviets and Trade Unions. This question is not

First of May in the Province.

The celebration of the First of May in Russia this year differed in some respects from former years; it also differs from the First of May held in capitalist countries of the West. There, as we know, the idea of the festival is to demonstrate the fighting readiness of the proletariat oppressed by the bourgeoisie. We on the other hand, notwithstanding the fact that our struggle against the world bourgeoisie has not been brought to an end, demonstrated this day as a festival of Labour. An unprecedented honouring of workers and of labour took place all over Russia; not the individual genius who has made tremendous discoveries was honoured, but the most ordinary rank and file working man who never before was looked upon as a hero but who at the same time is the actual hero of the Labour front. It must be recognised that under the present conditions of economic collapse, this front requires as much if not more heroism than war front.

The honouring of the heroes consisted in an address of greeting of which was given to them by the representatives of the Russian Communist Party, the Gubernia Trade Union Councils, and the Gubernia Executive Committee who presented them with banners and certificates. Every opportunity was taken on such occasions by public speakers to point out to the audience the significance of the services rendered by the heroes to the Republic. Under the strains of music, military detachments and the Trade Unions file past the Tribune occupied by the heroes, whom they greeted.

In addition to honouring the heroes of

labour at the First of May festival we made an interesting beginning in the sphere of production, i. e. demonstration of labour processes. At Odessa the Union of Transport Workers sent out six motor lorries upon which were demonstrated motor repairing, loading and unloading of steamers, and so forth; the printers of the Union transformed a motorlopy into a printing works where leaflets were printed and distributed to the public. The workers of the railway workshop supplied a special locomotive and a carriage platform decorated with agitational placards. One train was changed to a repairing workshop with an anvil and other implements complete. The same thing took place in Kuban. In Viatka the 2nd of May was devoted to excursions to certain enterprises of vital importance, such as electrification, land departments, certain factories and so forth. What is of the greatest importance in the new measures is that here labour is looked upon not only as a necessity but also as a splendid and noble performance.

Sports and gymnastic games organised by the Military Training Department and by various sporting circles of the League of Youth took up a considerable part in the First of May festivities. These are mentioned in the correspondence of every part of the country, as they attracted the active participation in the festival of all the young members of the population. It must however be mentioned that these latter also took a great interest in concerts and other performances which they arranged both on the premises of the Union as well as in public places.

Continued from previous col.

purely theoretical. This deeply agitates the broad masses of the workers which simultaneously with the idea of the Social Revolution are trying to find a practical answer to the question, what to do on the morrow of the victory of the Proletariat. Much has been written on this subject, in Germany, and the question is raising a lively debate in the Revolutionary press, and the Congress will have to lay down a policy for the work and activities of the Trade Unions in all countries.

The third question which is deeply agitating and occupying the attention of the Revolutionary Unions of all countries: is the shop steward committees, and their relation to the unions, and the control of production. One may say with certainty, that the existence of Trade Unions in Germany, depended on these questions. Here to collective experience of all countries and particularly of Russia, will be able to show the directing thread, to the revolutionary workers of all countries. It is important, and the Congress will undoubtedly mark it, that control over production, can only be realised after the Revolution, that all the plans for control, are not worthy an empty egg shell, because control by the workers is not a question of rights but a question of strength. No less complicated, and important is the question of the mutual relations between the Communist International and Council of Trade Unions. How many Internationals should there be—one or two? Should there be one? How to establish the relations, between them and how can we well organise the Communist International, and the non-party mass who are now in the unions. If only one International, are the twenty-one conditions to apply also to the Trade Unions. In the event of two Internationals being established; it is evident that complete independence is not possible because whoever wishes for victory must gather all revolutionary forces into one organisation. How then can mutual relations between the Red International of the Trade Unions and the Communist International be established? On this question there exists a variety of opinions, which will be fought out at the forthcoming Congress. To me it is quite clear that both these Internationals, by their different structure, different statutes, and various conditions for recruiting members mutually supplement each other, and the attempt to break up these two International organisations would lead to very sad consequences. The more rational form of mutual relation is the creation of an autonomous section, having its own rule, its own special conditions for accepting members, and its own directing organ elected by the Congress, connected with the Executive Committee of the Comintern, not only through mutual representations, but also by periodical and joint discussions appertaining to the International Labour Movement. I do not desire, to enter into organisation details just now, but at any rate one thing is clear, if, in the near future the Trade

Union International will not exist as an independent organisation, then we shall have to aim at the organised welding together the unification of action, and creation in the last resort (during what period we do not know) of one Communist International, which include the political trade union and cooperative organisations of all countries.

From the above it is apparent how questions of organisation are specially noted at this Congress. It will be necessary to establish conditions of admission into the International Council of Trade Unions, the rights and duties of members, the scale of representation, the relations to other international organisations of Trade Unions. Apart from that, the Congress must note the question of centralism and federalism, it must lay the foundation for the creation of an International Strike Fund, to work out a single method of offensive, and defensive struggle, to establish a form of connection and influence on workers' movement, in the colonies etc., The list of these questions testifies: to the magnitude of the work, that the first Congress of the Revolutionary-Class Trade Unions will have to accomplish, in all the domains of the International Labour Movement. Information received up till now, shows that the Congress will be attended by a rather large number of delegates. From all corners of the world delegates are coming in order to bring all these questions that are agitating the International Trade Union Movement sharply to the front. We do not conceal the differences and various shades of opinions existing in our midst. We leave the ostrich policy to the Amsterdam International, who, so as to increase the number of its army includes in its department even those who are fighting against it. However many cross currents, shades and differences of opinions, there may be (it is unavoidable: this is a proof of its live creative thought), the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement will arise from the First Congress, powerful the —oretically, strengthened practically, and will take its clear programme and tactics right among the organised proletariat of all countries. We are not at all disheartened by the fact, that we are still in a minority in many lands. The latest strike in England and generally the acute economic crisis in Western Europe, draws into the Revolutionary Movement, the most backward workers, compels the most conservative class of workers to hearken to our call. The old capitalist world is doomed, and at the same time, the sentence for destruction and ruin, is promulgated against those National and International organisations who bound their fate with them. Before another year has passed as much will be left from the Amsterdam International, as was left of the Second International, and the sole guide of International Trade Union Movement, will be the International Council of Trade Unions. History is on our side, — and this the International Congress of the Red Trade Unions will bear in mind, above all things“.

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The First Revolutionary Theatre.

After October 1917 we entered a phase in which the old economic standards had changed; when new forms of social relations were being established, when old conceptions and values were questioned and subjected to a fresh criticism and customs were being changed.

We no longer believe in what used to be described as "eternal", "humane", "non-political" art; We are fetishists no longer.

We maintain that the word "humane" bears little meaning as long as human beings are divided into classes. In the period of the dictatorship of the proletariat art must necessarily also be "proletarian" in that it must reflect the emotions, the ethics, aesthetics and psychology of the emancipated proletariat.

Of the Moscow theatres, there are some which combat everything that is new and is the result of the revolution, every thing that is fresh and strong, and adhere as fast as they can to old "traditions" and doing every thing to retain their "sacred non political" attitude, whilst others are making attempts not always successful to assimilate themselves to the new relations and conceptions. The First R. S. F. S. R. Theatre, as it is now called, was the one theatre to enter upon the new road with sympathy and without hesitation.

The theatre was formed of three groups; the group of the former New Theatre with V. Bebutoff at the head, the small group of the former Free (Volny) Theatre and part of the group of the liquidated Model State Theatre. These three groups formed one complete harmonious whole under the guidance of V. E. Meyerhold and V. M. Bebutoff.

The theatrical programme aims at excluding all theatrical displays of human suffering, stage pauses and asides, and at giving bright, light, and free representations of collective effort.

The first play to be staged was Verhaeren's "The Dawn", adapted by V. Meyerhold and Bebutov.

The staging of the "Dawn" was very striking, appealing and deeply revolutionary. Of course, not everything in it was flawless and technically perfect, but it was the first effort at a departure from the decayed "non-political" bourgeois art, the first attempt to come out of the surroundings of mere scenery and stage effects, and go right in among the very audience: it was the first bold step into the bright future of the new communist theatre. Its inherent, heroic, revolutionary pathos and its striving for a better future will inspire and uplift it.

In spite of all the theatre continued firmly along the road which it had marked out for itself and soon staged "Mystery Bouffe" by V. Mayakovsky; which may be considered to be the second step in the same direction.*

"Mystery Bouffe" is free of the drawbacks from which the "Dawn" suffered; this play is almost flawless it represents a political review of all the stages through which the working class passed in the struggle for its final emancipation.

At the same time, the play points out with a healthy humour all the shortcomings of our new life, such as bureaucracy, speculation, disorganisation, the attempts to curry favour with the Soviet authorities on the part of certain elements and so forth. The whole play is an apt and clever satire combined with a great revolutionary enthusiasm, and is followed with real interest.

Both in the "Dawn" as well as in "Mystery Bouffe", the theatre rejected all "decorations", those painted rags, but following the achievements of Picasso and Tatlin has created architectural decorations consisting sectional of scenic platforms, which harmonise in scope and surface.

The next play to be staged will be Ibsen's "Nora"; or rather a new composition of this text under the title of "The Tragedy of Nora Helmer" or "How a Woman preferred independence and labour to the poison of a bourgeois family".

During the Third Congress of the Comintern, Wagner's "Rienzi" is to be performed. This play is to be presented as a new form of theatrical action, where the entire musical-vocal part is to be given in the auditorium of the theatre and is to support the dramatic artists of the play who act in a combined form of pantomime, melodrama and tragedy on the stage.

The further plays of the repertoire include Shakespeare's "Hamlet", V. Meyerhold's "Gregory and Dmitri" and Claudel's "Zlatoglav". All these plays are to be adapted to approach modern reality.

In all these performances, the theatre aims at harmonising with modern times.

* In addition to the "Dawn" a few performances of the "Marriage of Figaro" and "Wilhelm Tell", which were part of the repertoire of the late New Theatre were given during the season.

Turkey Under Kemal.

(Continued from yesterday.)

II.

Political parties in Anatolia.

Previous to the defeat of Germany and all its allies the principal party in Turkey was the Young Turk Party, the Party of "Unity and Progress" (Ittihal). We have already mentioned above that this party was the representative of the Turkish bourgeoisie, the officer class and the liberal professions. This party could neither solve the national, the labour, nor the peasant question.

The membership of the Young Turk Party consisted of many elements, infected by Pan-Turkey and Pan-Islam tendencies, hopes and desires. At the time of the German victories over the Russians. They were imbued with uniting the Caucasus with Turkey to speak of plans concerning Egypt, Macedonia, etc.

As a result of the defeat of Turkey this party was finally discredited in the eyes of the entire population. It was saddled with the responsibility for the participation of Turkey in the disastrous war, which ended in the victory of the Entente, and for the shameful conduct of many government officials, who were members of the Young Turk Party, who compromised themselves by their activity in all sorts of contracts, deals and speculations and accumulated great wealth at the expense of the impoverishment and starvation of the population and the supplying the army with bad materials.

After the world war the Young Turk Party ceased its existence and its members either abandoned political activity or entered other political parties.

The party "Churriet ve Ittilaf" (allied liberty), which resulted from the victory of the allies, is the representative of the interests of a group of large Turkish merchants, speculators, contractors, who became wealthy at the time of the world war. This social group in the beginning, supported, the Youngs Turks and the German orientation, but later went over with all its arms and stores to the camp of the Entente.

This party is supported by the numerous Greek bourgeoisie of the Constantinople, Smirna and other trade centres of Europe and Asiatic Turkey and is the agent of the Entente. It does enjoy the confidence of the Turkish population, as was proven by the elections to the Constantinople Parliament, but nevertheless it would seem that here, under the guard of British arms and with the aid of British gold, this party would be able to gather around it at least a small number of sympathisers.

The party of Kua-Milye claims the leadership of the national movement commencing first in Anatolia and later throughout the whole of Asia Minor and European Turkey. It practically controls the entire political policy of the country. This party gathered around it the entire petty and middle bourgeoisie, all the officers, representatives of liberal professions and took the leadership of the entire native movement against the Entente.

A great number of the old officials and former, members of the Young Turk Party joined the party of "Kua-Milye", which drags the party toward the old imperialist policy. The party is practically conservative. Its membership consist also of a number of capitalists and merchants.

Although many of the sympathizers of the party of "Kua Milye" are afraid of too close a connection with Soviet Russia, fearing that such a connection might awake the class-consciousness of the laboring masses of Turkey; but logic leads this party towards the most friendly relations with Soviet Russia. Kemal and other members of the party of "Kua-Milye" understand very well that any other government in Russia would take advantage of the difficult position of Turkey and would make an effort to take away from Turkey a whole group of vilayettes. Undoubtedly in that case the position of Turkey would be an awful one if Russia, allied with the Entente would attack Anatolia and occupy the territory of Eastern Anatolia. Deprived of the support of the ruined and weakened Germany, Austria and Bulgaria, its former allies, Turkey would not have the strength to withstand the attacks on all fronts, and would fall in an unequal fight. On the other hand, just this victorious struggle of Soviet Russia with the Russian counter-revolution which was supported by the Entente, awakened enthusiasm among the entire Turkish population, and put into the Musselman masses confidence, in the possibility of a victorious fight with the world imperialism.

Responding to this disposition of the masses of Turkey and wishing to emphasize before the entire world, the friendly relations uniting Turkey and Russia, Kemal sent his well-known greeting to Chicherin, which we reprint below.

The Telegram of Mustafa Kemal-Pasha dated November 29, 1920.

To the Peoples Commissar of Foreign Affairs of the R. S. F. S. R., Moscow.

Sir:

I have the honour to acknowledge receipt of your letter of July 2nd 1920, handed to me by the representative of your mission in Turkey and express my sincere thanks for your favorable description of the struggle which we are carrying on against the coalition of the western imperialists.

It gives me great pleasure to inform you of the feeling of delight expressed by the Turkish people towards the Russian people, which, not satisfied with the fact that they have broken their own chains, are continuing an unexampled struggle for more than two years for the liberation of the entire world, and with enthusiasm, undergoing unheard of suffering in order to wipe slavery off the face of the earth forever.

Our nation appreciates fully all the great sacrifices which the Russian nation has made for the salvation of humanity as it also fought for many centuries to save the Musselman country, which was the centre of the hopes of the European imperialists. I am deeply convinced and my conviction is also shared by my fellow citizens, that on that day that the workers of the West, on the one hand, and the enslaved peoples of Asia and Africa on the other, will understand that at the present time world capital uses them for mutual extermination and enslavement, for the good of their masters, and on the day that the consciousness of the crime of colonial policy will reach the hearts of the workers, the power of the bourgeoisie over the world will end.

The high moral authority of the government of the R. S. F. S. R. amongst the workers of Europe and the love of the Musselman world toward the Turkish people are a guarantee, that our close alliance this power to exist by their humility, based upon patience, against the imperialists of the west.

Sir, accept my sincere assurance of deepest respect.

President of the Great National Assembly of Turkey,
Mustafa-Kemal.

Many of the members of the party of "Kua-Milye" are decided nationalists living on memories of the Ottoman Turkey, hating the Armenians, Greeks, a as anti-semites hating the Jews.

Nevertheless the logic of the current events and the difficult losses of the past years, the complete bankruptcy of the centrist policy of the Young Turks who aimed at uniting all the peoples of Turkey into one nation, which would think and speak the Ottoman language, and regarding the striving of these peoples towards autonomy and decentralization almost a crime, forced many of the Young Turks of yesterday to speak a different language.

The party of "Kua-Milye" has a new platform on national questions. It rejects the unitarian tendencies of the Young Turks which led to ruin to a great extent the Ottoman Empire, and recognizes the rights of the different peoples of European and Asiatic Turkey to autonomy and even full complete independence. According to the declaration of the members of the "Kua-Milye" a new Turkish government must be constructed only on an ethnographic basis.

The following districts, according to the declaration of Mustaf Kemal are the inalienable parts of Turkey: the entire territory north of the boundary line of Alexandretta—Mossul and perpendicularly along the line of the latter to the Persian border: Constantinople and the eastern part of Thrace with Adrionople; in Western Thrace and also several sections the native Musselman (Noske was always Turkish) population — a plebiscite must be taken.

The future policy of Turkey in national, questions first of all is the Armenian question, as it is this latter question which shows all the dark sides of the old Ottoman regime and will prove the basis qualities of the new course of national policy will show us the degree of sincerity of the declarations of the many responsible government and political officials of Modern Turkey on the complete abandonment of the dangerous mistakes of Achmet-Risa and other leaders of the young Turk, Party who made an effort to forcibly hold the people, who wish to live independently, within the boundaries of old Turkey, not understanding that such forceful Ottomanization will only cause the national feelings to flame up, strengthen the separatist tendencies among the enslaved peoples and lead to the fall of Turkey, and the triumph of

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An International Bureau of Cooperative societies.

At the second session of the Council of the Centrouse it was resolved to form a commission to propagate the ideas of the Third International among the workers organised in cooperative societies in all countries.

Conforming this resolution, the third session of the Council of the Centrouse considers that the function of the Bureau which has been set up by the administration of the Centrouse composed of comrades Krimtshuk, Mechteriakov, Solz, Nogun, Rosovsky and Kramarov, the latter as secretary, should be to organise all the revolutionary elements in the cooperative movement, all countries who stand for a determined struggle with the capitalist system, and to separate it from the compromising elements which with the compromising leaders enter into alliances with the bourgeoisie.

The International Organising Bureau of Cooperative Societies must include representatives of those countries in which groups of revolutionary cooperators will be formed. The Bureau must also take immediate measures for convening an International Congress of cooperatives.

The International Organising Bureau of Cooperative Societies must exert a maximum of energy in order that the cooperative movement may play an important part in assisting the great cause of fighting the system of capitalist oppression, violence and exploitation and become one of the detachments of the general labour movement directed to the re-construction of the world upon a socialist basis.

"The Communist Women's International."

Monthly Bulletin of the International Secretariat for Work Among Women. Published by Comrade Clara Zetkin, Representative of the Women's Secretariat Abroad.

First Year. April. N° 1.

There has appeared the first issue of the Communist Bulletin for work among women. There is no doubt that this constitutes quite an event in the international women's movement. The necessity for such an organ was felt on many previous occasions; the Communist International long ago carried a resolution on the publication of a Bulletin, but it could not be produced earlier for purely technical reasons.

The first number is constructed in a very business-like form and in accordance with a strictly thought-out plan.

The most prominent articles are those dealing with the meaning and character of the conference of women communists called in Moscow. Much space out of the general articles as well in the Section for materials and documents has been devoted to the reflection of the work being carried on in Soviet Russia. Reports from the work being carried on in Soviet Russia. Reports from the localities have been fully given, and apart from reports from Germany, Austria, and Holland there is also information concerning the activities of the women's organisations which adhere to the Second and Second and a Half Internationals.

The richest material is contained in the articles on the women's trade union movement in England and Germany.

In the feuilleton section is published an appeal of the women communards to all citizens during the Paris Commune of 1871.

It is certain that the Bulletin will grow and develop. But ardent support is nevertheless necessary as well as the participation of the Sections for work among the women in various countries.

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the imperialist pillagers who wish to tear the Turkish state to pieces.

The party of "Kua Milye" refrains from any sort of innovations in respect to the internal economic policy. Neither on the agrarian question, nor the question of combating the high cost of living, speculation, usury, has the government of Kemal done anything so far. The sympathizers of the party of "Kua-Milye" give a stereotyped reply to the demands for reform: "First of all let us defeat imperialism and then we will be able to institute serious reforms". Several Millists point out that it is dangerous to cause a split at the present moment between the Turks, the dispute in Anatolia, will lead to a counter-revolutionary movement and weaken, in that way, the country in its fight with the Entente a therefore, it is necessary first of all to finish the war and then raise the question of reforms.

(to be continued.)