

- INTERNATIONAL -

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The Struggle of the Labour Government for the Stabilisation of Capitalism.

By J. T. Murphy (London).

The Eviction Muddle.

The Labour Government has cut an exceedingly sorry figure in the promotion of its Bill to prevent evictions. Not content with its half hearted fight on the first introduction wherein its leaders contradicted each other, hesitatingly denounced the landlords, admitted that they should be reimbursed for any loss due to non payment of rent by unemployed workers, and still proposing that they should face the loss, and finally, being defeated by a combination of Liberals and Tories, they tried again with MacDonald as leader in place of Wheatley. Both Wheatley and Clynes had stated that the charge should be a national one for which the Chancellor of the Exchequer would be responsible. This was to operate through the local organizations such as the Board of Guardians and the Local Councils. But it was well known that the Local authorities, especially the Boards of Guardians in Scotland, would have nothing to do with it. Some Boards of Guardians in England already made an allowance to the unemployed for the payment of rent.

When the Government made its second attempt with MacDonald as leader it was in no better position than on the first occasion and there was no substantial difference in the proposals. Again Liberals and Tories combined because it was not shown how the landlords were going to be recompensed for any loss and again we were witness to Chamberlain and Asquith using the arguments of the Labour Party for this matter to be a national charge. Again the Government was defeated because of it

failing to specify the source from which the compensation to the landlords would be made. Their language was not an attack upon landlordism but an argument for a national charge while their proposal was a direct attack upon the landlords. It was this contradiction which made the repeated muddles. Naturally the Liberals and Tories rallied on the grounds of their class interests and MacDonald proved to be no more successful than Wheatley in making a covert attack upon the landlords. Had they been bold enough to make it a clear class issue they would have been defeated, but they would have been defeated with the issue clear and without having to cut an ignominious figure before their own followers.

Things have turned out worse than was expected. A short while ago it appeared that the most likely thing they would do would be to remove or modify the offending clause of their own Bill and carry it through, aiming simply at stopping evictions and letting the attack on the landlord question come at a later date. But worse has befallen them. They have now, in order to stop evictions to adopt a Bill emanating from a member of the Liberal Party and seek to amend it as it passes through the committees. That anything drastic will come from this procedure is out of the question. Mr. Austin Chamberlain dragged from MacDonald „that the public funds for the purpose of the Bill which was defeated were to be local funds” which is in flat contradiction to both Wheatley and Clynes who emphasised that it must be “a national charge”. To get amendments along these lines will then be the object of the government in amending the Liberal Bill, and both Liberals

and Tories can be relied upon to see that the landlords are not let down. Evictions will be stopped in order to prevent riots in various towns. That will give peace for the time being. But the landlords will be made more secure than previously. That will be the price.

Insurance Developments.

It used to be a cry of Lloyd George that the state insurance scheme would give us 9d for 4d. For a time it was very popular and then it was overburdened by the big slump in employment and it was found that it could not stand on its own feet and had to be subsidised. Then came a reorganisation and an increase in contributions. Now there is a big push taking place to insure the workers for everything, for illness, unemployment, old age, accident, death of relatives, etc. etc. as a means of preventing agitation around the grievances of the unemployed. Stability is the aim. Compromise the method. Everybody of course has to pay. The State, the employers, the workers. What could be more fair. The workers do pay and that's that. The employers pay and see to it that their payments enter into the costs of production and effect the price of goods. So they do not complain. The State levies taxes which of course never reach the workers. They are not transferable, so nobody has a right to complain. With all complaints removed we can sum up the schemes as follows: — A larger proportion of the earnings of the workers is to be organised by the threefold combination of the State, the Employers and the Workers, to see to it that the workers provide for the periods of unemployment, sickness and all other stages of their existence when they are not able to continue making profit for the boss.

As the Labour Government is anxious to secure stability and peace, it has no desire to be behindhand in turning these schemes to account. So seizing the opportunity provided by the grievances of the unemployed workers who have run out of benefit through long periods of unemployment, Mr. Tom Shaw has introduced an Amendment to the Insurance Bill providing for a lengthening of the periods of benefit, increasing the unemployed pay from 15/- to 18/- per week for men, and from 12/- to 15/- per week for women. Boys and girls between the ages of 14 and 16 are also to be insured and receive unemployed benefits of 5/- and 4/- per week respectively. They know from long experience that if the workers can be provided with a regular income, however small, and the periods of unemployment are not made to contrast too severely with the period of work, that the sharp edge is removed and they are not so likely to revolt. The Liberal Party is taking this up with enthusiasm and its slogan is now "Insurance for Everything". So we can expect further instalments from the Labour Government of Liberal leadership. This is at least one further contribution to stability for which the capitalists will be duly grateful.

Agricultural Peace.

The long foreshadowed proposals of the Minister for Agriculture will be introduced shortly. Help is being rendered to the farmers by means of the Trades Facilities Act, and efforts are being made to encourage co-operative effort. But the farm labourers who have been thoroughly beaten and dejected during the last two years are now to receive attention. In the proposals that are being put forward the sinister policy of dividing the workers in such a way that any national movement can be prevented is once again brought right into the front of the picture.

The organised action of the Agricultural workers is about as idiotic as can be. Every county acts separately, has different wage rates and conditions of labour in almost every district. It will be remembered how strenuous were the activities of M. Mac Donald last year to prevent the Norfolk farm labourers drawing in the workers of other counties for common action and how ultimately they were handsomely defeated because of the success of this policy. During that time a number of county agreements were expiring and it would have been easy to have made common action had the leaders not opposed it. Now this division has to be made permanent to secure stability. The National Wages Board for Agriculture is to be re-established, and County agreements are to be made. Any disagreement in a county has to be referred to the National Wages Board for settlement and the National Board can decide. That seems to me as near an approach as one can get to compulsory arbitration without swallowing the whole of it. It appears that even no national minimum wage is to be stated in the Bill. The Minister of Agriculture announced the

other day that in at least two counties the labourers were not getting more than £1 per week. Some of them are not getting more than 25/-. So with this low level and the introduction of legislation to prevent national action it is difficult to see what more the farmers could have got if a Tory Government had been in office. Indeed the Tories had disposed of the National Wages Board and were likely to provoke a national movement by so doing. It required the Labour Government to show how to secure 'peace' within capitalism by dividing the workers against each other.

The Agricultural Workers Union does not improve much on the situation by its demands. It is not raising objections to district settlements but is strengthening the hands of the agricultural minister by demanding that the central Wages Board shall be the final authority. At the same time it is demanding that a national Minimum Wage shall be stated in the Bill and is asking that the "old Methods of investigation, legal enforcement and prosecution where necessary" be re-introduced. These demands are on a par with the regulations of sweated industries where the unions are either non-existent or very weak. It is not on these lines that the land workers will ever be roused to action throughout the country. But direct action of the workers is the last thing which either the leaders of the Agricultural Workers, the Labour Government or the Labour Party desire, as witness the new campaign for.

Industrial Peace.

The leading organ of the I. L. P. follows sharply in the wake of the capitalist press in its denunciation of strikes. Since the Tram and Bus Strike of a couple of weeks ago the press has let lose a stiff anti-Communist campaign. From the "Times" down to the cheapest rag on the market we have come in for considerable advertisement, as the "sinister" figures behind the strikes that are raging. We were the bold bad villains responsible for "insulting the Empire" at Wembley. We are the bad bad scoundrels responsible for the Southampton shipyard workers refusing to go back to work in spite of all the forces of the press and reformist trades unionism being turned on to get them back to work. The Trade Union leaders have simply gone crazy in their strike breaking methods. Threats, mass meetings, ballots, sectional meetings, dangers of the National Lock-out. Not one of these has proved of any avail up to date. Instead of taking the fact of the strike as a clear indication of the feeling of the men, (and not one of them dare stand for the conditions which obtain) and giving the lead for united national action, they have simply permitted themselves to be the veritable hand rags of the Employers. The employers threaten the lock-out at the very moment they have all got a demand before them for an all round increase of ten shilling to £1 per week in wages. Challenged in this way their only retort is to crawl down to Southampton, representatives of some fifty unions, and howl for the men to go back to work as the "strike is prejudicing the negotiations". When the men refuse, then the union leaders join in the campaign of accusing the Communists of responsibility for the present situation with a view to discrediting the union leaders.

Then comes in the "New Leader" the organ of the Party of the Government to moralise on the tram strike and tell us that we are all going to the devil. The succession of strikes by trades is disturbing to this leader. It wants to substitute this method by some well organised systematically arranged plan whereby the whole lot can be dealt with at once by negotiation and these wasteful strikes eliminated. This is the alternative to the scheme for compulsory arbitration now before the House of Lords. It does not want to depart from traditional methods of procedure but to co-ordinate them etc. If not the prospects are terrible, it says. It goes on: "Consider the position. The London traffic men, like the locomotive men, number a few thousand only. But they occupy an immensely powerful strategic position. They can in a sense compel the co-operation of a large number of other workers... It is a general action involving the forces of many industries. But it does not obtain a general result... Yet when the textile workers strike they will not be able to compel immediate attention of the public or the instant co-operation of other workers... And even if they should, the repeated application of general forces to partial issues would result in exhaustion. If the railways struck, first on behalf of the textiles, then of the engineers and so on, the country would be dead of starvation long before we got to the end of the list. And (as a mere incident) the Labour Government would have been swept from power, and one prepared, if needs be ruthlessly, to blackleg,

substituted by public that had forgotten most else in the urgent clamour for food."

If that doesn't make your hair stand up with fright you must be an old campaigner. Listen again "It (the tram strike) has achieved the objective of seventeen thousand men, but weakened the political power and influence, and diminished the political prospects of four or five million."

That from the "New Leader" and not the "Daily Mail". The reformists of all countries are true to type. They were counter-revolutionists in Russia, instruments of the vilest reaction throughout Europe, and in Britain they are following in the footsteps of their colleagues and functioning as the true lackeys of the bourgeoisie. Every strike begins with these people being in sympathy with the wrongs and grievances of the workers. Every strike finds them compromising and striving to break the spirit of the workers. And every strike is also witness to the fact that only the Communist Party is left as the consistent ally and fighter with the workers in their struggles. That is the beginning of the price which the Labour Party and its government is having to pay for its efforts to stabilise capitalism in Britain.

POLITICS

Open Letter of the C. P. of India to the Delegates of the Annual Conference of the Independent Labour Party

York, England.

Fellow-Workers:

One year ago, in the London Conference of the Independent Labour Party, a Resolution on Internationalism and Imperialism was adopted, which defined the attitude of your Party as follows:

The I. L. P., as an integral part of the International Movement for the world-wide spreading of Socialism, recognizes:

1. *That the interests of the workers throughout the world are one.*

2. *That the International Socialist Commonwealth can only be secured by a World Organization of Free Peoples, cooperating in the production and distribution of the world's goods.*

3. *That towards this end, the I. L. P. works for the most effective action of the International Socialist Movement to prevent war, abolish conscription and militarism, and to liberate Subject Peoples.*

4. *That the I. L. P. opposes the exploitation of economically backward peoples by the more advanced, and declares for a relationship with the less-developed races to prepare them as speedily as possible for Self-Government.*

5. *That as a method to attain these ends, the I. L. P. takes its part in the struggle of the workers to win freedom from the economic tyranny imposed by the Capitalist class and the Capitalist State. It holds that the best way of effecting a peaceful change to Socialism is by the Organization of the Workers, politically, to capture the State Power, and, industrially, to take over the Control and Management of the Industrial Machine.*

6. *The I. L. P. recognizes that circumstances may arise when a government or reactionary class might attempt to suppress the liberty or thwart the national will, and it holds that to defeat such attempts, Democracy must use to the utmost extent its political and industrial power.*

In view of the fact that in India today, a reactionary government and class is attempting to suppress the liberty and thwart the national will of the people as expressed through peaceful constitutional action, by certifying measures rejected by the elected representatives to the so-called National Legislatures; by shooting down unarmed men and women who assemble together to demonstrate peacefully against social, economic and political suppression; and by wholesale arrests and imprisonment without charge, trial or evidence, of respectable citizens arbitrarily accused of conspiring against the authority of the State, the Communist Party of India calls upon this Annual Conference of the Independent Labour Party to uphold and give force to its Resolution of the Conference of 1923, by taking energetic action against these deeds on the part of irresponsible authority. In view of your position as the supreme governing power in Great

Britain today, we call upon you to use to the utmost extent, your political and industrial power to put an end to these intolerable conditions prevailing in British India.

The Communist Party of India calls the attention of the assembled delegates to the Annual Conference of the I. L. P. in particular, to the flagrant attempt now being made on the part of the Indian Government to suppress the right of political organization for economic and social ends, on the part of the Indian working-class, by seeking to damn it in the eyes of the law as "conspiracy to overthrow the sovereignty of His Majesty, the King-Emperor", and to make such action on the part of the Indian working-class punishable under Section 121 and 121A of the Indian Penal Code with death or life-imprisonment!

The Communist Party of India desires to emphasize the fact that the real object behind this attempt to crush the legitimate right of Indian labour to organize itself for political and economic ends, is threefold:

1. To prevent the emancipation of the Indian masses through their own political and industrial action aimed to secure improvement in their present miserable condition, and to bind them perpetually to the chains of Imperial and Native Exploitation.

2. To maintain the present isolation of the Indian people from all contact or cooperation with the World International Movement of Labour towards full social, economic and political Emancipation from Capitalist Slavery.

3. To prejudice the organization of a working-class party in India, by damning it in the eyes of the law as "Bolshevik Conspiracy and Propaganda", thereby deliberately and at the same time seeking to prejudice the negotiations now proceeding between the British Labour Government and the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics to re-establish friendly relations.

We seize this occasion to repudiate once more and emphatically, the unfounded allegations of "conspiracy" brought against the Communist Party of India as the basis of the present trial now proceeding at Cawnpore, against some of its members, and we call upon the Independent Labour Party and the Labour Government, as well as upon the British proletariat, to vindicate the full Constitutional Right for Communist, Socialist and Working-Class Parties to exist and to function in India, maintaining their appropriate international affiliations, to the same measure and the same degree, as this Right exists in all other parts of the British Empire and throughout the Civilized World.

To this end, the Communist Party of India calls upon the delegates to the York Conference of the I. L. P. to protest against the present attempt being made by a reactionary government and class to suppress the liberty of Indian citizens, and in consonance with the Resolution on Internationalism and Imperialism passed in your London Conference in 1923, to recommend:

1. That the government ban on Socialist, Communist and Working-Class organizations and propaganda in India be lifted, and

2. That those now suffering from governmental prosecution and persecution for their activities on behalf of the Indian working-class be permitted henceforth full freedom of action to organize a political Party of the Indian Workers and Peasants for their social, economic and political Emancipation.

On behalf of the Communist Party of India

(signed): Manabendra Nath Roy.

April 20 1924.

Post Box 348, Zurich, Switzerland

THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

International Solidarity and International Demands.

By George Hardy.

The greatest need of the moment is an all-in world congress of seamen. Representatives should meet from every union that organise men afloat. We have arrived at a stage in capitalism when there are so many conflicting elements that render the seamen lot constantly more oppressing. Every time the conditions and wages of seamen of one country are made worse, the shipowners of all countries where standards remain higher immediately use these worse conditions as an excuse for a further attack.

There is need for an international wage standard. And the highest wage prevailing should be the minimum rate. This rate should not be allowed to vary with the fluctuating exchanges: It must be upon a gold basis fixed upon a stable currency.

German seamen are not the only mariners who are bordering the oriental wage line. The Belgian seamen's wages are fixed at the same rate as the British. But sailors are paid-off in France at so many to the pound. The number of francs to the pound is fixed by agreement. So when the Belgian franc fell to 120 to the pound the wages of seamen were only 3 pounds. This condition applies equally to the French and Italian seamen.

Shorter Hours and Better Conditions.

The hours of labour on ship board must be universal. Today they vary from 4 watches (42 hours weekly) in the stoke-hold of ships flying the Russian flag to 2 watches (84 hours weekly) in British vessels. West-African Nègroes and Lascars work as many hours as can be endured. There is need for immediate introduction of at least, the 3 watch system in all deck and steward departments with 4 watches below. More and more men are being eliminated by the introduction of oil burners. Trimmers or coal passers are going. And Lloyd's Register of shipping shows that fireman, who are valve-tenders now, will soon be gone from a large proportion of shipping: — 1831 vessels were fitted with oil engines during the year ending June 30, 1923. Diesel engines were fitted on 232 vessels of upwards of a 1000 tons each. Some of the big steamship companies, such as the Union Castle and the Royal Mail Lindes are constructing new liners around 20,000 tons which will be fitted with internal combustion engines. This means the end of the firemen who must become unemployed if we don't reduce the hours of labour and get some of the benefits of improved methods of propulsion, etc.

The standardisation of conditions on board should be a simple thing to introduce. We are stuffed into fo'c'sles no self-respecting human being should tolerate. All the increased space accruing by the elimination of boilers motors are needed, and the reduction of bunkers space in oil burning ships go to make increase profits for the shipowners while we remain in uninhabitable hell-holes. With the seamen organised internationally enforcing standardised manning scales, hours of labour and wages we will eliminate the ship owners cry of "international competition".

Profits must go to Seamen.

This will demand the remodelling of the existent quarters. More cubic feet of space must be given to each sailor as well as the enlarging of quarters due to extra hands because of shorter hours. There should be no excuse. All over the world shipowners increased their profits during 1923. Let the P and O Line use some of the 1,013,241 pounds for the benefit of the sailors, and also the 1,351 steamship companies that made 122,584,380 pounds should spend some of this money to give conditions required by human decency. Let us organise to see that the Plimsoll Line is lowered. Some years ago Lloyd George, while president of the Board of Trade agreed with the shipowners and raised it. We also must have international regulation of safety appliances and stop the loading of ships with deck cargoes until they cannot be distinguished from a timber yard.

We are also constantly victims of their damnable laws — the maritime laws. We are bound like chattel slaves to whipping posts. We cannot leave a ship without risk of imprisonment. Even when to refuse work means loyalty to our class engaged in a strike we are bound to continue or run the risk of punishment. These laws must go. And to refuse to pay us when we desire to leave ships in other than home-ports will cease when we are internationally organised. Free passage home with full pay to all patients left in foreign port until they arrived at the port of shipment must be a feature of our international advance.

Seamens Life International.

From the point of view of similarity of conditions, which justifies every contention of the International Seamen's Section of the Transport Workers of the RILU., I cannot do better than give an extract of the speech of A. Rivelli of the French Seamens Union. It justifies international organization and action immediately because conditions are everywhere the same. After pointing to the perils of the sea in addition to fog, fire, explosion,

stranding and leaks etc. etc. which all seamen must face, he says: —

"And amidst all these lurking perils the seamen from the captain to the cabin-boy, the engineers, the firemen and the stewards live everywhere the same kind of life; they have everywhere the same purposes and the same duties; contribute in the same way to the smooth working and safety of the vessel; take the same part in the fight against the elements and in the salvaging of life and property; following the same immutable international laws which make the intelligence, the initiative and the courage of the individual the sole arbiters of the situation.

A helmsman on an English ship steers in exactly the same way as the man in the wheel-house of a Japanese vessel. A South American fireman stokes his furnace just as a Greek fireman. A Danish steward waits at the table, like a Frenchman. The seamen on look-out duty in the merchant marines of the whole world watch and call out their observations in exactly the same way. The captains all use the same methods to find the ships position or to give their orders."

Long ago the shipowners were able to meet and demand international regulation for navigators. This, of course, for the safety of the vessels and not for the crews. The sailors must organise to protect themselves just as the ship owners do to protect their property; because conditions and the elements we must face are the same the world over; therefore it can only be done by the seamen of the world meeting in common with each other. Any attempt to create an international that does not include even the Eastern seamen will be an abortive attempt at international unity. Although we are all opposed to cheap labour we cannot differentiate because of race, colour or creed. Oriental wages have been introduced into Europe already. Only by showing our sympathy and active support to all oppressed seamen and joining hands with them against the sharks of International Commerce the shipowners, can we hope to emancipate ourselves, our wives and children, from starvation, misery and death.

Demand that your Union discuss their participation in a world congress of seamen. Be prepared to send a delegate. Let us have a United International of all Transport Workers.

IN THE INTERNATIONAL

The Situation in the United States.

Theses on the Present Economic and Political Situation and on Labour Party Policy adopted by C. E. C. of the Workers Party of America.

The following theses, written by Comrades John Pepper and C. E. Ruthenberg, were adopted by the last National Convention of the Workers Party of America, with the exception of that part which deals with the relation of the Third Party and the Farmer-Labour Party which was referred to the Communist International for decision.

We print the theses because they give a thorough-going analysis of the economic and political situation in the United States, as well as the position of the Workers Party of America.

1. Economic Conditions in the United States.

A—The farmers of the United States did not participate in the prosperity which followed the economic crisis of 1920—21. The prosperity was a one-sided industrial prosperity. In 1922 some two million farmers left the land because of bankruptcy and it is estimated that in 1923 three million others will follow them. Tens of thousands of farms have been abandoned in a number of states. The mortgaged farmers are having mortgages foreclosed on their farm and are being compelled to become tenants. The government reports show a tremendous increase in tenantry in the farming regions. Taxation has increased to such a tremendous extent, that it is estimated that in 1923 thirty per cent of the net products of the farmer went to pay his taxes. As a result of this economic pressure upon the farmers they are entering politics en masse.

B—There is every indication that the existing industrial prosperity will soon come to an end. Production and employment

already show decreases in the basic industries. Unfilled orders in the steel industry have decreased 30 per cent during the last three or four months. Employment in the bituminous coal industry is decreasing. In many coal fields the miners are working short days and unemployment is already quite general. Textile mills are closing down because of lack of orders. The Amoskeag Mills in New Hampshire have closed down for the first time in 25 years. There is a great overproduction in the copper industry and prices have fallen to the lowest figure in many years. The oil industry is in a catastrophic condition. The development of another crisis and widespread unemployment is forecast by all the symptoms of economic life in this country today. Just now the interlocking financial oligarchy, which is the ruling power in American industry, is throwing in its last reserves to avoid a crisis by having the railroads place larger orders for steel, and the Washington government has begun negotiations for the purpose of making a loan to Germany, with the condition, of course, that the money will have to be spent in the United States.

During the wave of prosperity which is now passing, the working class was able to bring to a halt the offensive of the capitalists and was able, in some cases, to win wage increases and to shorten hours. However, during this period organized labor was not able to strengthen itself. On the contrary, the membership of the American Federation of Labor decreased in the year 1923 from the year before by 269,167 and in the railroad industry the shop crafts organization was practically destroyed. Reports generally in regard to the trade unions indicate that organization is at a low ebb. This crisis will be all the greater because millions of exploited farmers are invading the industries in search of the means of gaining a living.

2. The Political Situation.

A—Political parties in this country have had within the same parties various economic classes. The sharpening of the conflict of economic group interests is developing a situation which makes it impossible for these economic groups to remain together in the same political party. The first result of this clash of economic group interests within the old parties manifests itself in the failure to agree upon a common program. This has developed into factional struggles in many states and the continuance of the divisions which are developing means the split of the old parties. This division is clearer and sharper in the Republican than in the Democratic party, although the latter shows the same tendency.

B—These economic groups whose class interests are in conflict with the ruling big capitalists, such as the lower middle class, the professional groups and the farmers, drawing in their wake a part of the aristocracy of labour, are splitting away from the old parties and the tendency is for these groups to draw together to form a third party which will contain elements from both the old parties and which will enter the political arena as the enemy of the big capitalists who now dominate the government. The La Follette movement, the Hearst-Hylan movement, the Ford-For-President movement, the Farmer-Labour Party of Minnesota, are all expressions of this tendency. The birth of such a party means a revolutionary change in the American political system, but the policies of such a party will be the backward-looking policies of destroying the trusts or regulating the big capitalists and it would be foolish to believe that such a party can bring any fundamental change in the existing industrial system which would be of benefit to the exploited workers and farmers.

On the other hand such a party will weaken and split up the united capitalist class and make impossible a united attack of the capitalists upon the worker.

We must differentiate between such a third party which includes small business men, well-to-do farmers and the professional classes, even though it may call itself a Farmer-Labour Party, and a class Farmer-Labour Party made up of the industrial workers and exploited farmers.

C—There exists a growing sentiment for a labour party which has developed out of the industrial crisis of 1920-21 and the interference of the government in all the great strikes. This movement of the workers expresses itself in two forms: 1. The support of the third party movement, and, 2. In the organization of a class labour party.

The Conference for Progressive Political Action holding under its influence more than a million workers is friendly to, and a great part of the organized workers it represents are supporting, a third party movement.

On the other hand, farmer-labour parties have been organized in some states, such as West Virginia, Minnesota (with the Farmer-Labour Federation expressing the class-conscious element), Montana, and many local labour parties are springing up as in Buffalo, Los Angeles, the Federated Farmer-Labour Party and the American Labour Party of New York, the Federated Farmer-Labour Party of Washington County, Pa., and the Federated Farmer-Labour Party has been organized on a national scale.

While the sentiment and pressure for a labour party is growing, it would be an illusion to believe that an all-inclusive mass labour party will be organized in the near future. The Gompers machine will, as in the past, again support one of the old capitalist parties, Johnston and the Railroad Brotherhood and their followers, organized in the Conference for Progressive Political Action, will undoubtedly follow the third party or support a candidate on the old party ticket. Only the left wing of the labour movement will at the beginning participate in the organization of a mass class party of the farmers and workers. On the other hand the defection of that part of the labour movement controlled by Johnston and Gompers will be counterbalanced by the great mass of desperate farmers who are ready to join in a class Farmer-Labour Party.

3. The Third Party and the Farmer-Labour Party.

A—We must continue our campaign for the organization of a party of the workers and exploited farmers embracing as broad a section of these groups as can be won for a class farmer-labour party. Our policy must be to develop a class party of workers and exploited farmers, and not a third party including the lower middle class and the well-to-do farmers. We may, in special circumstances, be compelled to participate in a farmer-labour party which is in reality a third party, as in Minnesota, but in such a situation it is our duty to develop inside of such an organization of the workers and exploited farmers.

Our goal is not the organization of a so-called third party, even though it may disguise itself and call itself a Farmer-Labour Party, but to organize a class farmer-labour party of workers and exploited farmers.

Where such third parties calling themselves farmer-labour parties arise which include the workers and exploited farmers, we must enter into such parties, but our policy must be to win all the workers and exploited farmers away from the third party and to organize them in a class farmer-labour party.

B—While we carry on our campaign for the organization of a class farmer-labour party we must at the same time carry on a campaign for the third party forces to split away from the old capitalist parties, and whenever a third party is organized we must make an alliance with it against the old capitalist parties and the capitalist government. This alliance must not take the form of organizational unity between the class farmer-labour party and the third party. We will enter into common campaigns with the third party against the capitalist class, such as the maintenance of civil liberties, recognition of Soviet Russia, against intervention to uphold capitalism in Europe, democratization of the government, nationalization of the railroads and mines, measures to enable the farmers to buy at lower prices the products of the great trusts.

a. We will nominate our candidates on the Farmer-Labour Party ticket wherever possible and carry on an independent campaign.

b. Wherever the Farmer-Labour Party candidates have a chance to win we will carry on the fight to elect these candidates against those of the old parties and the third party. Wherever the Socialist Party or any other labour political group has a chance to win we will support these candidates against all other parties including the third party.

c. Wherever neither the Farmer-Labour Party nor the third party candidates have a chance to win we will vote for the Farmer-Labour Party candidates in the election.

d. Where the Farmer-Labour Party candidates have no chance to win and the third party can unquestionably win against the capitalist parties with our support we will vote for the third party candidates.

e. In any case and under all circumstances we will maintain the separate organizational existence of the Farmer-Labour Party, carry on an independent campaign for its separate policies and under its own slogans.

f. While maintaining the alliance with the third party we must at all times carry on a campaign of merciless criticism against it, pointing out the uselessness of its half-measures, its cowardice and hesitation and destroying the illusion that the class struggle can be won through its measures.

4. The Labour Party and the Federated Farmer-Labour Party.

A—There are three great dangers which threaten the labour party movement in the United States at the present time. These forces, if not counteracted, can dissipate and destroy the whole movement for years to come. These forces are as follows:

a. The third party movement and the Ford movement. The workers and exploited farmers of the United States have for so many years supported the Republican and Democratic parties that any organization which breaks away from these old parties will have a tremendous appeal for them and they will not differentiate between such a general third party movement and the class farmer-labour movement. Unless there is a national rallying point for the existing Farmer-Labour groups which represent the class parties there is great danger that these isolated groups will be swept into the third party movement and thus the whole movement for a class labour party will be halted for years to come.

b. There is also the danger that the existing isolated state and city parties will disintegrate and disappear because there is no national expression and no national leadership to give them direction and hold them together. The past history of similar farmer-labour party organizations has been that such isolated parties will not exist for a long time. They can only be made permanent through a national leadership continually formulating policies which bring them into action and thus giving them life and strength. There is also the danger that these isolated parties may carry on independent campaigns locally, but on a national scale still support the old capitalist parties. Thus, for instance, in West Virginia one of the leaders of the party has already announced that the Farmer-Labour Party of West Virginia will have its own candidate and make its own fight in the state of West Virginia, but that on a national scale the members will be free to vote the Republican and Democratic tickets as in the past. A similar expression has been made by Magnus Johnson in relation to the Minnesota Farmer-Labour Party.

c. The presidential campaign of 1924 will be one of the most vital importance to the labour party movement. Unless there is a national crystallization of the labour party movement enabling it to nominate a presidential candidate and to conduct a nationwide campaign, the movement will receive a severe set-back and there will be no hope for organizing a class farmer-labour party on a national scale for some years to come. The whole life of the movement depends upon a national organization and a national campaign and such a campaign is bound to awaken great enthusiasm and enable the class farmer-labour party idea to make great strides forward.

B—All of the foregoing analysis shows conclusively, first, that only the left wing masses of the labour and farmer movement will at first participate in the organization of the class farmer-labour party and, second, that unless such a class farmer-labour party is organized on a national scale for the 1924 election the whole movement will be dissipated and destroyed for years to come. Our policy, therefore, must be to organize the left wing bloc among the workers and exploited farmers into a national farmer-labour party for the 1924 elections.

C—The Federated Farmer-Labour Party is the beginning of the organization of the left wing of the exploited farmers and industrial workers. We must, as part of the campaign for the organization of the whole left wing, assist in maintaining, organizing and strengthening the Federated Farmer-Labour Party.

a. We should also seek to have the Federated Farmer-Labour Party as an instrument for propaganda for the idea of the all-inclusive mass farmer-labour party and must draw as broad a mass of the workers and exploited farmers into the labour party as possible.

b. The Federated Farmer-Labour Party must organize wherever possible and affiliate those organizations of which it can win the support.

c. The campaign of the Federated Party should be carried on to secure:

1. Affiliation wherever possible.
2. Where we are not strong enough to secure affiliations we should seek endorsement.
3. If we are unable to secure either affiliation or endorsement we should endeavor to have delegates sent to the next convention.

D—The Federated Farmer-Labour Party should consider each situation separately and thoroughly. It should organize the Federated Farmer-Labour Party only in such places in which the organization of the Federated Farmer-Labour will not bring a split of the left wing that is, of the followers of the Class-labour-party movement. In the process of organization of the Federated Farmer-Labour Party it will come in conflict with some of the progressive leaders in the labour movement. Its effort must be, through a careful policy, to clarify these progressive leaders and to win them for the organization of the Federated Farmer-Labour Party, but it cannot sacrifice the organization of the left wing masses because of the hesitancy and irresolution of individual progressives here and there, provided that it can carry with it the masses.

E—Where a class farmer-labour party exists we must endeavor to become affiliated with it and must carry on propaganda for its radicalization and for national affiliations.

F—The Farmer-Labour Party is an expression of the united front. While it must be our policy to draw as large a mass of workers as possible into the united front, this does not mean that we cannot at a particular time organize a united front with those groups which are ready to join us. It is not sufficient to carry on propaganda and to build up a vague sentiment for a united front on some particular issue. The propaganda and the building of such sentiment must be followed by organization or it will quickly dissipate itself. Where we build a united front organization which includes only a part of the masses it is our task to endeavor to expand it and draw as many as possible of the workers into the organization.

G—All our organizational effort should be to assist the Federated Farmer-Labour Party to create a national crystallization of the class farmer-labour movement for the 1924 campaign. To achieve this end we will not insist upon a dogmatic attitude that the national convention, in which such crystallization will take place, must come in the form of a convention of the Federated Farmer-Labour Party. On the contrary, our effort must be to secure support of as many groups as possible for such a convention. The call for the convention should be signed by the Federated Farmer-Labour Party and if possible, by the West Virginia Farmer-Labour Party, the Montana Farmer-Labour party, that Federated Farmer-Labour Party of New York, the Federated Farmer-Labour party of Washington County, Pa., and any other local or state group which may be organized.

The policy of the Conference for Progressive Political Action creates a situation which will force the Socialist Party into a different position. The Socialist Party is not likely to follow Johnston in support of one of the old parties. Unless it is to completely isolate itself it must come closer to the existing Farmer-Labour Party movement. Our policy must be to hasten this development and to endeavor to secure the support of the Socialist Party for the call for the 1924 convention.

H—The Federated Farmer-Labour Party should not only carry on a struggle to organize itself in the industrial centers, but should make the greatest effort to win the support of the labouring farmers. All the facts indicate that there are great masses of farmers who can be won for the Federated Farmer-Labour Party.

5. Dangers to the Workers Party.

A—The manouvres in relation to and the third party constitute a serious danger to the Workers Party unless our members are given a clear Communist understanding of our strategy and tactics in each particular situation. This makes it necessary to immediately begin a thorough-going campaign of education in fundamental Communist principles among our members and thus to create a party membership which will never forget its fundamental Communist principles in these manouvres of the class struggle.

B—As part of the campaign of education we must also develop a stronger discipline among our members. It is only if the party members understand that they are soldiers in an army which is carrying on difficult manouvres in a battle of the class struggle

and that unhesitating loyalty to the party is a first requisite of victory in these manoeuvres, that we can hope to successfully carry through the manoeuvres we undertake.

C—In order to impress upon our membership the real character of a Communist party we must develop campaigns which are directed against the capitalist system and the capitalist government. Our struggles in the past have been largely struggles within the trade unions against reactionary labour leaders. Unless we combine with these struggles greater battles against the capitalist class our members and even the masses of the workers will get a one-sided impression of the character of our party. The utilization of the discontent of the masses for such campaigns is therefore of the first importance.

D—One of the methods through which we carry on our campaigns against the capitalists is to participate in election campaigns in opposition to the capitalist parties. Thus far our party has in principle declared itself in favor of parliamentary action but in practice it has been an anti-parliamentary organization. We must change these conditions and throw our party into the election campaigns. This also applies to political action against the capitalist government both in and outside of election campaigns.

E—The campaign for ten thousand new members for the party must be supported with all the strength of our party. At the present time our interests and campaigns are of such a widespread nature that our party organization is unable to carry them on successfully with its present strength. We must increase the membership of the party in order that we may have the forces at our command to carry through the many actions in which we are involved.

F—The Daily Worker will aid in carrying through all of the measures necessary to strengthen our party. It will be a means of Communist education, a means of teaching our members the needs and the purpose of our various actions and the establishment of the daily is one of the important factors in strengthening our party and overcoming the dangers which face it.

G—Danger of new prosecutions directed at the destruction of our party continues to exist. We cannot forecast when the Class Struggle will so sharpen that the ruling class will find it necessary to launch again an attack upon the Communists and through such an attack endeavor to crush the whole revolutionary movement. We must take measures to safeguard our party against the possibilities of such an attack.

Resolutions of the Conference of the Balkan Communist Federation.

II.

The Bulgarian Question.

1. The economic and political conditions after the "coup d'Etat" of the 9th of June 1923, which placed in power a small bourgeois group, and led to the formation of a government directed purely against the interests of the broad labouring masses, have necessarily dictated a policy looking to the overthrow of the counter-revolutionary government, and to the formation of a government relying upon the workers and peasants. Therefore the line of conduct adopted by the Communist Party in August and September and which expressed itself in an armed revolt, was fully justified and dictated as much by interior as by exterior circumstances.

2. The Zankov government which represented the interests of the bourgeoisie was incapable of conducting a policy both as regards home or foreign affairs which defends the interests of Bulgaria. Its activity was exclusively turned, firstly to the destruction of the workers organizations, secondly to the imposition upon the workers and peasants of the burden of taxation, which during the preceding period had been placed upon the bourgeoisie, and thirdly to the exonerating of the bourgeoisie from all the laws which restricted the "liberty of commerce, of work and of private property". All that created an intolerable situation in the country: the government was only able to maintain itself depending upon armed detachments of officers, and on the armed forces of the Russian counter revolutionaries out of Wrangel's army.

3. After June the 9th, the peasants quickly became convinced of the injury which the Stambuliski government had done them, in alienating from them the sympathies of the workers; they recognised the necessity for a common action against the bourgeois-capitalist offensive. That is why they directed their sympathies towards the workers and the Communist Party. The tactics of united front carried out by the party after the 9th of June were rightly employed as regards the agrarian union, as well as in regard to the Social-Democratic Party and all the other organizations of the working masses. It succeeded in a very high degree in reinforcing the front of the workers and in popularising the slogan of the Workers' and Peasants' Government.

4. The exterior circumstances prevailing in August and September were favourable for the overthrow of the counter-revolutionary Zankov government, as the chief danger of a Yugoslavian intervention was averted on the one side by the anti-Serb policy of the Zankov government, and on the other side by the fact that the Italian-Yugoslavian conflict was requiring all the attention of the Belgrade government; Greece was also entirely absorbed in the struggle against Italy. Finally, the German events were absorbing all the forces of the Great Powers and of the Little Entente, thus the external dangers which might threaten a Bulgarian Workers' and Peasants' Government, were at least neutralized during the first period.

5. In this manner the objective conditions for the overthrow of the Zankov government and for the establishment of a workers' and peasants' government became continually more favourable for the Communist Party which mainly conducted the fight. Its influence increased rapidly on the great urban and rural masses. Armed insurrection was the only practicable way. Therefore the insurrection of September, in spite of the defeat which followed it, has not at all diminished the influence of the Party among the workers and peasants. The Party has preserved its reputation with the great working masses, and by the blood shed by its members has shown, that it knows how to defend the interests of the workers and peasants. Moreover it is quite certain that if the Communist Party had not acted with energy, it would have sustained an inner as well as an outward defeat, and would have been discredited in the eyes of the masses. Nevertheless, the military defeat which it suffered in September, required rigorous analysis, and the lessons which will be drawn from it, will be useful as well to other parties as to the Bulgarian Party itself.

6. One must recognise the root causes of the defeat, which the Communist Party of Bulgaria has experienced, in the following facts:

a) The insurrection was forced upon the Party, before it had succeeded in organically consolidating its Alliance with the Agrarian Union, and before it had finished its technical and military preparations.

b) The armed insurrection was launched just after the government had delivered a heavy blow at the Party. On the 12th of September, the whole leading Party apparatus was arrested, and, in addition, numerous active groups of Party functionaries and workers both in the capital and in other localities were arrested by the government. The enfeebled and disorganized Party nevertheless threw itself into the armed insurrection.

c) Lack of arms and bad pre-conditions made themselves felt from the beginning on the activity of the insurgents. As a result of the relative numerical weakness of the urban proletariat, common action of town and country was necessary. Nevertheless, with a few exceptions, this co-operation unfortunately was not able to be realized, and the government succeeded in nipping in the bud the insurrection of the towns. The revolting villages, poorly armed, were left without central direction and organization, and were, one after the other, crushed by the government detachments who were better armed and manoeuvring in freedom.

d) The revolutionary experience of the Bulgarian workers and peasants as well as that of the Bulgarian Communist Party was insufficient.

7. In spite of this defeat, the situation in Bulgaria from the economic and political point of view, remains essentially unchanged, and the Zankov government is just as incapable now as before of pursuing an external policy advantageous to the interests of the country, of meeting the need of the workers and peasants. A fresh revival of the movement in Bulgaria is inevitable and the Party should profit by all the lessons of the

defeat and the conditions created in Bulgaria at the present time for organizing its work.

8. The chief task of the Party consists in adopting its apparatus to the conditions which have been created in Bulgaria.

9. The Party ought principally to concentrate its attention on the movement of the masses of workers and peasants, and make use of every possibility which presents itself.

10. At the same time the Party must take advantage of all the legal facilities to re-strengthen its organization and its position in the country.

11. In order to co-ordinate its action the Bulgarian Party must strive more than hitherto to strengthen its connection with the brother-parties of the Balkans.

III.

The Agrarian and Peasant Question in Greece.

The majority of the population of Greece is composed of tillers of the soil, of whom more than half are land-less peasants or small holders. Agricultural property is in a flourishing state. In Epirus, Thessaly, Macedonia and Thrace, the greater part of the cultivable land is in the hand of the great proprietors, of the Court and of the Monasteries. In many places, there remain still traces of feudal relationship; many of the peasants hold their land in return for half the produce.

The middle class and poor peasants are, in addition to that, very much in debt, and the usurers are often the real proprietors of their farms and stock. The ten years of war have specially ruined these peasant classes.

On the one hand the mobilization deprived the peasants undertakings of their labour forces and thus destroyed their productivity; on the other hand the government increased the taxes beyond all measure. As a consequence of this, numerous peasants had been ruined. But in spite of this impoverishment, there is in the country no widely organized peasant movement.

The existing peasants', producers' and consumers' co-operatives, in spite of their great extent, only include the middle rich peasantry. Organized upon the capitalist basis of sale and purchase, they do not wish to, nor could they attract the large sections of poor peasants. In spite of their capitalist character, the co-operatives none the less play a certain part in the struggle against the big land-owners and farmers, and ought to be utilized more widely in the future in this direction. The recent attempts of bourgeois politicians, to organize a peasant party, clearly proves that the bourgeoisie takes into account the potential force which the peasantry represents, and that it wishes to exploit it.

The Greek Communist Party must undertake the organization of the peasantry and not allow itself to be forestalled by the bourgeoisie. As the working class only forms an insignificant portion of the Greek population, it is evident that only the alliance of the workers and peasants will be capable of carrying through the socialist revolution. Nevertheless, the Greek party has up to the present done very little for the realization and the consolidation of this union. Although it is true, the slogans of the confiscation of landed estates in favour of the peasants, and of the workers and peasants government have been issued, but very little has been done to unite and organize the peasants to these ends.

To create a close contact between the Communist Party and the working peasantry, to re-inforce the influence of the party on the peasant masses, not only a program of agrarian reform is necessary, but also measures of organization, destined to consolidate the relations between the Party and the peasantry. In view of all these circumstances therefore, the Conference of the Communist Parties of the Balkans proposes to the Greek Communist Party the widest propagation and carrying out of the following slogans:

1. All the estates of the large land-owners of the farmers, the state, the monasteries, must be confiscated without compensation and placed at the disposal of the poor peasants.

2. To carry out this confiscation and to distribute these estates, the peasants must everywhere set up peasants' committees, to which such peasants who exploit the work of others would not be appointed.

3. The Communist Party shall maintain the closest relations with the peasants co-operatives and shall form with them a united front in the economic and political struggle against the big land-owners and farmers.

4. The Party shall carry on an agitation campaign for the enlarging of the basis of the peasant co-operatives, so that they shall include the poor peasants and be directed by them.

5. In order to organize the activity of the Party among the peasants, Land Work Committees shall be formed in the Central Committee of the Party and also in the district organizations. Into these Commissions there must be drawn the Unions of War Invalids and demobilized soldiers who are under the influence of the Communist Party. In general these unions must be extensively made use of for work in the villages.

6. The Greek Party must undertake to publish as soon as possible at least one journal destined to be circulated among the peasants, and to edit a series of popular brochures on questions which interest the peasant masses.

7. All the existing organs of the Communist press must have a column devoted to peasants life and must procure peasant correspondents.

8. The party must immediately undertake the organization of an agricultural labourers trade union.

9. The Central Committee of the Party must convoke in a very short time a conference to discuss activities in the country and there elaborate special directions for the Party organizations in this sphere. This conference must also elaborate a programme of action for the peasant masses regarding the following questions:

a) Fight against the usurer.

b) Cheap credit.

c) The question of taxes.

d) Withdrawal of the gendarmerie and the police from the villages.

e) Boycotting of rents and taxes etc.

IV.

The Question of the National Minorities in Greece.

1. Greece, which belonged to the Balkan Coalition formed against the Turks, obtained, after the war of 1912 and 1913, territory peopled by other nationalities (Macedonia, Epirus and the Aegean islands). Her participation in the European war also obtained for her a part of Thrace which is peopled by a great number of non-Greekish elements. The heterogenous elements of Greece belong to different Balkan nationalities. There are Turks, Bulgarians, Jews, Albanians, Armenians and Roumanians. Turks are the most numerous and at present inhabit all the regions of New Greece (acquired since 1912). Then come the Bulgarians, dwelling in Macedonia and in Thrace. The Roumanians inhabit the south-west of Macedonia, the Albanians Epirus, while the Jews and the Armenians are scattered about in the towns of New Greece.

2. Among the national minorities, the Bulgarians and the Albanians are deprived of all educational autonomy and cultural independence. The Greek bourgeoisie forbids them the use of their mother tongue, as well as the establishment and attendance of their own schools. The forced Hellenisation of the new regions, begun by the partisans of Venizelos, is continued. A great portion of them have been forced by oppression and misery to expatriate themselves and to abandon their possessions. The Greek government is installing fugitives from Asia Minor in the houses and villages from which it has driven the Turks. Exile and expropriation also threaten the Bulgarians who continue to speak their own language or show in any way whatever that they do not wish to renounce their own nationality.

The forced expropriation of the Turk population resident in Greece, carried out on the basis of the last peace treaty between the Greeks and the Kemalists, is reducing the Turkish masses to despair, because they have to abandon the land of their birth and their goods, and proceed to Turkey, in order to be installed in the houses and fields of the Greeks expelled by Kemal Pascha. The same danger also threatens the Bulgarians resident in Greece, because the Bulgarian Government is negotiating a similar treaty with the Greece government.

3. The cruel manner in which the Balkan bourgeoisie seeks to solve the problem of national minorities, and the oppressive measures adopted against foreign elements, must attract the attention of the Balkan Communist Federation. The Greek Communist Party must fight with all the means at its disposal against the oppressive policy practised by the Greek bourgeoisie against national minorities.

It must before all raise its voice and fight most bitterly against the attempt to Hellenise the new territories by the expulsion of the Turks and Bulgarians. One of its aims must be the annulment of the treaty for the exchange of the populations which was concluded between the Greek and Turkish governments.

It must together with the Bulgarian C. P. do all in its power, to prevent the conclusion between the Greek and Bulgarian governments of a similar treaty as that concluded between Turkey and Greece.

The C. P. must fight for the political and cultural freedom of national minorities. It must proclaim the right of minorities to self-determination. This right to self-determination should even give the right to compact national minorities to separate from Greece.

The Party will principally defend the national demands of the working masses of the national minorities and will form a united front with their national mass-organizations.

4. The Communist Party will do its best to carry out the resolutions adopted with regard to Macedonia and Thrace*).

V.

The General Situation in Roumania.

The Sixth Conference of the Balkan Communist Federation states that:

1. The economic crisis which condemns Roumanian production to gradual extinction, cannot be surmounted by the oligarchy of bankers and big proprietors in power. The fear of losing their profits forces this oligarchy to deliver the country up to Entente capital, and thus to subject the proletariat and peasantry to a doubled exploitation. In order to execute this plan, the financial oligarchy is bound to unite with the industrial and commercial bourgeoisie, to cede a share of its booty, and form a united front of the bourgeoisie against the labouring masses of workers and peasants.

2. From the political point of view, the Roumanian government will thereby become a willing vassal of the imperialist capital of the Entente, and will oppose with all its force the movement of the Balkan proletariat as well as the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics.

The attitude of the Roumanian government with regard to the revolutionary emancipatory struggle of the Bulgarian peasants and workers, and the huge loans realized by the government for the increase of an army already too big, are proofs of the enslavement of the country to the Entente, and show the reactionary and aggressive rôle which Roumania is destined to play. The dealings of the Roumania bourgeoisie with Entente Capital amount to treason, as they make for the annihilation of the political independence of the country and proclaim the readiness of the bourgeoisie to defend its interests even at the price of the blood and misery of the labouring and middle classes of Roumania.

3. The economic crisis has become more acute recently, parallel with the increase in the degree of class exploitation and class antagonism. The offensive of Capital, in spite of the defensive campaign of the broadest strata of the working class, has made great headway. Every where the real wage of the workers has fallen to two thirds, and even less, of what it was last year. A general offensive has been taken up against the eight hour day, and in spite of desperate resistance on the part of men and women workers, has been crowned with success. But these defensive struggles have closed the ranks of the proletariat and strengthened the trade unions. The purely trade union struggle proves itself more and more insufficient. The Social Democratic Party, which shows by its policy that it is lacking the will to fight for the interest of the broad working masses, is helping by its policy of disruption to prevent the organisatory as well as the political strengthening of the workers movement. The working class is also detaching itself more and more from the policy of compromise of the Social Democratic Party.

Based upon this policy of the Social Democratic Party, the liberal government of the financial and territorial oligarchy is trying to hamper the workers campaign by systematic organized repression. The state of siege, the suspension of all civil liberties, the ruthless application of anti-strike and trade unions laws, and Courts Martial, characterise the anti-workers' policy of the Roumanian government.

4. The burden of taxation and high prices and the pitiless repression does not only affect the actual proletariat, it threatens more and more the life of the whole of the non-capitalist population. The middle-classes, the petty-bourgeoisie officials,

the liberal professions etc. sink still more rapidly than the working class into material and moral misery. With the growth of this misery, these sections are goaded on to struggle and to organise. A multiple-headed fascist movement is seen to flourish rapidly in the country, the leadership of which rests, nevertheless, in general in the hands of different bourgeois cliques, which play off the diverse tendencies against the national minorities and against the militant working class as well as against another. Simultaneously with the setting up of its united front, the Roumanian bourgeoisie is also striving to bring about the united front of Fascism.

The non-Fascist elements of the middle-classes of the country are trying to form organizations directed against the bourgeois parties in power, as for example the Tenants Organization and the "Citizens League of Officials". This movement is also coming into collision with the resolute and clever resistance of the government.

5. In view of the composition of the Roumanian population and the purely agrarian character of the production of the country, the peasants remain the principal object of capitalist and feudal exploitation. Bourgeois economists assert that the condition of the Roumanian peasants, in spite of a partial distribution of the land, is far from reaching its former standard, although before the Russian revolution the misery of the Roumanian peasants was unprecedented, and had already roused revolts followed by bloody repressions. By the methodical fixing of the price of bread and the exportation of cereals, by taxation and service etc., the government renders this misery intolerable. By a well organized terror, it seeks to make these rebellious peasants tractable.

In the countries newly annexed, the oppression increases beyond all measure and takes on national forms. Entire provinces are placed outside the law; executions without any conviction are the order of the day. This oppression extends over the whole of the conquered population, is carried on under the form of cultural and religious intolerance, extends everywhere the economic yoke of the bourgeoisie of original Roumania upon the workers and middle classes, and even upon certain elements of the bourgeoisie of the newly acquired regions.

The great majority of the peasants are still unorganized, either politically or economically, and remain partially under the influence of the bourgeois parties; but the outward conditions inevitably force the peasantry towards the struggle. Nevertheless, the action of the peasants cannot play any decisive role, because the best organized rural party, the Peasant Party, by reason of its alliance with the land owners, by reason of its indecision and lack of principles, as well as by reason of its repeated coalitions with the bourgeois parties, is exclusively a parliamentary party, incapable of conducting a ruthless class struggle against the bourgeoisie and by land owners.

Likewise the national action of the peasant masses and of the petty-bourgeoisie of the conquered provinces fails because of the systematic betrayal of their own bourgeoisie and of the big land-owning class.

6. The constant increase of the misery and oppression of the working class, of the peasants, of the nationalities and of the middle-classes has sharpened the struggle of the masses against the bourgeoisie; but the activities of the various elements of the population remain dispersed and, in consequence of hesitating or treacherous leadership achieve no result. The rôle of the Communist Party is to place itself resolutely at the head of the class struggle against the bourgeoisie. The Party must show to the masses the only way out of their situation; a united front in the struggle, vanquishment of the bourgeoisie and a workers' and peasants' government as the first step towards the dictatorship of the working classes.

7. In pursuit of this aim the C. P. of Roumania must:

a) promote the union of the working class in the struggle against the bourgeoisie, strive to re-establish the unity of the trade union movement, strengthen the revolutionary elements in the trade unions. From the political standpoint: the Party must unweariedly conduct a united front policy against the Social Democratic Party, unite in action the sections of the working class still influenced by the Social Democrats, with the revolutionary mass and seek to draw in the broad masses of the industrially and politically unorganized;

b) adapt and strengthen its organization in order to get into touch with the working class at its places of work;

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c) destroy the barriers which the government has set up between the town and country, extend the party organizations into the country, convince the peasants, by adopting a very clear political attitude, of the necessity of a united front of urban and rural workers, develop the activity of the peasantry to its fullest extent, achieve the participation of the Peasant Party itself in the struggle;

d) conduct an energetic propaganda and agitation, in order to show the broad masses that the C. P. is really a vanguard fighting in the interests of the great majority of the population.

e) realize the united front of the workers, peasants, exploited middle classes and oppressed nationalities:

against the ever more threatening danger of war;
against Fascism;

against the strangulation policy of the dominant class (increase in cost of living, taxes, housing, social assistance);

against the political oppression through the state of siege;

against the reactionary government which is betraying the country;

for the liberation of the workers and peasants of Roumania from the yoke of the Entente;

for the liberation of the peoples oppressed by the Roumanian bourgeoisie through the peace treaties;

for the liberation of the peasants, workers and poor middle-class from the intolerable yoke of capitalist exploitation;

for the Workers' and Peasants' Government of Roumania;

for the Federation of the Workers' and Peasants' Republics of the countries of the Balkans and of the Danube.

VI.

The National Question in Roumania.

Capitalist Roumania is among those states which have increased in consequence of the imperialist world war. By the "re-union of all the Roumanians", it has subdued important national minorities, which have a superior political, economic and cultural development. The various nationalities of Great Roumania, in spite of the "guarantees" specified in various peace treaties, are cruelly oppressed by the feudal Roumanian oligarchy. The desperate efforts which have been made by the national minorities of the country to ameliorate their economic, political and cultural condition, have failed up to now because of the treason of their own bourgeoisie and of the political and military terror exercised by the dominant class in Roumania.

The Great Roumanian bourgeoisie which unscrupulously delivers the "unified and liberated Fatherland" up to the Entente capital, at the same time robs the masses of the national minorities of their most elementary rights and deprives them of all possibility of economic, political and cultural development. Among the nationalities in Roumania, only the Germans and the Hungarians (Magyars) have their own political parties, but being under the leadership of the magnates and capitalists of these parties, they are incapable of defending the true interests of these nationalities.

The scandalous oppression of the nationalities from the economic and political point of view explains the resistance of the great popular masses of these nationalities to Pan-Roumanian Capitalism. The labouring classes, workers and peasants of Bessarabia, who experienced the Russian revolution in its first stage and who groan under the Roumanian military dictatorship, every day express their firm national-revolutionary desire to unite with the Union of the Socialist Soviet Republics, thus assuring their future development and guaranteeing their vital interests against all oppression. The Hungarian and German masses of workers and peasants of Transsylvania, the German and Ukrainian working population of Bukovina and of the Cadrilater are suffering not less. The strangling policy of the Roumanian bourgeoisie creates an intolerable situation, drives them to exile, doubles their misery and forces them to regress economically, politically and culturally. The nationalities of Transsylvania, of Dobrudja and of Bukovina are therefore struggling to win back the right to decide their own fate at the cost of heroic sacrifices not inferior to those of Bessarabia.

In view of these separatist movements of the various nationalities of Roumania, the C. P. of Roumania has the following duties:

1. To expose in its daily agitation and propaganda the anti-national character of the dominant Roumanian bourgeoisie,

the treason of the Hungarian magnates, of the German manufacturers, of the Russian and Bulgarian big land owners and their alliance with the Roumanian oligarchy; to expose the hypocrisy and incapacity of the Social-Democrats to solve questions of nationalities; to arouse the working classes of all the nationalities against the chauvinism of the national bourgeoisies; to fight ruthlessly against anti-semitism as an attempt to divert the attention of the working classes from social questions; at the same time to emphasize that the C. P. fights Jewish capital as every other and proposes to unite the Jewish labouring masses with those of the revolutionary proletariat; to show the Roumanian labouring population that the struggle of the nationalities against the power of the Roumanian bourgeoisie reinforces the emancipatory struggle of the Roumanian proletariat, and that it is a matter of first importance for the final victory of the revolution and the true independence of Roumania, that the efforts of the workers and peasants of the various nationalities on the basis of the principle of the right of nations to self-determination, up to complete separation from the existing state organism, be strengthened by all possible means.

2. To intervene in favour of all the oppressed and of all the exploited against all manifestations of national oppression and against the principle of the dominant nationality and language; to intervene for the complete equality of nationalities; to fight against all restrictions injurious to nationalities, whether economic, political or cultural (Roumanisation enforced by colonisation, school, church etc.);

to support unconditionally all demands of nationalities in whatever concerns their free participation in governmental and local administration, in the unlimited employment of their national language in the schools and in all domains of public life, as also liberty of the press, of religion and of cultural development.

3. To urge the necessity for the alliance of the revolutionary proletariat and the persecuted masses of national minorities; to emphasize that only the social revolution of the working classes will bring the complete liberation of the nationalities; to concentrate all the combative energies of the popular masses of the various nationalities and of their national-revolutionary organisations, legal or illegal, in a united front against the Roumanian bourgeoisie and its state power for the constitution of a Workers' and Peasants' Government and the Federation of the free independent Workers' and Peasants' Republics with equal rights.

The Expulsion of Angelica Balabanoff.

"Pravda" of April 8th announces the expulsion of Angelica Balabanoff from the Russian Communist Party "because of her return to her former Menshevist attitude and of the active assistance which she lent with all means to the counter-revolutionary Social Democrats of Italy in the struggle against the Comintern".

In the same number of "Pravda" E. Yaroslavsky comments upon this expulsion. We give herewith the concluding passage of his article.

"About 1918 Angelica Balabanoff adhered to our party after having passed a long time in the organizations of the Mensheviks. For some time her attitude was more or less correct, and then she returned to her old Menshevist sympathies and her old attitude. It is truly a great misfortune for the Italian comrades that Balabanoff did not remain to the end in the reformist party and that she should have belonged temporarily to the Communist Party. Nothing is more revolting than her present attitude towards the Italian Communists. She is attacking them in the moment when fascism is let loose against them, when thousands of them fill the prisons of Italy and their organizations are everywhere destroyed whilst Nenni, a sorry reformer, up till 1921 a member of a bourgeois democratic party, takes charge of 'Avanti!' and adapts himself to the taste of Mussolini. After the Italian Socialists had excluded Serrati and with him about 3000 workers who sympathised with the Communist International, Balabanoff published an article entitled 'Our Torch' in 'Avanti!' of February 19th, not to attack Nenni and his kind, the Mensheviks and opportunists of Italy who have seized organizations that rightfully belong to the Communists, but to attack the latter.

She now praises Nenni and his political co-religionists because their party 'offered such a resistance to the effort to destroy them from within'.

The Communist Party has no need of such deserters. We blush to think that during several years she belonged to the Russian Communist Party. And if she now turns to her comrades in the struggle, the Italian reformists, crying, 'Keep the party flag up, comrades' we all reply to her, 'It is seeming for you to keep up the flag that combats the international of the labour revolution. But do not touch ours.'

THE YOUTH MOVEMENT

To the Young Workers in Town and Country of Europe, America, the Orient and the Colonies!

To the Young Soldiers and Sailors!

To the Communist Youth Organisations!

The 1st of May, the day of the world struggle of the mass of workers is once more there. On this day the Comintern calls upon all those who work in town and country, by strike, by huge meetings and by mass demonstrations to make known their will to fight. We turn to the young working people of all lands to follow this call also and to take part in large numbers in the manifestations of the May 1st under the sign of the Communist International. The 1st of May is also the day of struggle for the young working people who unite their demands this day to the demands of the whole of the workers and who take their places more than ever in the ranks of the common fighting front.

Even more than the adult workers the young working people of all lands suffer under the yoke of capitalism, the economic exploitation, the white terror, the war peril, in the orient and the colonies under the slave existence. No place have the Social Democrat young people done anything for the working young people. They have shared the completely treasonable policy of the alliance with the bourgeois, which is carried on by the Social Democratic parties. In their whole attitude the Social Democratic parties are showing themselves more and more openly and unreservedly as confederates of the bourgeois against the mass of the workers. In many lands they are even a wing of the fascists. Only the organisations of the Communist Young People and the Communist Youth International represent the interests of the working young people and conduct a hard sacrificing, but untiringly enthusiastic struggle on their behalf.

The Communist Youth International has developed ever more strongly forward. It is our task to make their societies the mass organisation of the working young people.

Young workers of both sexes, young peasants! Unite in masses with the Communist Youth International which stands for you with all its strength and will always do so.

The economic exploitation of the working young people is becoming continually worse and exceeds all measure.

On May 1st raise your voice for your demands.

The rule of terror of the white bourgeois dictatorship, the persecutions on the part of the fascist hangmen of the bourgeois are weighing heavily upon the mass of the young working people. Unite in a single front for the struggle. Follow the Communist Party and the Communist Youth who are leading the masses to the deciding struggle against the white terror.

The militarism of the bourgeois states is becoming steadily worse and greater. All promises of peace, and disarmament are proving to be capitalist deception. As before 1914 threats of new gigantic imperialist wars are rising everywhere which will put all in the shade that has so far occurred. Once again the working young people of town and country shall bring the greatest sacrifices under militarism and war.

Young Working of the Towns, Agricultural Workers, Working Peasant Youth in the Country you have all common enemies and common interests. The young working people of the country suffer also under the exploitation of capitalism, bourgeois militarism, fascism and white terror. Only by a common struggle can the young workers and the young peasants free themselves from oppression and exploitation.

Also the working young people of the capitalist lands and the multifariously exploited and oppressed young people of the Orient and the colonies have the same complete fraternal equal interests. Only a close fraternal partnership can free the one as well as the other.

Young working people of all lands and all continents. Young working people in town and country, young workers in the uniform!

Raise the common shout on May 1st. By a great joint, march in the ranks of the working masses make the bourgeois tremble. Rally under the flag of Lenin. Let your demands resound in the battly cry: All Power to the Soviets.

Stand firmer and more solidly than ever by the first worker and peasant power in the world, the place of refuge and the protector of all oppressed, by Soviet Russia.

The 1st of May forever.

The Executive Committee
of the Communist Youth International.

THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT

The Women's Movement in India and in the Far East.

By V. Kasparova (Moscow).

India.

101 million men are employed in production in India. The middle of the XIX century witnessed the development of a female industrial proletariat. To every hundred men workers there are, on an average, 38 women workers. The textile (weaving) industry alone employs 1,767,193 women. The spinning and cotton preparing industries employ 1,915,714 women to 1,921,977 men. In other industries there are 41 women to 100 men. On tea plantations — 91 women to 100 men, on coffee plantations — 79 women to 100 men, and in the mines — 38%. Throughout the factories there are 6,011,763 women among the 17,515,920 workers and clerical staffs. In 1911 the number of people employed in agricultural work in India was: 19,139,438 peasant women and 51,956,508 men peasants, 42,720,585 women agricultural labourers and 13,158,684 men agricultural labourers.

Before the world war Indian industries owed their development to British capital, which relentlessly exploited the native wealth of the country, as well as the native labour. The result of the penetration of British capital in India was — the development of an Indian proletariat and the participation of the Indian women in industrial production. During the world war Indian national industries received an impetus together with the growth of the native bourgeoisie. In 1914, there were 150 textile factories in Bombay, Madras, and in the Central provinces. In 1920 there were 2777 factories. In proportion to this increase, was the increase in the number of women factory workers.

The wages of Indian working women in all branches of industry are extremely low and are twice or three times lower than men's wages. In 1920 wages were increased by 50%, but the cost of living increased by 150 to 200%.

Previous to the Washington Conference (1919) and to the development of the workers' movement, laws for the protection of female and child labour were practically non-existent, although according to the law of 1911 an 11 hour working day for women and a six hour working day for children (from 9 to 14 years) were established.

As a consequence of such miserable pay, Indian working women live in appalling conditions and partake of food only once a day. There is an excessive mortality among working women and children in India. Until the end of the last century there existed in several parts of India the custom of killing newly born girls. The pitiful economic position of working women in India is intensified by their dependent position in the family, which is an age long institution connected with the division of Indian society into strictly separate castes. Factory workers, male and female, come from the lowest castes (Suhr and Pariah).

According to the "Mamu., laws, a woman in India has no personal life. Widows are not allowed to re-marry. Until a few decades ago the custom of early marriages for girls (from the age of 5) prevailed among Hindus.

According to the 1911 census, there were 302,425 married women of the age of 1—5, and 17,703 widows of the same age. In 1911 there were 2,219,778 married women from 5 to 10 years of age, and 94,970 widows of the same age.

The conquest of India by the Mongols 800 years ago intensified the enslavement of women by the introduction of seclusion

for women in "Zenanh,, (separate apartments for women) and the covering of women's faces in the presence of men by the "Purdah,, (veil). But the latter custom was only adopted by Mohammedans and not by Hindus. In Northern India there are 70,000,000 Mohammedans. The development of industrial capital and of the national bourgeoisie in India brought with it a change in the position of women. The transition to the capitalist structure of society called forth a woman's movement in India. The penetration of foreign capital into India not only brought into being a working class, but it was also the primary incentive to the development of the native bourgeoisie, and with it the nationalist movement. But the women's movement in India for equality of rights was, from its very inception, under the direct or indirect influence of the English women's movement. Many of the best known women engaged in political work in India are either of British descent or were educated in England, as for instance Annie Besant, the founder of the Women's League of "Home Rule,, for India, and others. Not only was the liberation and bourgeois Women's Movement in India under the influence of the ideology of the British women intellectuals, but even the workers movement in India, which developed after the war, showed signs of the ideological influence and even of the forms of organization of the British Women's Labour Movement. This applies to the "League of Social Activities,, established in Madras in 1920 for the application of the decisions of the Washington Conference and to the trade unions for working women in India, which became federated in 1923. The secretary of the latter is Mill Enson. By its relentless exploitation of the working class in India, British Capitalism is digging its own grave, having aroused the class consciousness of the workers and brought into being a revolutionary movement not only among the male, but also among the female population.

The question of the emancipation of the Mahomedan women of India from the "Zenannah,, and from the "Purdah,, was broached at the first All Indian Mohammedan Conference in 1919. The Conference convened by the woman ruler (Begum) of the native State of Bopal, rallied thousands of Mohammedan women around the question of family and social emancipation of women, and of Mohammedan girls' education. In 1919 and 1920, when many nationalist public meetings were held, Mohammedan women attended these meetings, but they were veiled and listened to the speeches from a secluded part of the hall. In 1921 the wife and the mother of the political agitator Mahomed-Ali spoke openly at public meetings and discarded the "Purdah,,.

The question of the education of women became very acute after the war, in connection with the necessity for women's economic independence. In 1922, in the town of Alahabad a special women's university was established. The Begum (woman ruler) of Bopal is the chief secretary of the Moslem University in Aligari.

One of the pioneers of Indian revolution is Sarala Bela Devi, the niece of the poet Rabindranath Tagore, who was educated in the Calcutta University which was the initiator of the society of Physical Culture for the young. This society became subsequently a revolutionary organization.

Already in the pre-war period women participated in the revolutionary national movement in India. The most prominent among these women were — Sarala Devi, Saroidina Naidu, Bos, Ragava and the famous old Indian revolutionary — Rusham Shama who is now a communist.

The years 1918—19 witnessed the birth of an Indian women's mass movement. During the last three or four years, Indian women of all classes participated in the national revolutionary movement, in the boycott of English goods, as well as in the "passive resistance", led by the political agitator Gandhi, and also in the manufacture and popularisation of "Khaddara,, (local fabric).

As in all capitalist colonial countries, so in India, the national-revolutionary movement is the pre-cursor of the class struggle. The leaders of the national movement against Great Britain, recognizing the importance of women's co-operation in this struggle, are carrying on an energetic agitation among the latter. In this movement the mothers, wives and sisters of these national revolutionary leaders play an important role in the work among women. Such women are: Srimata Supita, Suradzananin Naidu, Madigalla. Neru and others, prominent among Mohammedan women are the mother and the wife of Mohamed-Ali, the sister of Abdul Karim, the wife of Dr. Kiaulu and others.

Parallel with the national-revolutionary movement in India there was a simultaneous development of the women's patriotic movement for equality of rights. This movement is under the leadership of the women intellectuals and of several political workers, for instance, Boz. The most prominent feminists are: Mackenzie, Roy Kumidiny, Gos, and Lotika Gos in Bengal, and among Moslem women the Begum, Haider and others.

Already in 1920 Indian women (of the upper and middle classes) participated in national congresses. Two women participated in the All Indian National Congress in 1917 (one of them was Annie Besant). Among the candidates of the national congress of 1921 were two women. Sarajeni Naidu is the president of the District Congress of the United Capital Provinces (Faru Khabeda).

To facilitate the agitation of the national movement, the whole of India was divided into 50 districts in 1921. In every district a Women's Section was established (in addition to the Men's Section), for agitation among working and peasant women and for the organization of volunteer corps. Numerous women's meetings are held throughout the country addressed by women speakers. Women's "Swaraji,, organizations (for home rule) are being established throughout the country. Not only women intellectuals and traders, but also working, artisan and peasant women participate in this movement. After the closure of the Akhmedavad Session of the Congress, an All Indian Women's Conference was held. This Conference adopted the resolution calling upon all Indian women to enlist in the Women's Volunteer corps for the struggle against Great Britain. In the same year (1921) women's meetings and street demonstrations took place in Lucknow, Calcutta, Pana and Lahore. In 1922 the women's national movement became still more revolutionary. More women's demonstrations took place in the Punjab, in Lahore and in Julletchre. In Delhi hundreds of women are joining the volunteer corps. In Madras women are burning foreign garments, and in Cuttuga they are agitating for non-payment of taxes. Even prostitutes are drawn into the national agitation. The Women's agitation received the support of the working class population, which also enlists volunteer corps. The women intellectuals on their own support the strikes of the women coolies on the English plantations in Bengal.

But towards the end of 1922 the national-revolutionary movement in India began to make room for the rapidly developing workers' and peasants' class movement. The native bourgeoisie, alarmed at the prospects of a national revolution, arrived at an understanding with British capitalists on the basis of mutual concessions. The initiation of a purely working class movement was accompanied by a class movement among Indian working women. The first women's strikes took place in 1920 in the cotton mills of Madras in connection with the non-application of the decisions re protection of labour adopted by the Washington Conference. Women textile workers play a leading role in the women's working class movement. The struggle for women's political rights developed in India parallel with the national movement. At first, the sole aim of Women's Societies was — the liquidation of illiteracy and education among women. In 1917 three women's conferences were held on questions of education among women. In 1918 the All Indian Moslem Women's Conferences issued a proclamation against polygamy and for the amendment of marriage laws. Women's schools were opened. The Indian Women's Association concentrated during the last two years on an agitation against early marriages.

Numerous women's papers have made their appearance in Akhmedbas, Madras and Bombay.

The proletarian women's movement in India was initiated in 1916, after the strikes in the cotton weaving mills in Bombay and Akhmedbad. The organization of workers' trade unions in India dates from that period. The first trade union congress was held in 1920 in Bombay and was attended by representatives of 600,000 organized workers. After the Madras strike the trade union of women textile workers was established in Madras. The second trade union congress, held towards the end of 1921, bore witness of the rapid growth of class consciousness among working men and women. Working women take a very active part in all working class demonstrations and meetings.

In the coolie strike in the tea plantations in 1921, many women were arrested for agitation. In the peasant Moplah rising on the coast of Malabah at the end of 1921 women made common

cause with the men. There were occasions when Indian working women showed a greater revolutionary spirit than the men. For instance, a large number of women were arrested during the strike in the Bombay China Factory in 1922, and in the same year during the Gunshura disorders.

In March 1922, after a women's meeting held in Bombay, the All India Working Women's Union was established. Under the influence of the trade union leaders in India, this union joined the Amsterdam Trade Union Federation. Mill Enson is the secretary of the organisation. One of the most prominent leaders of the women's movement is — the Hindoo woman Anna Begush.

The Far East.

COREA.

Similarity of economic conditions inevitably results in similarity of political events, even under very different geographical, cultural and racial conditions. It happens in the history of mankind that similar political events take place simultaneously in countries distant from one another. During the post-war period there were simultaneous outbursts of nationalist revolutionary struggle in the West, in Ireland against British Imperialism, and in the Far East, in Korea against the imperialism of Japan. Without enlarging on the numerous almost identical conditions and phases of the struggle, we would like to point out the similarity between the activity of Irish and Korean revolutionaries in the heroic struggle for the independence of their respective countries.

Korea has a population of 15 million, in which the peasant element prevails. Since 1910, viz., since the forcible annexation by Japan, Korea has been oppressed and exploited in the most brutal manner by Japanese capitalists and government officials. The peasantry has become proletarianised during the last few years and is obliged either to emigrate or to seek work in Japanese ports and Japanese factories in the capacity of unskilled labourers. The impoverished middle class of Korea in part accepts Japanese service, and in part joins the revolutionary movement. A general Nationalist movement has sprung up in which women and the youth take an active part. In 1919 the Korean rising broke out, and since then the revolutionary struggle is rapidly growing more intense. The starting point of the 1919 rising was a patriotic demonstration of the male and female students of the missionary schools. After the failure of this rising, the numerous arrests and the ill-treatment and torture practised in the prisons, the revolutionary struggle assumed a more systematic form. Numerous revolutionary organizations (legal — with educational aims and secret terrorist organizations) sprang up throughout the country. Among the most active of these organizations is the patriotic league of Korean women, which has several branches. Two of the most revolutionary of these branches are headed by women. The membership of this League includes 40% of the peasant element. In 1920—21 the patriotic league of Korean women had in its ranks hundreds, nay thousands of Korean women engaged in the struggle for the independence of the country. These leagues were also partly of a feminist and partly of a purely educational character. Korean women gave proof of great self abnegation in this struggle, many young girls and women succumbing to the brutal treatment meted out to them by the Japanese police in the prisons.

In 1921 this general nationalist movement gave rise to the workers class movement, which led to the establishment of the Communist Party. The impoverished peasantry and the working class of Korea look upon Soviet Russia and the Communist Party as the only means of their salvation. The centre of revolutionary and communist agitation is Shanghai, and Korean women are enthusiastically welcoming the new ideas.

Already at the end of 1921, there were 35 class conscious women members in the Korean Communist party, at the congress of the workers of the East held in Moscow in January 1922, there were five revolutionary Korean women among the delegates.

The class struggle of Korean working men and women is rapidly developing. In the early summer of 1923 a strike of working women broke out in the rubber factory at Saoul. Japanese workers declared a sympathetic strike in support of the Korean women's strike.

In the general class struggle Korean working women joined Japanese working women. Together, they demonstrated in the streets of Japan. Korean working women's unions form part of the Japanese Confederation of Labour. At one of the recent meetings of the women's union of Japanese clerks, a Korean woman took first place among the speakers.

Thus, international working class solidarity establishes a fraternal union between the male and female workers of hostile States in the struggle against Capitalism.

The exploited Japanese working and peasant women, who are deprived of social and political rights, are taking an ever-growing part in this struggle.

CHINA.

China has a considerable female proletariat. Although China is still in the main an agricultural country with a feudal order and handicraft production, it possesses also big industrial centres, such as Shanghai, Hong Kong and Canton. The big Chinese factories employ 250,000 women to 800,000 men. In the small workshops there are 400,000 women to 300,000 men. Women are mostly employed in the textile, cotton spinning, silk, tobacco, tea, matches, clothing and embroidering industries. Chinese working women, especially in big factories, are mostly drawn from the ranks of the proletarianised peasantry and live in abject poverty. All of them are illiterate. The decisions of the Washington Conference concerning woman and child labour were not put into practice until 1923, and only after manifestations of working class ferment, strikes and the decision of the Shanghai Chamber of Commerce.

The exploitation of female and child labour in China frequently assumes monstrous forms. The worst forms of exploitation are to be found in the silk factories of Shefu in the vicinity of Shanghai and of Tsien-Tsin.

Chinese women are still deprived of all rights in the social and family life of the country.

But since the revolutionary movement in China in 1920, a definite women's movement has come into being. Moreover, some Chinese women intellectuals participated in the national movement of China in 1906. In 1920 the national anti-Japanese movement broke out in connection with the Shantung question. Peking women students took an active part in this movement.

Recent years saw the growth in China of a women's movement for women's franchise, for the amendment of the marriage laws and for women's economic emancipation.

The women's organizations, which consist mainly of women intellectuals, teachers and students of Peking, Shanghai and Canton, pursue mainly educational and social aims: struggle with prostitution, liquidation of women's illiteracy, establishment of schools etc.

In 1921 there existed already in all the big Chinese cities, Chinese women's organizations federated into "leagues for women's rights", "leagues for political rights", etc.

But hitherto the movement has not been centralized and active enough. Women's periodicals of a social character are being published in Shanghai and Peking.

In 1921 during the separate government in the South of China in Canton, women succeeded in obtaining electoral rights (though for a short time) in the Canton parliament which had two women members, one of them a socialist. There was a socialist circle among the women students in Peking. Women did not succeed in obtaining their franchise in Peking.

During the last two years communist propaganda among women was initiated in China. Its centre is the working class districts of Shanghai. The big strike movement, which convulsed China during the last few years, bore witness to the significance of Chinese working women in the class struggle. But hitherto Chinese working women, if organized at all, were organized into separate women's trade unions, which greatly impeded the general working class movement.

In 1923 the first attempt at a women's day (March 8th) campaign was made in Shanghai, but unfortunately it coincided with the breaking-out of the railway strike.

In connection with this the Chinese Communist Party issued a proclamation addressed to the Chinese students.

At the last conference of the Chinese Communist Party much attention was paid to agitation among women and to the struggle against British imperialism.

Shanghai is the centre of the biggest movement among working men and women. The Labour Secretariat resolved to establish a special section for propaganda among women. Special courses are being established for the training of women propagandists and organizers.

The resolution adopted at the Conference concerning agitation and propaganda among women includes a decision concerning the necessity of drawing working women into the general trade unions and concerning sex solidarity in the class struggle.

The resolution also pointed out the existing political movement for women's franchise among Chinese women and laid down communist women should participate in that movement under suitable slogans. For the purpose of centralising the women's movement and conducting it in a systematic manner, it was proposed that a central women's committee be formed and a paper be published.

JAPAN.

In the Far East, Japan is a semi-industrial and capitalist, and a semi-agricultural country. Out of the approximately 30,000,000 female population of Japan, 13,000,000 are working women.

Agriculture absorbs 8,600,000 of them, and the factories and mines 1,000,000, while 3,000,000 women are engaged in social service and in various professions. There are in addition 70,000,000 female domestic servants. Approximately one third of the entire female population of Japan (70% of the total number of Japanese women workers) is engaged in agriculture. In the silk industry most of the workers are women, about one and half million. The tea industry employs about 500,000 peasant women.

Factories employ 760,000 working women, and 1,250,000 women are employed throughout all the branches of industry. Women form 50% of the entire industrial proletariat. Japanese factory women workers are mainly employed in silk spinning and silk weaving factories. Many women are also employed in the lace, tobacco and match industries.

In the mining industry of the Kin-Sin and Hak-Kido districts, women constitute 20% of all workers engaged in mining. There are in Japan 1,500,000 women employed in the post, railway and telegraph services, and also as chauffeurs, conductors and clerks.

There are about 120,000 women doctors, midwives and teachers. The social position of Japanese working women is far from satisfactory. Women's wages are very low, many of the women factory workers are victims of the living in system, feudal relations prevail in the family life and no independent women's trade unions exist in Japan. Nevertheless, the development of the workers' movement in Japan is affecting the women who are beginning to take an active part in strikes and demonstrations and to join the general trade unions. The Japanese imperialist government is doing its utmost to prevent this active participation of working women in the labour movement. Thus, the government has established the national "Japanese Union of Peasant Girls" (Shoipkai). Owing to the recent industrial crisis in Japan and to unemployment, there has been a diminution of women textile workers in the trade Unions. With the assistance of the Yu-ai-Kai (Confederation of Labour) a waitresses' union was established last year in Osaka, which was subsequently closed down. In March of last year there was a big strike in one of the spinning mills of the same town. This strike, in which 500 women participated, lasted 10 days but ended in failure.

The Japanese women intellectuals have already been active for several years in the field of cultural and educational work. The Association of Japanese Socialist Women has been in existence several years. The most revolutionary women's society carrying on agitation among working women is the so-called "Red Wave" society or, as it is sometimes called, "The Union of Red Waves" which joined the Communist Party already in 1922. This union took an active part in the May Day celebrations. The following women are the leaders of the communist women's movement in Japan: Kikua Yama-Kava, Magara, Sakai

and Tayo-Takatsu. In March of last year Japanese women communists organized a Women's Day campaign. An International week (March 1—8) was organized, and it was decided to hold meetings on March 8th in the five biggest towns of Japan: Tokio, Osaka, Kiato, Khobe and Nayala. The following three leaflets for women were published: "Rosa Luxemburg", "Clara Zetkin", and "March 8th".

The first public meeting was convened in Tokio and was attended by over 1,000 people. But the meeting was broken up by Japanese fascists (Kokusuikai) and was closed by the police during comrade Hetsu Tanabo's speech in which she was comparing the position of the Japanese working women with that of the women of Soviet Russia. In other towns the meetings were prohibited by the police, and only in one town was it possible to celebrate Women's Day on March 8th.

The Women's Section of the Japanese Communist Party has only recently been established. Among the women candidates to the Communist Party there are several women students of the Women's Medical School, who contemplate getting access to the wide masses of Japanese working and peasant women in their medical capacity.

In addition to the Communist organization, the following women's political organizations exist in Japan: Shin-sin-Fujio-Kiokai (New Woman's Society) and the Women's Section of the Kakushin Party, known as the Women's Franchise League. In February of last year the League participated in the franchise demonstration in Tokio.

The leader of the Japanese Women Communists (The writer Yama-Kava) was recently arrested for agitation.

The Women's Section of the Japanese Communist Party is called "Yoko-Kai" (the Party of the 8th Day) and is the re-organized society of "Sekiran-Kai" (Red Wave). "This society works among the female proletariat. Recently a women's trade union organization came into being which published a printed organ "Shokughio-Fushi" (The Woman Trade Unionist).

In April of last year the Japanese women communists carried on a propaganda campaign among the women of the Ashio copper mines, and the Women's Section of the Communist Party is organising the women textile Workers in Tokio.

THE DUTCH INDIES.

The Dutch Indies consist of five fertile islands: Java, Sumatra, Borneo, Tselebes and New Guinea. Until 1900 these were preeminently peasant in character (95%) with a patriarchal social order. The Malays, who constitute the population of the country, are mostly Mahomedans and supply the international market with tea, coffee, sugar, tobacco, cocoa, rubber, oil, iron, silver, gold and diamonds. Since 1900, with the advent of European Dutch capitalism, the Malay peasantry has been proletarianized to the extent of 95% and the peasants and their families have become hired labourers on capitalist plantations. In the towns the importation of European goods dealt a death blow to handicrafts and production on a small scale.

In 1907 the national Malay movement sprang up, mainly in Java, and formed itself into the national party "Sirikatun-Islam". Women also participated in this national movement.

The Women's Proletarian Movement in the Dutch Indies was a direct consequence of the changes in the economic system of the Malay people. There appeared among the Malay women, women advocates of women's rights whose chief aim was women's education on a wide scale and freedom of work.

The best known of these women propagandists was Kartini who died a few years ago.

In the trade union movement Malay working women enjoy equal rights with men and take part in strikes, as for instance in the general printers' strike in Semarang in 1920. The Communist group, which established the section for work among women, is an outcome of the people's nationalist part "Sarikum-Islam". In 1919 the women members of the Sarikum-Islam Party demonstrated publicly against the arrest in Semarang of the leaders of the party by the Dutch Government.

RED RELIEF

March 18th — a Step forward for Red Relief.

By Ehrenfried Wagner (Moscow).

Since one year the "International Red Relief" has existed. Already on the 18th March of the past year the Central Committee decided to fix this day for the future as a "Day of International Red Relief". In the past year this internationalism was still little to be felt. Solely the Russian proletariat with full consciousness backed up the necessity of an internationally organized Red Relief. For the first time there also appeared a printed paper (in Russian language), in which revolutionaries of the whole world described their sufferings in prison as living witnesses against bourgeois reaction. With all clearness and urgency however, the proletarians of all countries were appealed to not to think of the organization of Red Relief only after the struggle but to embody it already into the strategical scheme itself.

With the revolutionary energy and steadiness proper to the Russian proletariat, it has worked in this sense for the construction of the "International Red Relief". The 18th of March of this year was characterised already in all governments of the huge Russian state by the "Red Relief". Everywhere binding decisions were taken — by Unions and by shops — by which the workers engaged themselves to contribute ten Kopecks a month to the "Red Relief" while the peasants engaged themselves to deliver a certain quantity of grain. Until the 1st of May the organization of the "Red Relief" in Russia is destined to count one million members. Sixty-six international orators on the 18th March stood in the service of the "Red Relief" and in some places spoke in ten even in twenty meetings a day. Everywhere the same consciousness showed itself to bring systematic and permanent help to the proletarian victims of the class struggle, everywhere the same readiness for sacrifices and for contribution was to be observed. Hundreds of examples could be quoted showing the matter of course in which the Russian worker is giving, although also he saves it from his bare necessities and is still far from living in extravagance.

The whole Russian press was equally under the sign of the "Red Relief". In Moscow "Pravda" and "Isvestia", in all other countries right into the deepest Siberia, all daily papers, illustrated, magazines, professional periodicals, military informations etc. — all of them brought entire pages of propaganda for the "Red Relief", exhorted, instructed, and rang the bells of fraternal solidarity. Various papers published special editions, the same was done by many a shop and union. In Saratov, on one day 90,000 men joined the organization of the "Mopr" ("Red Relief"). In Kotelnitshi a small town on the road to Siberia, on the 18th March 7500 gold Roubels (3750 Dollars) were collected in money. Post cards, stamps, medalls, papers, were already exhausted before the sale itself began. Peasants brought silver money which had been hidden, priests deposited their silver crosses, counter-revolutionary of the day before yesterday brought silver and jewels which had been kept hidden — briefly the 18th March showed that not only the revolutionary proletariat of Russia, but even all strata of the population were profoundly convinced of the fact that the sufferings endured by the Western brethren in their fight against the reaction, were also suffered for us. It is our duty to help them in bearing their sufferings. Certainly the Russian people of workers and peasants on this 18th March has advanced again some steps on the way leading to an internationally organized Red Relief.

But the 18th March in this year came into appearance with a stronger accentuation for the first time also in Western Europe. The Central Committee of the International Red Relief had taken care of the necessary preparatory propaganda, supported by decisions of the Communist International, the Red International of Labour Unions, the Sport International and the Communist Youth International. While in the past year on the 18th March this Red Relief Day had been little felt beyond the Russian frontiers, this year the Western proletariat also strived at imitating the Russian brethren. In particular, those countries have done this, the proletariat of which is not yet standing in the direct class struggle and whose duty it is for the first time to care for the prisoners of the world reaction.

In England the press unfolded a strenuous propaganda, and the organisations of the "Red Relief" in huge meetings made the greatest efforts.

Austria on the 18th March has continued vigorously the path upon which she entered several months ago. Her section of the "Red Relief" belongs to those most zealous and model ones. The "Rote Fahne" (Red Flag) of Vienna is exercising indefatigable and systematic work of propaganda and enlightenment.

A rapid and good development has taken place in Switzerland, the section of which is showing praiseworthy initiative as regards propaganda and also has obtained respectable financial results in collections.

There are still defects in Holland, in the Northern countries and in particular in Czecho-Slovakia, the central organ of which did not even on the 18th March take notice of the political prisoners.

Weak beginnings are made by France (here is lack in systematic propaganda in the press), and America where however at least the English press is beginning a stronger propaganda.

Amongst the countries, in which White Terror is raging, Italy is continuing to work well. The propaganda, taking into regard the weak technical and financial means which are at disposal, is a model.

Spain is making praiseworthy efforts.

Poland on the 18th of March edited rich illegal material of "Red Relief" and is supplying her numerous prisoners almost without subsidies.

Germany could undoubtedly make more efforts and also obtain far more in the financial sphere, as partly was shown by the good results of the collection of the 18th March. The German provincial press is working fairly well, partly even surprisingly well, as for instance the "Sozialistische Republik" which had prepared the 18th March for a fortnight in systematic propaganda. Completely, however, on the 18th March the German central organ failed. In vain the political prisoners will have sought in the "Rote Fahne" of that day something regarding their misery.

But nevertheless and in spite of all, the 18th March of this year was already a step further forward. Though slowly, still the revolutionary proletarians in all countries are already understanding, that the organization of the Red Relief has not to be a matter of each single country, but that the Red Relief can be of value only when the whole international proletariat is aiding its construction. The Relief has not to be an incidental one, but a permanent and systematic one. The idea of the "Red Relief" comprises strong dynamic elements which when employed for good propaganda render possible not only the maintenance of revolutionary forces, but also to awake new forces. May the future show to which extent our comrades in all countries succeed.

APPEALS

To the Workers of the Whole World.

Worker and Peasant Comrades!

The Executive Committee of the Comintern has already called your attention several times to the insolent and infamous manner with which the Polish bourgeoisie are treating the toiling masses of Poland. Poles and Jews, Ukrainians and White Russians, workers and peasants — they have all alike been subjected to the same oppression and terror, which has been carried on in the name of the most bombastic phrases about democracy, the republic and the constitution.

Recently word has come from Poland of a new wave of this regime of terror.

In the Dombrov basis, where sixty thousand workers went on strike in the struggle to retain the eight-hour day and in support of their striking comrades in Upper Silesia, the police shot into an unarmed crowd of workers. Three workers were killed, 37 were wounded — 7 fatally — and 200 of the strikers were arrested.

In Warsaw 27 young men and women, workers, students and soldiers, of from 16 to 21 years age, have been held for 18 months in preliminary confinement, and sentenced to from 3 to 6 years penal servitude (exclusive of the period of preliminary confinement) for taking part in the Young Communist movement. When the Young Communists were sentenced they replied by

singing the International. In Krakov a big trial is being prepared of several dozen workers and soldiers for taking part in the Krakov uprising in November 1923. The defendants are facing the death penalty. In the same city the editor of a peasants' newspaper has been sentenced to ten years imprisonment for membership in the Polish Communist Party.

Similar sentences are pronounced almost every day in all the cities of Poland against every worker and peasant who is taking part in the struggle against capitalist exploitation and against the oppression of classes and nationalities by the Polish aristocracy and bourgeoisie.

On the White Russian and Ukrainian territory seized by Poland, new crimes are brewing. Poland is instituting court-martials there, and is preparing a punitive expedition after the manner of the Czarist generals Mina, Doumbadze and Kaznakov.

At the present time 4,000 political prisoners are languishing in Polish jails. They are starving, they are beaten, they are forced to occupy the same cells as criminals, they are not allowed to receive newspapers or letters. During the last four weeks six hunger riots have broken out, in which several hundred prisoners took part.

Beating and torture of the prisoners are every day occurrences. In the Lvov prison a woman, Bessarabova, was tortured to death during the examination. In the Bielystock prison there

have been seven deaths during recent months as a result of the beating of the prisoners during the hunger riots. Everyday come new tidings of the brutality of the police toward the workers of Poland, and especially toward the peasants of the White Russian and Ukrainian districts.

Comrades!

Brand the Polish hangmen with the stigma that is their due! Remember that Poland, along with Roumania, serves as the Bulwark of reaction in the West, as one huge tomb for the workers and the national minorities. When the representatives of the Democratic Polish Republic come to your countries to make speeches about civilisation and democracy and the League of Nations, give them the necessary answer. Throw your contempt and your hatred into their teeth.

Down with the hangmen und hypocrites!

Honour and glory to the workers of Krakov and Dombrov!
Honour and Glory to the Communist Youth of Poland!

Worldwide aid to the political prisoners!

Long live the united struggle for liberation of the Polish, White Russian, Jewish and German workers and peasants under the banner of the Communist Party of Poland!

**The Executive Committee
of the Communist International.**