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The Congress of the Amsterdammers in Vienna.

By Aug. Enderle (Vienna).

On the 2nd of June there assembled in Vienna the 3rd Congress of the International Trade Union Federation, greeted by those great ones of the one-time 2¹/₂ International, Domes, Otto Bauer, Fritz Adler and the Lord Mayor of Vienna Seitz. In a self-satisfied manner they praised their great successes. Every worker, every railwayman, every postal official in Vienna and Austria is organized. These gentry did not openly notice that Vienna is precisely symbolical for the whole Amsterdam International. Huge membership, good functioning organizations and — rule of reaction. For while in Austria every sixth inhabitant is a member of a trade union, whilst the Social Democrats receive continually more votes at the elections — there reigns in Austria the reactionary Seipel and bank capital, and the workers are continually on the verge of starvation.

In fact the Amsterdam International could not choose a better town in which to hold its congress.

For what a heap of things the Amsterdam International is fighting — with phrases! For the Eight Hour Day, against War and Reaction, for better social conditions for the working class and a whole lot more. And what has the Committee to report over the result of this activity? The printed report laid before the Congress makes it clear to the most simple. Apart from long enumerations of very futile organizatory matters, from the first to the last it was a miserable wail over the activities of reaction, over the capitalist offensive and the pushing back of the working class. An energetic tone is only adopted when attacking the revolution, the Russians, the Communists and the R. I. L. U.

In the same way as the printed report of the Federation, the speaker of the Committee, Sassenbach, also had nothing to report

as to a serious struggle in the interest of the proletariat nor over the fighting measures intended for the future. The prominent Amsterdammers and the great ones of the 2nd International assured each other of their mutual harmony in mind, in act and in will. Certainly they are of the same kidney, the Amsterdammers and the leaders of the Social Democratic International, they have both achieved equally complete bankruptcy, they both have but one aim: to support capitalist society and to prevent and fight against revolution. Fritz Adler expressed it precisely when he said: we fight against those who want to implant by means of disruption a wild spirit (Moscow) in the masses. We wish to make the body of the International big and strong, in order to produce in it a sound mind. Great organizations, great bureaucratic apparatus and no revolutionary spirit in the masses, that is the highest ideal of all reformists.

And still this Congress of the Amsterdammers was not free from a rebellious spirit; although out of a hundred delegates there were not even three communists. Already on the first day, on the discussion of the report, sharp antagonisms made themselves apparent. On the question of the attitude to the Russian Trade Unions and to the R. I. L. U., the compact English delegation made a sharp attack against the policy conducted hitherto by the Executive Committee. It began already in the opening speech of the English delegate Purcell, who had been elected as president of the Congress and who very strongly emphasised in his opening speech that this Congress must lead to a new epoch and establish unity with the Russians. As the first speaker in the discussion the English delegate Bramley very sharply condemned the brusque attitude of the Executive Committee towards the Russian trade unions and formally proposed the immediate re-

sumption of negotiations with the Russian Central Council upon the basis of the letter from Tomsky of 7th of February this year. Those out and out reformists, Grassmann (Germany) and Mertens (Belgium), responded in a furious manner to the English attack. Grassmann quoted the official statement of the Central of the C. P. of Germany in the Berlin "Rote Fahne", in which it was said that those Trade Union bureaucrats who wished to suppress the revolutionary feeling and speculated upon the workers' honesty by enforcing signatures to a counterrevolutionary questionnaire form, are class enemies of the proletariat. What do the English colleagues say now, asked Grassmann triumphantly and bellowed forth: Only when the Russian Trade Unions have severed their connections with the Soviet Government and the Communists will they be accepted by us. But the disrespectful Englishmen clapped their applause when the passage from the "Rote Fahne" was translated to them and called out to Grassmann and his comrades:

"What have you done with Rosa Luxemburg?"

"What have you done with Karl Liebknecht?"

Already in the sitting of the Executive Committee held previous to the Congress, it is reported that the English delegates said to Sassenbach and Grassmann, that the latter were not representatives of the German workers but of the German capitalist government.

What is the underlying reason for the conduct of the English delegates? In the first place, as the result of five years experience, it is becoming recognised more and more among the English trade unions that the anti-Bolshevist incitement carried on by the German and French Amsterdammers is leading the working class into the abyss, into the arms of reaction, and that isolation from the Russian Working class is particularly injurious to the English workers. Further it is intolerable to them that while the English government is negotiating with Russia for the purpose of setting up the closest connections, the West European trade unions are incited against Russia. In addition to this there is the fact that the two worst reactionaries of the English trade union movement, J. H. Thomas and Frank Hodges, having been appointed as ministers in the government they have had to give place in the trade unions for the left leaders Purcell and Cook.

This attack by the English was supported by a number of important professional secretariats. The Transport Workers, the Metal Workers, Miners and other professional internationals are compelled to recognise more and more that effective struggles in their section of industry can only be carried on by means of the most far-reaching international solidarity, and that this is impossible without the Russian and the rest of the revolutionary unions. They wish to admit the Russians, but have been prevented hitherto by the Executive of the Amsterdam International.

All this shows that the power of the old guard of reformist leaders is breaking up and that the revolutionary vital needs of the proletariat are proving stronger than all the strongholds of counter-revolution no matter how cunningly designed.

The Amsterdam International has no successes for the working class to record, but only defeat after defeat. The power of sixteen million workers is wasted by it, and what is still worse is placed at the service of the class enemy. Where the policy of the Amsterdam International holds sway the eight hour day and other social gains are done away with, the impoverishment of the proletariat grows from day to day and capitalist reaction becomes ever stronger and more insolent. In Russia, on the other hand, there exists the eight hour day, wages are increasing, the position of the worker is improving and capitalism lies prone. All the demagogy of the Grassmanns cannot get rid of these facts and they also have their effect in the trade unions affiliated to the Amsterdam International.

One of the finest show-pieces of the congress was "the fight against war and militarism". Here the old method of the Amsterdammers — great phrases "for the people"; and behind the scenes, abominable cowardice and betrayal plotted beforehand — were to be seen in their full splendour. With none of the many questions on the agenda could the Amsterdammers better show the heroic pose of a "great struggle" as with this.

It is true that every child can see that imperialism is heading with greatest speed towards a new and much greater people's slaughter than the one we have passed through. But as in the year 1914, the broad masses will only recognise the danger when the first shots are fired. And till then the Amsterdammers are able to play the role as the true fighters against war and militarism. Never again imperialistic war! What proletarian will not

enthusiastically join in this cry? Such is the speculation of the Amsterdammers; by this excellent means they are diverting the proletarians from rebellious thoughts and preventing them from realising that they have been betrayed a hundred times in the urgent questions of the Eight Hours Day, starvation wages etc.

The greatest phrase-monger the Amsterdammers have in their ranks, M. Jouhaux from France, was presented to the astonished audience at the Vienna Congress as a fierce dragon-killer. And this same M. Jouhaux, who in 1914 suddenly changed from a radical syndicalist to a rabid patriot, who was the right hand of the socialist minister of munitions, Albert Thomas and the friend of all munitions manufacturers, who not only spurred on the French, English and American proletarians to greater and greater deeds for the war gods but also helped to suppress anti-war revolts of proletarians and mutinies of soldiers — this same Jouhaux just as at the last congress in Rome so also in Vienna, was put up to report upon the fight against war and militarism. He submitted to the congress as a written report a big pamphlet, in which was preached the necessity of the fight against war by every possible means. M. Jouhaux did not propose a new motion, as he is of the opinion that the one adopted in Rome can also serve for the future, as it contains the most extreme measures the proletariat has at its disposal, the international general strike in case of an acute war danger etc. More than that can really not be demanded from the Amsterdammers.

The practical value of this boasting resolution of Rome was to be seen at the outbreak of the Ruhr conflict in January 1923. Jouhaux attempted to defend the complete failure of the Amsterdammers in this crisis by making the boldest assertions. He enumerated all the beautiful decisions they had then taken, and added, apparently himself feeling that in fact they had done very little:

"What could we have done to enforce results?"

Perhaps the general strike? It presupposes a powerful workers organization and the support and the good-will (!) of public opinion. We had the duty to protest and we have done it with all our forces."

Can the cowardice of the Amsterdammers be expressed more clearly than in their own words formulated by Jouhaux in his written report? Well hardly. And in spite of it these sorry heroes have the face to submit to the public anew their resolution with the general strike. And Jouhaux considered himself compelled to make a speech against war marked with unsurpassable pathos. We must not only adopt resolutions but perform pacifist deeds, he thundered forth, and the audience, among them M. Albert Thomas, enthusiastically applauded.

So far everything would have been gone smoothly, if a less astute English delegate had not mounted the tribune and openly declared in his innocence what all these enthusiastic Amsterdam heroes thought to themselves and what they will do when the event occurs. This English trade-union leader, Ben Tillet by name, said: "We must fight more energetically than hitherto against war. Till now the Communists were the only energetic opponents of war, we must not leave them this monopolist position. We must take timely preventive measures against war, for

" if a war breaks out, everyone of us stands by his own country"

Here lies the crux of the question. Ben Tillet also received great applause for his declaration. And who would not prefer this Ben Tillet, in spite of his nationalist point of view, a hundred times to Jouhaux and Co., who are not a bit less nationalist than he. He is less dangerous than they, because they consciously use the phrase of a general strike in order to lull the proletariat and to persuade it that it is a real fight till it awakens in a shower of grenades and finds itself powerless in the face of a new imperialistic peoples slaughter.

We stand by our country. This was the cry of the reformists of all countries in 1914; by this means they have driven millions of proletarians against each other and to death. And there is not the least doubt that they will do precisely the same in the future war. The Amsterdammers know perfectly well that these "countries" are the imperialistic states of blood-thirsty capital, but in order that the masses do not notice this fact too soon, they talk all around about the progress of democracy, and for this reason the ruling classes permit their states to be administered by "labour governments". As MacDonald is showing in England, as Noske, Thomas and the many others have shown before him, they provide the necessary war armaments and carry

out the bloody crushing of the workers as well as any capitalist government defined as such.

Not a word was uttered at the Viennese Congress as to how the imperialistic war can really and solely be met, i. e. by immediate and ruthless fight against capital, against the capitalist-democratic system. The Amsterdamers do not want to hear of such things, for it would mean a revolutionary fight. They do not wish revolution, they want to have "peace" with capital; they are apostles of "peaceful" democratic development and therefore "stand by their country".

Thus the declaration of Ben Tillet in Vienna has shown like a lightning flash to the whole international working class that imperialism and war have no better allies than the Amsterdam Trade Union Federation. And it is high time that the workers of all countries recognise what is at stake and say to the Amsterdamers: Away with you traitors and demagogues. There is no fatherland for us under capitalism, for us there is only fierce class-struggle and war against imperialistic capital. This is the only way which leads to a real peoples' peace.

POLITICS

The Attempt upon the Austrian Chancellor Dr. Seipel.

By Paul Friedländer (Vienna).

The attempt upon the Austrian Chancellor forms an interruption to the series of bloody murderous attempts upon proletarians and proletarian representatives which have been committed by Fascists and reactionaries of various tendencies since 1919. Since the slaughtering of Karl Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg and Leo Jogisches, not a week has elapsed, in which, in some country or another where the bourgeoisie rule, in Germany, Hungary, Italy, Spain, Bulgaria etc., bloody acts of terror have not been committed against workers' leaders and, before all, against communists. A chain of thousands of murders runs through the story of suffering of the working class in recent years. Here it is undoubtedly a case of a regular planned Fascist method, i. e. by attempts upon the lives of proletarians and their leaders to intimidate and demoralise the labour movement in order to be able the more easily to trample it underfoot and exercise an unrestrained bourgeois dictatorship. It is no wonder therefore that the Fascist method is finally learnt by the desperate working class, and it is no wonder that this occurs precisely at the time when the leading party of the working class hands it over to its opponents practically without a struggle.

The Communist Parties have always, as against the acts of individual terror, which they oppose as being politically futile, not to say harmful — as for instance when the Bolsheviki opposed the terrorist acts of the Social Revolutionaries — upheld the organized struggle of the class-conscious working class.

The attempt upon Seipel, which was not the work of a Communist organized worker, but that of a former Social Democratic organized worker named Javurek, is only to be understood when regard is had to the political and economic situation of Austria, and in particular the working class in Austria. The attempt occurred in the midst of a heavy depression of the working class. It is an expression of desperation, which sees no way of escape, which knows not how it can successfully fight and abolish the prevailing system.

The burden of the "restoration" of Austria is laid entirely upon the backs of the Austrian workers and employees. They have to bear the enormous load of taxes, duties, customs etc., by means of which the state balances its finances and meets the high interest charged upon the loan granted by International Finance capital. Their own condition, however, has grown continually worse. Since the carrying out of the so-called sanitation there has been a perceptible and constant increase in prices. Wages, however, have not increased nor has there been any reduction in unemployment. The bulk of the workers receive a wage ranging from three to six dollars a week at the very highest; the unemployed in receipt of maintenance (numbering almost 100,000) receive scarcely two dollars a week, while in addition to this there is a considerable number of unemployed receiving no maintenance whatever. One can judge the misery of the broad masses from these figures, when one at the same time remembers, that the prices of the most important articles of consumption are by no means below world prices, but in many cases stand above

world prices. The misery of the proletariat has become tremendously intensified during the past weeks as a result of the stock-exchange crisis, the collapse in the value of securities and the bankruptcy of numerous firms and banking houses. The loss caused by the disastrous franc-speculation is of course to be met at the cost of the workers. Great undertakings, before all in the metal and textile industry, are being closed down, or are having their staffs reduced or put on short time, not because there is any lack of orders, but because the money necessary for carrying on is not available. Meanwhile this money is being speculated with by Austrian Finance Capital which holds the whole of Austrian production in its talons.

The Sanitation weighs like a mountain upon the Austrian working class. The Communist Party of Austria is but small and is not in a position to lead the working class into the fight. The great party of the workers, which is engaged in the game of parliamentary opportunism, does not wish to lead a struggle and does not organize any action against the so-called Sanitation which is ruining the broad masses.

In this situation there occurs the attempt upon Seipel. It is noteworthy that it takes place immediately after the setting free of a Fascist assassin who had murdered a worker the previous year. Austrian class justice allowed this murder to be atoned for by the payment of eight gold crowns. This fact aroused the Austrian working class to an enormous pitch of excitement. It sees class domination and class justice embodied in the government, at the head of which stands Seipel, who also concluded the sanitation agreement with the League of Nations at Geneva. Herein lies one of the most important psychological causes of the attempted assassination.

Understandable as the attempt is in some respects, having regard to the existing situation, it is none the less insane and futile. For the government of Seipel is in fact only the tool and figure-head of finance capital, which holds unlimited sway in Austria. The government of this prelate is, at bottom, a government of Jewish financiers (it is for this reason that Anti-Semitism has had the edge taken off it in Austria), a government of Castiglioni, Bosels, Rothschilds, Poppers, Schwarzwalds etc. If Seipel were removed, then another creature of these people would immediately take his place. It is they who are the wire-pullers and chief criminals in Austria. They were cunning enough to push the ecclesiastic, Seipel to the fore because they knew that he was the personality best suited to create the impression that the "Sanitation" was a piece of work for the "common well-being" and to give the necessary sanctimonious appearance to the dictatorship of Finance Capital.

The assassin who turned his weapon on Seipel and not on one of the ruling financial capitalists — although this would also have been an absurd method of fighting even though it would be a trifle more logical — has brought about that the Austrian bourgeoisie has now seized this as an opportunity to vaunt itself over the working class. It is puffed up with moral pride. It now believes that its latest robber-attempt upon the pockets of the propertyless, the customs tariff, which will cause a fresh powerful wave of high prices, particularly of food-stuffs and articles of necessity, is as good as accomplished. Its feels itself to be in a strong position as the petty bourgeoisie is howling along with it.

The Social Democracy, in view of this event, is singing very small. It swears that it has not "egged on" the workers (which is perfectly true); it does everything possible in its press in order to laud Seipel to the skies; it joined in the proclamation of the Christian Socialist parliamentary president and of the government, which is clearly directed against the working class and in which the attempt upon Seipel is characterised as the first political attempt committed in the Austrian Republic, which implies an insult to the Austrian working class, which has to lament the loss of several victims of assassinations committed by the reactionaries.

The bourgeois press of Austria, which is as infamous as that of any other country in the world, is already calling for exceptional laws against the proletarian press and certain organizations. This is being done by the same bourgeoisie which is financing the hooked-cross bands which are outspoken murder and terrorist organizations. It is this same bourgeoisie which has witnessed without protest, and even with approval, the murder of hundreds of workers and of working class leaders.

The attempt committed by the unhappy and confused worker Javurek — he attempted to commit suicide and is severely injured; it was his original intention to commit suicide and

thereby, as he states, to take Seipel along with him to his "new world" — must be a signal for the organization of a systematic Marxian struggle of the class-conscious workers and employees in Austria against the exploiting class, as the proletariat is no more able to bear the increasing burden of sanitation agreed to at Geneva.

The Austrian Social Democrats must become conscious of the fact that the attempt upon the Chancellor is, in the last result, a consequence of their policy of compromising, which dooms the workers to hopelessness so that they finally have recourse to acts of terror.

The shots fired at the Austrian Chancellor Seipel will at any rate make it clear to the workers of all countries what the "Restoration" and "Sanitation" carried out by the capitalist powers of the West, together with the capitalists of Central Europe, mean for the working class.

Open Letter.

To the Right Honourable J. Ramsay MacDonald Prime Minister of Great Britain.

Right Honourable Sir:

The notorious "Bolshevik Conspiracy Case" of Cawnpore has ended with the sentencing of the four accused present before the Court to four years' rigorous imprisonment. In the absence of any interference from your government, this conviction may be taken as the reply to the letter addressed to you on February 30th, (copy to the Secretary of State for India), in which the questions of the legality of working-class organization and propaganda, and of an amnesty for those persons branded as "Bolshevik Agents", were squarely put. This letter failed to elicit any direct response. The Appeal subsequently addressed to you and your Government, and to the British Labour Party and proletariat, when the first news of the Trial was received, met with the same fate. By permitting the Government of India to prosecute and convict a number of individuals on the charge of seditious conspiracy, because they stand accused of having made Socialist and Communist propaganda, and of desiring to organize a political party of the Indian workers and peasants, your Government has definitely aligned itself with the Imperial policy of its predecessors, and has gone one step beyond them in putting a legal ban on all future activities of a similar nature.

The Real Object of the Trial.

The verdict handed down in the Cawnpore Court of Sessions goes far beyond the mere condemning of four individuals to four years' hard labour. It serves as a precedent to declare all Socialist, Communist and working-class organization and propaganda illegal and punishable as "criminal conspiracy". It was with this object in view that the case was undertaken, and this object has been achieved, with the connivance, if not given consent, of the British Labour Government. In spite of repeated efforts from many quarters, the latter has refused to intervene on behalf of the rights of the Indian working-class, and the Under-Secretary of State for India, replying to a question from a Tory member in the House of Commons, stated that: "The Government of India was taking all necessary measures to counteract the Communist propaganda of M. N. Roy." Similar facts can be cited to show that your Government is directly responsible for this infamous trial and conviction. You and your colleagues must, therefore, face the British proletariat with this shameful responsibility on your shoulders, and go down in History as the founders of a new Labour Imperialism which does not scruple to crush the struggles and aspirations of the Indian workers towards full social, economic and political emancipation.

A Mockery of Justice.

The whole trial, like the Act of Accusation which preceded it, was a mockery of justice and of constitutional rights.

All the witnesses, with one exception, were police officers and government hirelings, and this single exception was challenged by the Defence Counsel as a police spy. The letters and documents produced as evidence against the accused, were seized in the mails by a system of free and unlimited spying on private correspondence over a period of two years, which was openly admitted on the part of the Prosecution. The Chief of

the Secret Service Department, who was likewise the Chief Witness for the Prosecution, freely admitted that, though he was personally satisfied of the guilt of the accused, he could produce no evidence satisfactory to a Court of Law to support his allegations! Yet a charge of conspiracy, based upon the alleged propagation of socialist and communist ideas, brought against eight individuals on the sole evidence of police spies and government hirelings, has been confirmed in an Indian law-court by the ruling of a British judge, and the accused sentenced to severe terms of imprisonment, despite the disagreement of the assessors, and the confessed inability of the prosecution to substantiate its accusations! Such is the nature of British Justice in India, when a similar charge brought on similar evidence would have been laughed out of Court or made the subject of a Parliamentary Enquiry in Britain.

Is Communism legal in India?

Though the Act of Accusation and the whole burden of the Prosecution arguments were based upon the charge that the accused, in collaboration with others, had attempted to organize a working-class party having for its object to "secure the political, social and economic liberation of the Indian people", — an attempt was made, in response to protests from England, to conceal the real nature of the case by declaring that "it was not the intention to prosecute the accused because they held communist ideas." The Prosecution counsel then proceeded to define his idea of Communism; "Communism means, roughly speaking, a general sharing of everybody in everybody else's property!" Truly a classical definition of Marxism, about which apparently neither the Judge, nor the Assessors, nor the Counsel for the Prosecution and Defense, had ever heard. It was this profound ignorance of the very essence of Scientific Socialism which accentuated the mockery of the proceedings, and contributed to the final gross miscarriage of justice resulting in the conviction of the four accused present before the Court.

All the evidence brought against the accused to prove a "conspiracy", only tended to show; 1. That they were either Communists or acted in collaboration with communists; 2. That they propagated a Program written by Communists from the Communist point of view; 3. That in accordance with this Program, they advocated the organization of a political party of the Indian working-class, whose object should be the attainment of full social, economic and political emancipation; and that 4., to this end, affiliation to the Communist International was advocated. So it is ridiculous to try to camouflage the real nature of the case, whose object was to stamp out the germs of a militant labour movement in India.

Is the Indian Claim to Freedom and Democracy Unconstitutional?

It soon became evident that such a prosecution of working-class ideology and tactics in India, under the auspices of a Labour Government in Britain, would be too bald a violation of the fundamental rights of citizenship which ostensibly exist there. Despite the rigorous censorship on Indian news, reports of the Trial began to leak out, and protests arose in Britain at this monstrous attack on the liberties of the Indian working-class. It was at this stage that the Prosecution deemed it wise to shift the ground of its attack, and to pretend that the accused were being tried, not as Communists and Socialists, but because of an alleged "conspiracy" against the sovereignty of the King-Emperor. It should be remembered that no overt act or incitement thereto could be alleged against any of the accused. It was deemed that any possible sympathy on the part of the British proletariat would be successfully alienated, if the accused were tried, not as leaders of the Indian working-class, but as enemies of the Empire. This was indeed a clever move, in view of the fact that a large majority of British workers still harbour illusions about the Empire. Such a transparent stratagem could only succeed however, in a country like India, situated thousands of miles away from the militant working-class movement of Europe, and where the few constitutional safeguards that exist can be brushed aside at will by the arm of an all-powerful bureaucracy. The judicious muzzling of the press kept the progress of the case shrouded in silence, so far as the outer world was concerned, and a snap judgment convicting the accused was allowed to pass without comment in the British Liberal and Labour Press, in a test case which will serve as a precedent for the future suppression of the Indian labour movement. Is it a criminal offense to advocate the establishment of a democratic Indian Republic, free from all foreign control, by the use of force if

necessary, granted that no overt act or incitement thereto can be proved?

The right of free Self-Determination for subject peoples, and the establishment of an autonomous government, is one of the principal planks in the platform of the British Labour Party (in power today as the Labour Government), and of the Socialist International to which it is affiliated. Where then, occurs the "criminal conspiracy", in having openly advocated a universally acknowledged right? The British lawyer for the Prosecution, acting on the authority of the Government of India, which is responsible to the Secretary of State and the Labour Cabinet, urged the conviction of the accused on the plea that "the conspirators believed that British domination stood in the way of the economic and social emancipation of the Indian working-class, and therefore proposed to destroy this domination." So it is only depraved Communists who in India are convicted as "criminal conspirators", who hold that Imperialist domination is prejudicial to the welfare of subject people? A frank statement on this question from you, Right Honourable Sir, as the leader of a great proletarian party and of the Second International would be very illuminating, particularly in view of your attitude on the rights of the people of Georgia to freedom and self-determination.

Does British Labour stand for India's Right to Freedom and Democracy?

The Program of an Indian Republic, free from foreign control, is entirely legal and constitutional, if there is any meaning at all in the loudly-proclaimed doctrines of Democracy and Self-Determination which are so dear to your heart. Yet you and your colleagues, supposedly wedded to these lofty principles, have scarcely arrived in office when you sanction the prosecution and conviction of eight individuals who advocate the same thing for India. We expected that under a Labour Government, the Indian workers would receive protection, at least in so far as the elementary questions of hours, wages and conditions of work were concerned! But contrary to these expectations, and true to the notorious treachery of Social Patriotism, (in your case, Imperialism), the persecution of the Indian working-class became fiercer under the Labour regime. Strikes have been crushed without mercy, and peaceful and unarmed strikers shot down by the rifles and machine-guns of the Imperial police and soldiery, acting under orders from a Labour Government in Britain. Yet its Prime Minister speaks eloquently of the blessings of Disarmament at the very moment when British Justice, under the aegis of a Labour Government, was condemning four youths to four years' rigorous imprisonment on the charge of "criminal conspiracy", for having advocated the use of force in ridding the Indian people of the ravages of Capitalist Imperialism, — at that same moment, the forces of British Law and Order were shooting down unarmed strikers in the town of Cawnpore, a few hundred yards distant from the scene of this judicial mockery! If to use force be a criminal offense, then the British Government of India which was "established by force and maintained by force", is far more culpable than we! And it is you, Right Honourable Sir, and your Labour colleagues, who will one day stand at the bar of History to answer for the crime of perpetuating this reign of force!

Is British Sovereignty in India legitimate?

We are accused of having organized a "criminal conspiracy" against the domination of foreign capital, as embodied in British rule. Has it never occurred to our Imperial rulers, who were the Labour Party of yesterday, that you yourselves have questioned the legitimacy of British sovereignty in India? We are accused of conspiracy for having advocated the illegal as well as legal organization of a political party of the Indian working-class. Is it legal, we ask you, to surreptitiously open the private post of free citizens, and to seize, copy or destroy their contents? Is it "legal" to ban the circulation of Socialist, Communist and working-class literature; to set spies on the trail of those who uphold these ideas, and to dog the foot-steps of Indian communists from one country to another, after forcing them to live in exile from their native land? You speak of conspiracy! The British proletariat would have a thrilling tale to hear, if the organized conspiracy on the part of our Imperial rulers against the freedom and wellbeing of the three hundred million half-starved, exploited and oppressed men, women and children of the Indian Empire were fully told!

How will you solve the "Indian Problem"?

We repeat, and we challenge you to repudiate this statement, that the economic interests of the colonial and subject peoples require the destruction of Imperialism. India, as a colony of the British Empire, is no exception to this law. While you and your colleagues are flagrantly violating the first principles of that Democracy which you uphold, and persist in your brutal persecution of the Indian working-class, your Government has manifested its desire to "solve the Indian problem", in the same manner in which Lloyd George "solved" the Irish and Egyptian problems, — by placating the native bourgeoisie! By granting the demands of the Indian bourgeoisie, and taking into confidence the "elected representatives of the people", it means only that the upper strata of the population, hardly two per cent, have been admitted into the Imperial partnership, to share in the exploitation of the Indian masses! This is no Labour policy; it is the politics of Liberal Imperialism! Will the condition of the Indian workers be in any way altered thereby, except for the worse; and will it not be the final means of forcing the British proletariat, already the victim of chronic unemployment, to sink to the level of coolies? These are the politics of Imperialism, which you and your colleagues of the Privy Council have pledged yourselves to preserve and perpetuate. The success of this policy will mean the intensified exploitation of the colonial masses on the one hand, and the depression of the standard of living of the home proletariat on the other.

The Real Solution.

The only real solution of the fatal crisis in which Civilization finds itself involved, is the total destruction of Imperialism, and a change from the capitalist system of economy to a Socialist one. The rise of a militant working-class party in India is one step towards this goal. If the Labour Government persists in denying the Indian masses a constitutional outlet for their grievances, they will be obliged to take refuge in the only weapon which remains to them, — Force, employed as an instrument of Freedom, to overcome Force maintained as a tool of exploitation and oppression. And who shall dare to say that the Indian people will not be justified? Not the British proletariat, in whose name you are playing the role of the watch-dog of Imperialism.

In view therefore, of the grave significance of the situation, I call upon you, Right Honourable Sir, in the name of the Indian masses, to reconsider your policy. I repeat the demands made in my first letter. Let the Labour Government come to the assistance of the Indian working-class, instead of carrying on clandestine negotiations with British and Indian Capitalism. Let the monstrous judgment of Cawnpore be reversed, and the accused set at liberty. Give the same rights and protection to Indian labour as prevail in Great Britain; recognize the rights of organization and propaganda on the political and economic fields. Lift the ban on Socialist and working-class literature. Legalize the existence of Trade-Unions, and equalize wages, hours of work and conditions of labour with those prevailing abroad. Grant a general amnesty for all political offenders, and declare the rights of the Indian people to Self-Determination and Autonomy.

Only by such measures can the British Labour Government justify its pretensions to be a government of the working-class, and be true to the principles laid down in its program of Socialism. Will you have the courage, Right Honourable Sir, to inaugurate this new Labour policy upon the ashes of the old? The verdict of History awaits your decision.

(signed) Manabendra Nath Roy.

Zurich, Switzerland, June 5, 1924.

The Political Situation in Yugoslavia.

By Stefanski.

Never since its foundation has Yugoslavia been involved in such a serious political crisis as at the present time. In the short period from March 28th to the present time, M. Pasic has resigned no less than three times and three times has received orders from the Throne to form a cabinet. During this time the opposition block, under the leadership of M. Davidovic, has undoubtedly used every possible tactic of bourgeois policy to overthrow Pasic and get the government into its own hands. In fact things went so far that an endeavour was made to have the

Radic people presented at Court, and this having failed, Radic thereupon issued a manifesto to the population calculated to convince the dynasty of his non-revolutionary views and his capacity to govern. He wrote the following words: characterising at once his policy and the present crisis:

"Serbian people and you Slav and non-Slav brothers! We Croats are all republicans. That we intend to remain in the future. And among you are many more republicans than one would suppose and than one speaks of. But we are humane, constitutional and peasant republicans. In our humanity we wish for no revolution, nor assassination, nor any kind of violence — and this by no means from fear, but because of our pacifism, without which a small nation cannot exist."

But all this has been of no avail.

Now M. Pasic has once again formed a cabinet, a working cabinet, but which is about forty votes in the minority in parliament. To guard against all eventualities, the Premier, by the reading of a royal ukase in the sitting of the 27th May, has prorogued the Skuptchtina off hand until the 20th October 1924. It is as good as certain that the dissolution of parliament will follow in October. Thereupon M. Pasic will have the new elections carried out in his usual manner.

What are the prospects afforded in view of these elections, and what must the Yugoslavian Communist Party especially keep in view?

The tremendous efforts of a section of the Serbian, and of almost the whole of the non-Serbian bourgeoisie to come to some understanding and to arrange a settlement, may give rise to fresh illusions in the Yugoslavian peoples as to the possibility of solving problems of nationality in Yugoslavia by peaceful, constitutional means. The strategy and the tactics of the middle and left bourgeois parties are very well arranged. The general strategy of these parties will consist in assailing Pasic, who is generally hated outside of Serbia, and in defeating him at all costs; for according to their ideology and in the eyes of the masses, Pasic is the only stumbling block to a national understanding in Yugoslavia. As part of their tactics they have a number of very effective watchwords like "Republic", "National Autonomy", "Friendship with the working masses", "Corruption of the Radicals", "Burdens of taxation which the Radical regime has imposed", "Split in the Pasic party" etc. Here it must not be forgotten that the France of Herriot will strongly support the middle parties in Yugoslavia. Also, in the event — after the elections — of a split in the Pasic party, possibly under the leadership of Nostas Petrovic, the Serbians in the middle block, if not possessing a majority, would certainly form a strong section which might also carry on a government under the Karagorgievitch-Dynasty. The formation of such a government in Yugoslavia is by no means impossible.

What would be the political situation in Yugoslavia under such a government? Before all it must be noted that in such an event both the Serbian and the Croatian Republicans would stand outside the government. This would mean however a still greater national tension between the Serbians and the Croats. One must also not leave out of consideration, that such a government would have but small support in the army. In order to create such support, it would have to reinstate all the Croatian and Slav officers who were discharged by Pasic, undertake transfers etc. One can very well imagine what sort of mood this would create at Court and among the Serbian officers. In the event therefore of such a settlement of the Serbian and non-Serbian middle groups, we have to reckon not upon a solution of the national and political crisis, but on the contrary on its aggravation.

One must not however fail to bear in mind that M. Pasic will himself arrange the elections; that these elections will not be conducted without bloodshed and that they may result favourably for Pasic. The Davidovic party, which forms the core of the opposition, does not, on account of its half and half attitude on the constitution question, stand on a sure footing either among the Serbians or elsewhere. It may experience a collapse, in which event the Serbians and Non-Serbians will stand more immediately in opposition to one another. This would render possible an open dictatorship in the country of M. Pasic, who would then be able to undertake a further "purification" of the officers' staff. This would also mean a sharpening of the situation.

Our Party has rightly seen the development of affairs. It has now a great work; above all to proceed with all its energy

against the illusions of the middle political groups. The problems of nationality and the political crisis cannot be solved by a Herriotising of Yugoslavia. We are experiencing a state crisis. This state crisis is only to be overcome by Yugoslavia being resolved into a free federation of states according to provinces on the principle of self-determination, and being left to its further development. This indeed can only be accomplished by the formation of a Workers' and Peasants' Government. The Party must raise and effectively deal with the problems of the national republics — Croatian, Serbian, Slav, Macedonian, Montenegrin etc. — concretely, in all its agitation and in the press. This is the chief requisite if it wishes to achieve any success in the coming elections.

But above all, every endeavour must be made to show the broad masses in Yugoslavia, that the Dynasty and the Serbian military clique are the greatest stumbling blocks to a national understanding, and that without the removal of these factors, there can be no talk of national peace in Yugoslavia.

The American Communists and La Follette.

By I. A m t e r.

The statement of Senator La Follette on May 28 that he will have nothing to do with a party of which the Communists are a part, and warning the workers and farmers not to participate in the convention of June 17 at St. Paul, Minnesota, at which a National Farmer Labour Party is to be formed, is a most cheering bit of information.

Among other things, La Follette stated that the Communists have only destructive intentions in taking part in the formation of the party and are merely following the instructions of the Communist International. This is not at all new either to the Communists of America or the workers and exploited farmers. The Communists have not concealed from the exploited masses of America that the only thing that will help them in the struggle against the capitalist class and the capitalist government is the establishment of a Soviet Government and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. As the workers and exploited farmers, however, do not perceive this necessity and are still unwilling to fight for these aims, the Workers Communist Party is ready to aid them in any independent political action and in the formation of an independent political party to conduct the struggle against the capitalist parties and capitalism.

To this end, the Workers Communist Party has been most active in the formation of local and state Farmer Labour Parties. It has sought and found the co-operation of the Minnesota Farmer Labour Party, within which has been formed the Farmer-Labour Federation, embracing the organized workers of St. Paul, Minneapolis and Duluth, the three industrial centers of Minnesota, and the poorest farmers, and actually controlling the Minnesota Farmer Labour Party. In the primaries for the nomination of the candidates of the Minnesota Farmer Labour Party, the Workers Communist Party has put up Communist candidates, who advocate the full Communist program. Despite this fact, the Minnesota workers and exploited farmers have not been abashed, but have been willing to co-operate with the Workers Communist Party. Even the liberal group, the "Committee of 48", has not been frightened, but has stated openly that the June 17, convention must include ALL groups of workers and farmers, irrespective of their philosophy. But even if the Workers Communist Party had tried to conceal its purpose — which it has never done — its activity in the political field and in the trade unions has been perfectly clear. Every practical demand that the Communists have made in the interest of the workers has been attacked by the bureaucrats as Bolshevist. The very idea of independent political action and an independent Farmer Labour Party has been assailed as a machination of Moscow. — regardless of the fact that a farmer labour party has existed in the United States since 1919 under the leadership of the Chicago Federation of Labour.

The statement of La Follette will have a most wholesome effect. At the same time, it is clear evidence of the importance and power of the June 17 convention. The economic reports in the capitalist papers indicate quite clearly that the bourgeoisie of America is scared. The capitalist papers do not know who the candidates of the capitalist parties will be and what programs will be adopted. What terrifies them most is the formation of a "third" party. The present economic crisis in America is attri-

buted in great part to this feeling of "insecurity". This "third" party, however, intended to hold its convention on July 4 and has as its aim, not the formation of a new party, but the endorsement of the "progressive" candidate of either of the capitalist parties. The Railroad Brotherhoods, the independent railway unions outside of the American Federation of Labour, which comprise the real aristocracy of American labour and are arch-conservative, are the backbone of this convention. Their leaders state openly that endorsement of a capitalist candidate is the probable outcome of the July 4 convention.

Why is La Follette taking a position against the June 17, convention? The movement for the formation of a National Farmer Labour Party has assumed great momentum. The agricultural crisis, the crashing of a large number of country banks, and particularly the sudden industrial crisis which has set in in the past six weeks after a period of slowly growing depression, and above all the complete indifference of the government to the increasing misery of the exploited farmers and of the industrial workers, have opened the eyes of the workers and exploited farmers to the absolute necessity of acting politically independently of the capitalists and the capitalist parties. State and local farmer labour parties are being formed in every part of the country. The movement has not been localized, but extends from Massachusetts to California, finding its strongest expression, however, in the middle west. In the corn and wheat states of the middle west, according to government reports one-quarter of the farmers are bankrupt; four-sevenths of the total farm income is used to pay taxes and interest on mortgages and debts; fifty per cent as many banks have failed between 1920 and 1923 as during the whole period from 1902 to 1923; the purchasing power of farm products is less than half of what it was before the war; the steel industry, which was operating at 90 to 95 per cent of its capacity in the month of March, dropped 25 per cent in three or four weeks; the coal mining industry is operating at 25 per cent of capacity, in some fields at only 10 per cent of capacity; the automobile industry dropped 25 per cent in capacity in a few weeks; the needle and packing industry are demoralized; more and more textile mills are closing; the shoe and furniture industries are suffering very seriously; the railways are prescribing "stringent economy" and in consequence are laying off thousands of men; the building boom, which came to a close in the past year in the West, has at last broken in New York, where speculation has been rife.

These are a few manifestations of the present time which are driving the workers and exploited farmers to the formation of a National Farmer Labour Party. It is the economic factors with their political reactions which are worrying the capitalists and capitalist parties. And there is no way out for the capitalists. The international market is saturated, the innovations and improvements have been fully carried out, trade is dull, the wholesale and retail market is stocked up. And there is no hope of brisk foreign trade, which in the past six months has slowly diminished. Hence the capitalists regard the formation of a party of workers and exploited farmers with great concern.

The "third" party will not be formed. On March 18, La Follette indicated very clearly that he would not break with the Republican Party — which should have been clear to any one who knows La Follette and his policies. La Follette has put up a radical program and demands that the Republican Party orientate itself toward this program. The Republican Party will not adopt his full program, but will accept some points. If Coolidge will not accept the program, another candidate acceptable to the "insurgents" in the Republican Party will be nominated — despite the fact that Coolidge today apparently has sufficient delegates to the Republican convention pledged to support him, to ensure his nomination. And there is always the hope the Democratic Party will nominate a "progressive" candidate. The sponsors of the "third" party have sabotaged the formation of a farmer labour party for two years, and have been driven further and further away from the idea by the activity of the Communists.

Hence, La Follette, and with him the whole capitalist class of the United States, have realized that the June 17, convention is the only danger confronting them in the coming presidential election — hence their vicious campaign against the Communists and the farmer labour party. This also accounts for the statement of La Follette denouncing the Communists. La Follette's declaration will have the effect of driving all vacillating elements away from the June 17, convention, so that it will be a pure workers' and exploited farmers' convention. More than that, it will drive

out all elements which are unwilling to form a real fighting party and who have not yet recognized in the activities of the Communists, that they are the best fighters in the country. La Follette has rendered the June 17, convention a great service, since the great masses of the workers and farmers have had faith in him. They will now regard him as what he is: an ambitious politician striving only for office and power.

THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT

The Mining Women in the Ruhr Struggle.

By Kl. S.

In the colossal struggle of the mining proletariat of the Ruhr area against mining capital, there were not only 500,000 miners but also hundreds of thousands of working women who took an active part in the conflict. The Communist Party has not yet sufficiently understood how to draw greater masses of women into the proletarian struggle and to lead them to become active members of the Party. For the most part it has only in theory maintained the important place of women in the revolutionary struggle, without itself being permeated throughout its membership with the sense of this importance and acting accordingly. For a long time the majority of the proletarian women have stood passively aside. But in the masses of the women there slumber unsuspected powers. The awful need, the starvation of their children, the absolute beggary and impoverishment of their families have shaken the mining women into wakefulness and released their powers. In an incredibly short time the mining women, who up till now stood absolutely apart from political life, grasped the tremendous significance of the miners' fight and immediately, purposefully and courageously took the necessary steps for assuring its success.

In the whole of the Ruhr district the women Communist in every town, in every locality, informed the masses of the women, in public meetings of the significance of the miners' struggle. The women understood that the attacks on wages and working hours, the deployment of the white troops in Germany, the mobilisations against Soviet Russia, the Experts' Report — that all these are links in one chain forged for the shackling of the proletariat in eternal slavery and exploitation by International Capital. The response of the women in all resolutions was a hundred-fold; they solemnly pledged themselves to active participation in the miners' struggle, to unconditional holding out until the seven hour shift and a decent human wage had been won. The women have put their vow into practice.

At the beginning of the Ruhr strike strike-breakers were to be found in many of the mines. The women immediately recognised the great danger which threatened the unity of the struggle from these strike-breakers who, by doing the most necessary work in the mines, kept the industry going. The women formed Information Detachments, which visited the strike-breakers in their homes, and made clear to them the injury they were doing to the workers. Not satisfied with this the women, armed with pick-handles, wooden laths and rubber piping, lined up before the mine gates, forced an entrance and gave the strike-breakers a good drubbing. Thereby they came into collision with the police. The women were indefatigable in discovering new methods of rendering the strike-breakers harmless. Thus in one place these fellows were marched through the town in a great demonstration procession, each bearing a card: „Strike-breaker“ round his neck. In many places the windows of the houses in which the strike-breakers were living were smeared with tar or „decorated“ with inscriptions. These energetic fighting methods of the working women resulted in there being no more scab work performed in the majority of the mines. Also the officials, who did emergency work, left the mines for fear of a rough handling.

The procuring of necessary provisions was largely a task for the women, as they are most seriously concerned with the hunger of their children and the cares of maintaining the home. The women therefore applied by delegations, supported by demonstrations, to the town and municipal authorities with the demand that the latter should assure the feeding of the strikers. In many cases the municipalities yielded to the pressure, fitted up kitchens, and distributed provisions. The women eagerly participated in the generous relief work of the International Workers'

Relief, conducting kitchens, distributing food etc. The work of collecting among business people was energetically carried on by them.

A famous page in the history of the miners' struggle is the courageous, fearless stand of the women against the police, who, at demonstrations, in the fights against the strike-breakers and after meetings took very brutal measures against the women. In Essen, Bochum, Dortmund and many other places, there were particularly serious collisions in which the police attacked the women with drawn weapons. Even then the women did not yield but tried to defend themselves with stones torn up from the road. The women rushed the police and attempted to tear their weapons from them. The police frequently had their heads clouted by the women, while it came over and over again to wounding and arresting of women. In most cases the police were only able to disperse the women after the arrival of patrol waggons full of re-inforcements. Many reports stated that the police were helpless. It must be emphasised that these struggles were for the greater part participated in by politically indifferent women, as is generally the case. Even the "Christian" women fought ruthlessly. A typical example is the case in which one woman struck a policeman in the face with her prayer book.

By the active participation of the women in all the struggles, the front of the mining proletariat was extraordinarily strengthened and made firm. The courage of the miners was enhanced by the success of the women, while the enemy was considerably weakened. Wide masses of proletarian women stand with complete confidence behind the Communist Party. The women themselves have learnt an infinite amount in the revolutionary struggle. Women who have never previously spoken or appeared in public were active as agitators and speakers and worked successfully in the strike committees. The working women have thrown their illusions overboard, they have looked their capitalist enemy in the face, and have felt the fury of capitalist state organs on their own bodies. They know today that they can only conquer their opponents and win freedom by revolutionary struggle, by civil war.

The struggles of the mining women have given us a practical example of the significance of the women in the revolution. It is now the work of our Party to make use of the sympathies of the proletarian women, and bind them closely to the Communist Party. The Party must now carry on the work among women to a far greater extent and in a quite different way from formerly. Also the centre of gravity of its work among the women must be based in the workshops. Here a staff of revolutionary women workshop functionaries must be formed, who shall work in the Communist workshop nuclei in order to win over the women workers in their places of work. Housewives must also be brought into closest unity with the workshops. Only thus shall we be able to win over the masses of the women workers and housewives, who are still standing apart, for the revolutionary struggle.

The Women's Movement in Canada.

Report delivered at the Third National Convention of the Workers' Party of Canada.

The political status of the women in Canada is, nominally, one of sex equality. And it must be said that women's position in the social sense is better than that of the women of Europe. But when judging the position of the working women from the economic viewpoint, the opposite is the case. The labour of the working women of Canada is relatively more exploited than that of her European sisters. In this country nearly 400,000 women are compelled to be wage earners. Of this number 25% are engaged in industry. As far as can be estimated only 1% of this large army of workers are organized. Judging from the reports of the minimum wage board of Ontario, the extent to which women were exploited in some branches of industry, at the time the board commenced investigations about two years ago, takes one back to the early days of capitalism in England. The Board, in fixing the minimum rate at \$ 12, 50 per week for experienced women workers, can boast that it increased women's wages in some cases nearly 100%.

The practical questions confronting us in Canada are: 1. How to attract the women to active participation in the every day struggles for better conditions of labour and higher wages. 2. How to combat the reactionary influences which hold the

working women in their grip. And to take them forward to revolutionary class action and organization.

The methods adopted in Toronto by the Womens Labour League will form a good illustration as to how these difficulties are being met in their first stages. The following report was given by the secretary at the Annual Meeting of the League April 8th of this year.

Progress of the Toronto Womens League and the results of its activity for the year:

1. The no more war demonstration. The league helped largely in initiating this, going on record as being in favour of street demonstrations.

2. Our delegates to the Trades and Labour Council participated in the unemployed movement in the city, and endeavored to interest the wives of the unemployed workers in the movement.

3. The league made a struggle against the minimum wage rate of \$ 12,50, with the conscious endeavour to use this to get the factory workers interested in organization. In this connection we have been instrumental in bringing the Trades and Labour Council into this work. The organizational committee of the council is now planning mass meetings for the unorganized women and girls who work in industry.

4. The League undertook a campaign to collect funds for the assistance of the women and children of the Steel workers, who were on strike last summer, in Nova Scotia. Later this activity was converted into Defense work on a broader scale by organized labour.

5. The League established a precedent in Canada by celebrating International Womens Day and sending greetings to the working women of Germany.

These activities have increased the prestige of the league and provided the members with an incentive to work for the Labour movement generally.

Perhaps the most effective piece of work was accomplished by the league when it sent two resolutions to the Dominion Trades Congress in September of last year.

1. Calling for the endorsement of the Labour League movement in Canada.

2. Calling upon the Congress to take a stand upon the War question.

The outcome of this publicity was the formation of leagues in Sydney, Drumheller and Hamilton, and closer connections with other leagues in the country.

Following upon the discussion of the Labour League movement by the Congress, a call was sent to working womens organizations to take part in a conference which the Toronto league is initiating. This National conference will take place in London Ontario this year, at the time the Congress meets.

The Western women have taken some action in this matter already. A conference of Western Womens' Organizations took place at Brandon, Manitoba, on March 28-29 this year. Reports show that the women were not prepared for the militant work of the leagues and the conference showed strong tendencies to divert the work of the women into purely social channels.

Plans for future work.

1. To bring the work of the league still nearer to the work of the Labour councils and engage in activities that will attract women into the labour movement.

2. To work through the Trades councils in order to get the women and girls who work in industry organized into unions. To reach the house-wives by holding meetings of an educational character in the homes in various parts of the city.

3. To take steps to organize the celebration of International Womens Day on a much wider scale, by calling into being a committee similar to the May Day Committees.

The foregoing report gives a record of work that was accomplished in little more than a year and under difficult conditions, such as no funds, no direct personal contact, and the only method for an exchange of ideas was by continual letter writing. The experience of the past year proves that the work is fruitful, also that the leagues formed recently, in which the women members of the party take an active part, prove to be the most active. The Edmonton and Drumheller leagues are taking an active part in the organizing of the women and girls.

IN THE INTERNATIONAL

The XIIIth Congress of the Communist Party of Russia.

(Special Report to the "Inprecorr".)

II.

Fourth Day of Congress (Continued).

Speech of Comrade Kuybyshev on the Activity of the Central Control Commission.

The Central Commission has supported the Central Committee in the struggle for Party unity and for the maintenance of a strict Bolshevik line of policy. The Lenin recruitment offered us the possibility of a large-scale work for the improvement of the state economic apparatus. The Provincial Control Commissions consist up to 75 per cent of workers. The task of the Congress is to enlarge the Commission by nominating workers to it.

Speech of Comrade Bucharin on the Activity of the Delegation of the RCP. in the ECCI.

The world economic position reveals three fundamental new phenomena: first the end of the boom period in America; secondly an improvement, a certain stabilisation of the economic position in Central and Western Europe, and thirdly an agrarian crisis on a world-scale connected with the "shears", i. e. the disparity between the prices of food stuffs and industrial products.

The agrarian crisis promotes the revolutionising of the peasant masses against financial capital. The stabilisation has been achieved by means of expropriating the middle classes and a portion of the peasantry, by means of increased pressure upon the working class whose wages were reduced and whose working hours have been increased. It is a new phenomenon that the economic revival synchronises with the greatest political difficulties. Thus in England one witnesses the centrifugal efforts of the colonies, social unrest and labour struggles. In France there is an increase in the state debt, in the taxes and in the cost of living. The bourgeoisie needs a breathing space, therefore on its part it employs the tactics of the united front in order to win over the petty bourgeoisie. Where the class antagonisms are aggravated, the united front of the bourgeoisie is represented by Fascism, where they are less aggravated, this is achieved by a coalition with the Social Democracy.

Against the "Restoration" offensive of the bourgeoisie, the proletariat attempted to break through the front of the bourgeoisie. The autumn events in Germany, Poland and Bulgaria resulted everywhere in defeat, as a result of which crises arose in the sections of the Comintern. The general cause of the crises consists in that the Communist Parties in the West still retain remnants of Social Democracy and the Communist Parties by reason of the tactics of the united front are compelled to work among the petty bourgeoisie, a fact which however, proves nothing against the tactics of the united front. The essence of the crises was the Bolshevisation of the Parties in the West.

The Delegation of the RCP. in the ECCI. was charged by the opposition of the RCP. with having caused a split in the CP. of Germany. After a detailed description of the October crisis Bucharin declared that the Political Bureau of the RCP. regarded the Saxon policy as an opportunist application of the united front tactics. The united front tactics in Germany must be adapted to the concrete situation and can only be employed from below.

The Communist Party of Bulgaria during the Zankov Coup d'Etat had misunderstood the relations to the peasantry, a fact which facilitated the victory of the counter-revolution. The September insurrection, however, proved that the CP., although late, recognised the importance of the peasantry.

The relations to the peasantry provoked also a crisis in the Workers Party of America. The agrarian crisis and the expropriation of the middle classes stimulated the formation of a third great party, which a group of comrades wanted to support. It is true that that error is easily to be accounted for in view of the extremely complicated situation, the ECCI. however has swung the helm to the left.

The Communist Party of England had, at the beginning, afforded too much support to MacDonald, which had to be rectified by the Communist International.

The Communist Party of Poland at first supported the opposition in the RCP., but changed its attitude when seeing the success of the Central Committee.

The election victories in France, Germany, Italy and Bulgaria, the intensifying of the labour struggles prove that the proletariat is once more in the fight after the autumn defeats.

Fifth Day of Congress.

Discussion on the Report of Comrade Bucharin on the Activity of the Delegation of the RCP. in the ECCI.

Comrade Radek:

The past year brought a rising revolutionary wave and then the autumn defeats. The CP. of Bulgaria committed errors in the employment of the united front tactics, a fact which however is to be understood.

In the October defeat of the German proletariat, it was a main fault of the ECCI. that it perceived the revolutionary situation too late. The retreat in Germany was absolutely necessary as the German proletariat was unarmed, as there existed no mass organization, and as the Party was too weak to organize the revolution. While the comrades of the Brandler group consist of the oldest functionaries of the movement, some of the left comrades in Germany have not been in the Party for any great length of time.

The present leadership of the CPG. has committed the gravest faults in the trade union question as well as in the question of the united front tactics and even comrade Zinoviev had been obliged to oppose them in this. The electoral victories of the German and French Communists are indeed great, but nevertheless the Social Democratic parties in France and Germany are still the strongest parties of the workers.

Dangers threaten from the right but also from the left. I am prepared to fight against the right, if the left is also opposed. The main task is the creation of mass organizations and the capturing of the trade unions.

Comrade Manuilsky:

Three main questions are engaging the attention of the Comintern: The discussion in the RCP., the German question and the question of the MacDonald government. The fact that the coming to power of the MacDonald government created illusions proves that on a world-scale a right wing in the Comintern is consolidating itself and that opportunist deviations are again being galvanised. In Holland even a Communist declared that it was a question as to whether the Russian October revolution or the MacDonald government was more important from the world-historic point of view.

The CP. of France has fulfilled its duty in the question of the Ruhr occupation. This is proved by the arrest of the Central and of many youth comrades.

Comrade Souvarine

attempted to defend the attitude of the opposition in the CPF. and declared that the CPF. had not supported the opposition in the RCP., but had only been opposed to the sharp tone of the discussion. Comrade Trotzky symbolises the revolution and therefore we defended him.

Concluding Words of Comrade Bucharin on the Report on the Activity of the RCP. Delegation in the ECCI.

Comrade Radek had declared that it had been a main fault in the German question that the ECCI. had perceived the revolutionary situation too late. At that time it was comrade Radek alone who protested against a revolutionary transformation of the Party. Comrade Radek had directed criticism against the fixing of a term, but the Executive had not forced the question of a term.

The present leadership of the CPG. committed errors, which must be made good. But the Party has now a united and firm leadership, while the Central of Brandler was in a chronic crisis.

I do not overestimate the electoral victories of the German Communists. I only claim that the situation in the Communist Party of Germany is relatively good.

May the Congress approve the policy of the majority of the RCP. delegation in the ECCI.

The organisations of the RCP. of Moscow and Leningrad proposed the following.

Resolution on the Report on the Activity of the Delegation of the RCP in the ECCI.

The 13th Congress of the RCP. fully approves of the work of the RCP. representation in the ECCI. and declares its entire solidarity with the tactics of the Executive of the Comintern.

The Congress further declares that the right deviations which Comrade Radek — against the decisions of the RCP. — defends, have nothing in common with the political line of the RCP.

The Congress gives expression to its full solidarity with the political line which the Comintern has adopted in the German, in the French and in the English questions.

The resolution was adopted unanimously.

Speech of Comrade Kamenev on Home Trade and Co-operation.

The Autumn crisis of the year 1923 has been followed by a considerable increase in the turn-over of goods, which is to be attributed to the currency reform. The total amount of money circulating within the Union in January 1923 amounted to 117 million gold roubles, while it now amounts to 445 million gold roubles. The currency reform has been successfully realised, but there is the possibility of further difficulties which can be overcome by means of a further reduction in the price of industrial products and by means of the most stringent economy in the expenditure by the state in all spheres. The Soviet power will not revert to a policy of inflation.

The chief task of the Soviet government in the sphere of home trade is the strengthening of the co-operatives by all possible means, the state regulation of the market, as well as the supplying of the peasants with cheap goods. It is only by these measures that the state and co-operative capital will fight against private capital which is prevailing in the retail trade. The legal conditions regarding private capital will not be altered.

The Autumn crisis arose from the disparity between the pace of development of the nationalised industry and of the peasant economy, but not from a lack of system as the opposition thinks. There exists the possibility of crises also in the future. In such cases our chief task will consist in ameliorating these crises as far as possible.

The development of big industry must be adapted to the purchasing power of the peasant market. For industry, mass consumption must be brought about. By the reduction of the deficit of our budget we have — in spite of the hopes of our enemies — been able to realise the currency reform. The circulation of money has doubled within five months. This fact proves the rise of our economy and the increase in the turn-over of goods.

The present budget of two milliards does not meet all requirements.

We can claim what many capitalist states cannot claim: In the Soviet Union sudden turns in the interior policy are impossible.

The Soviet power must maintain its commanding position in the sphere of trade. And this is possible by the state monopoly of foreign trade, as well as by means of a predominating position of the nationalised industry in the home trade. The Soviet will lead the Soviet Union to economic prosperity.

Speech of Comrade Krichanovsky on the Turn-over of Goods and Planned Economy.

The planned economy is the bridge by means of which we are to pass from Capitalism to Socialism. The organization of trade and co-operation are the decisive links in the unfolding of the new economic policy. The commanding heights must be fortified. As keystones there must be set up the stabilisation of the currency and the laying down of a correct line between industry and agriculture.

Speech of Comrade Andreyev on Co-operation.

The Co-operative work must be placed on a fresh basis. Co-operation must be decentralised, the local co-operative organizations must be linked up with the productive organs, the role of the local organizations must be increased, the passing over to the voluntary principle must be achieved more rapidly, while the

co-operatives must sell cheaper than the private dealer. The interests of the consumer must come first! More interest and more initiative! Thousands of the best Party workers into the Co-operatives! Co-operative construction work is our fundamental task.

Sixth Day of Congress.

Speech of Comrade Kalinin on the Work in the Villages.

The ideas of Comrade Lenin on the work in the villages form for us the starting point in our further work among the peasantry. The Party organizations must adopt a serious attitude towards the village communes which are capable of functioning, and must render them the fullest assistance. Our task must be to increase the turn-over of goods in the villages. The co-operatives form our chief weapon in our fight against private capital in the villages. The Committees for Mutual Aid must serve as a means of help for those in the villages possessing the least property. The agricultural experts must be given a large role in the daily life of the peasants. The "Shefstvo" (the assumption of a protective role on the part of certain factories and enterprises) is strengthening the connection between the working masses and the peasantry. A good administration plays a deciding role, which determines the attitude of the peasantry towards the Soviets. The alliance between workers and peasants must become continually stronger.

Speech of Comrade Krupskaya on the Work of Enlightenment in the Villages.

A means must be found for uniting the poor and the middle peasants against the large farmer. The movement among the teachers, their striving after knowledge, appear to be a reflection of that which is proceeding in the village. Investigations in the villages have revealed a terrible picture of the condition of public instruction in the various localities. The Party must help the village to emerge from the wild primitive state. The Party must give to the villages the functionaries they require. The Lenin recruitment has shown that there exists a conduit between the Party and the working class. It is now necessary to work at the establishment of another conduit between the Party and the peasantry. The common reading room is the fighting centre for enlightenment in the villages. It is necessary to redistribute the means provided by the budget in such a way as to provide more means for the work in the villages.

Speech of Comrade Molotov on Party Organizational Questions.

The Lenin recruitment is a new epoch in the development of our Party, is a new course in our Party policy. In the first period of the NEP. the Party has purged itself of unsuitable elements, has strengthened the leading Party core, has achieved a great work of Party education and culture which has given positive results. Along with the purging of the state apparatus, special measures are required for the fight against the influence of the remaining bourgeois elements upon the communists working in the state apparatus. Attention to the political education work in the Party! Instead of RCP. (B*) — CP. (B) of the Soviet Union. We were, are and remain Bolsheviks!

Speech of Comrade Bucharin on the Work among the Youth.

The question of the education of the rising generation determines the issue of the fight between Capitalism and Socialism. The younger the elements we get into our ranks the more must we bring under our influence broader social circles. We must attract into the Youth organizations the most active elements of the village youth which are most devoted to the Soviet and which are most susceptible to communist training, in order to secure their influence and, through them, the influence of the Party on the whole work in the villages. A considerable portion of the student-youth constitutes a declassed student-youth; the Party runs the risk, instead of receiving reinforcements of receiving unhealthy declassed elements.

Seventh day of Congress.

This day was devoted to the sittings of the Sections and Committees elected by the Congress for the consideration and elaboration of resolutions on the items dealt with in the speeches delivered on the two previous days.

*) "B" denotes Bolshevik.

Eighth Day of Congress.

The Marx-Engels Institute and the Lenin Institute.

After a speech by Comrade Ryasanov on the Marx-Engels Institute, it was decided to publish the works of Marx and Engels in all important languages, in co-operation with the Communist International. Comrade Kamenev gave a report on the Lenin Institute, whereupon it was decided to publish a collection of Lenin's works in all important languages.

The Congress then proceeded to adopt the resolutions submitted to it by the various committees.

It was decided to hold the next Party Congress in Leningrad.

Election of the Central Committee.

The election of the Central Committee, consisting of fifty members, resulted in the re-election of all known Party leaders — with the exception of Comrade Radek — among them being Comrades Stalin, Zinoviev, Kamenev, Bucharin, Rykov and Trotsky. Among the newly elected are to be found Comrades Krassin and Krichanovsky.

Concluding Speech of Comrade Zinoviev.

In his concluding speech Comrade Zinoviev stated that the Party Congress had shown the complete unity and profound understanding of the Party for the questions constituting the central points of the discussion, especially for the very important peasant question.

The Congress concluded with cheers for the Communist Party and the Communist International and the singing of "The International".

The Norwegian Labour Party and the Communist International.

The Executive Committee of the Communist International decided at its sitting of the 30th March 1924 to give the Norwegian Labour Party, which in November 1923 placed itself outside of the ranks of the Communist International by refusing to submit to the decisions of the IV. Congress and of the Enlarged Executive, the possibility of attending the V. World Congress. It therefore invited the Norwegian Labour Party to the V. Congress.

To this invitation the Norwegian Labour Party sent the following answer:

"To the Executive Committee of the Communist International.

The Norwegian Labour Party has received the invitation to send a delegation to the V. World Congress. The Central Committee of the Norwegian Labour Party desires to accept this invitation. The Central Committee, however, considers it necessary to bring to the knowledge of the ECCI. the resolutions which were adopted by the party after the split which took place in November of last year, and therefore encloses the resolutions herewith which can be of importance in this connection.

The Central Committee is of the opinion that it appears to be already too late to make use of the right of appeal, as the ECCI. has expelled the Norwegian Labour Party from the International and has insisted upon the creation of a party which is conducting a fight against the Labour Party. In view of this the delegation will not bring forward any appeal at the Congress. The Norwegian Labour Party assumes at the same time that the reuniting of the party with the International cannot be carried out at the present time.

Instead of this the delegation will make it their duty to endeavour to create the conditions for constant and friendly collaboration with the International, provided that the International keeps to the same principles and political views, and pursues the same ends as the Norwegian Labour Party sets before itself in Norway.

The Central Committee wishes to be informed before hand whether the attitude of the delegation is compatible with the preconditions forming the basis of the invitation of the ECCI.

As the time is very short will you please let us have your answer by telegraph.

With Communist greetings,

The Norwegian Labour Party.

Oskar Torn, Ejnar Gerhardsen."

The ECCI. sent the Norwegian Labour Party on the 16th May the following letter:

"Moscow, 16th May 1924.

To the CC. of the Norwegian Labour Party, Christiania.

Dear Comrades,

In your letter of the 7th May you express the wish to be informed as to the preconditions attaching to the invitation of your party to the fifth World Congress of the C. I.

What can there be here which is not clear to you? The ECCI. is subordinate to the World Congress and if you assume that the ECCI. has not acted rightly, then you have the right to appeal to the World Congress. That is the formal reason for our invitation.

Still more important for us is the fact that a considerable section of the best proletarian elements to be found in the ranks of the Norwegian Labour Party, at heart, desire affiliation to the Comintern. The ECCI. wishes to do everything possible in order to meet this wish and therefore we have invited the N. L. P. to the Congress. We will support these workers who wish to go with us.

You are against entry into the Comintern, as is to be seen from your letter. You state that your delegation will endeavour to create the conditions for constant and "friendly collaboration" with the Communist International. To this we must frankly say that we regard your letter as an attempt to obscure the perfectly clear position. You know that the very first requisite for friendly collaboration with the International is friendly collaboration with the Communists in Norway. If you do not desire this, the World Congress will not be able to achieve a miracle, even if it devotes itself exclusively to your question. If, however, you desire a friendly cooperation you can have it at any moment you please.

You know very well that precisely in Norway at present the collaboration of all revolutionary workers is more necessary than ever. The gigantic class war of the Norwegian proletariat directly calls for this necessary collaboration. Who is preventing this? In your ranks is such a man as Olea Lian, the most typical social democratic bureaucrat, who, among others, recently induced the fighting metal workers to make a shameful capitulation. His intrigues are nothing else than direct betrayal of the workers in their heroic struggle. Does friendly cooperation by the Communists with this sort of pernicious person seem possible? Fulfil your direct revolutionary duty, throw him out of the Central Committee of your party and out of the CC. of the Trade Unions and you will thereby create the best preconditions for honest co-operation with the Communist vanguard in Norway and with the Communist International.

You have asserted that the ECCI. does not keep to the correct line of the Communist International. You have demanded, that "guarantees be provided for another organisatory practice in the leadership of the International", before the question of the reunion the your organization with the Comintern can be considered. You have repeatedly expressed the wish that the leadership in the Comintern should pass into the hands of another tendency. At present in Moscow representatives of the Communist proletariat of the whole world are meeting together. The whole Communist International will be represented here. Here in Moscow you will be given the opportunity of voicing your convictions. The World Congress will give its decision. You will undoubtedly hear the real opinion of the Communist International.

No one who wishes to regard himself as a Communist has the right to place himself above the Communist World Congress. If you claim to be Communists — and we hope that you claim to be such — then state your case at the fifth World Congress.

With communist greetings

The Executive Committee of the Communist International.

THE YOUTH MOVEMENT

The Tasks of the IV. World Congress of the CYI.

By Otto Unger.

The period from the II. to the III. World Congress of the CYI. brought the change of role of the Communist Youth Unions from that of political advance guard to that of leader and representative of the interests of the proletarian youth. This change

took place at a time of political decline and of flagging in the struggle of the international working class. This brought a considerable falling off of the political interest of the working youth. This and also the difficulty of the tasks set by the II. World Congress caused a certain stagnation in our movement, which was partly characterised by a falling off of political activity, a decrease of influence upon the young workers and peasants outside the organization and in some respects a decrease of membership in some unions.

Out of the experiences gained in this period, the III. Congress of the CYI. set its affiliated bodies the main task of developing the Communist Youth Unions into Communist mass organizations of working youth, both as regards their social composition and form of organization, as also the content and methods of their work. Through the creation of factory nuclei, the organization of the unions with the view to gaining access to the mass of the working youth engaged in big industry, through the increase of political activity and of political educational work, through the most active, concretely handled economic trade union activity to gather to itself the whole of the proletarian youth and to draw it into the daily struggle of the working class, and thereby ultimately into the fight for working class emancipation, so it made concrete the way to the fulfilment of its main task.

The past period has given the clearest proof of the correctness and necessity of these resolutions of our III. World Congress. The time between the III. and the IV. World Congress we can rightly characterise as a period of irresistible advance. The causes of this lie naturally in the deep revolutionary crisis which has been shaking the world of the bourgeoisie since the beginning of 1923. The advance of the French troops into the Ruhr, the violent struggle of Bulgarian Fascism for the complete subjugation of the Bulgarian workers and peasants, the sharpening of the inner and outer political situation in Germany in consequence of the Ruhr war of the commencing struggle of the German proletariat and its defeat by means of the setting up of the white dictatorship with Social Democratic help, the great strike waves in Poland, the fall of the Conservative government in England and the taking over of the government by the English Labour Party, the sharpened economic and political crisis in France (fall of the Franc), the elections in Italy, the elections in Germany and France, and the class war newly broken out in such a peaceful country as Norway — all this is symptomatic of this crisis, which provided an excellent foundation for the activity of our unions. The active participation of the youth unions in almost all the struggles of the working class in connection with these events, the taking up of factory nuclei work etc., have brought us extraordinarily important experiences. In like manner the struggles of the working class in the different countries, and the activity of the Communist Parties taught us a number of important lessons. To take to heart and to make use of these lessons is one of the most important tasks of our IV. World Congress. It is known to all comrades that for months past a lively discussion has been conducted in the Communist International in consequence of the struggles of the last few months and of the experiences gained in them — a discussion over a number of important questions of principle and tactics. We refer to the discussion in the Russian CP., the discussion after the October events in Germany, when a whole series of important questions arose (the question of using the tactics of the united front, the attitude of the Communists to the trade unions, the struggle against Fascism etc.), further, the discussion of the June and September struggles in Bulgaria, the attitude of the Communists to the English Labour Government, the question of a third party in America and others. The CYI., which has fought definitely on the side of the Communist International in all these discussions, will take active part in the final solution of all these questions at the V. World Congress of the Comintern which takes place before our Congress. Our IV. Congress will also take up an attitude towards the decisions of the Comintern Congress and, as we all hope, will place itself unreservedly behind its decisions.

In addition to this task, our Congress will have significance in view of its discussion of the future activity of the CYI. and its unions. Stated briefly an examination of the present situation in the CYI. and of the experiences gained during the period to be reviewed gives the following tasks:

1. The political activity of the unions, which has experienced a considerable strengthening since the III. Congress, must be kept up and increased. In the work of all our unions it must be accepted as matter of course that their whole activity shall keep in touch with the political events, with the struggles of the working class, and of the Communist Parties. The political activity must not be regarded as a special part of our activity, but must permeate the whole activity in every section of our work, and must be comprised in it. In closest connection with this all our unions must energetically stand for the carrying out of the decisions of the Communist International.

2. The Congress must also examine the experiences of the last months in the factory nuclei and discuss the new work in this sphere, which will consist chiefly in giving a new impulse to the creation of factory nuclei and the reorganization of the unions. "Complete reorganization before the V. World Congress!" must be the slogan of our IV. World Congress.

3. Great attention must be paid to the discussion of the economic trade union work. Unfortunately it is the fact that in this sphere far too little has been done. The economic trade union work must finally become, instead of mere propaganda, the actual daily conducted work of our groups and units.

4. The Congress has also the task to confer fully on our work in the bourgeois army and to give a detailed deepening and widening to this activity for the new period.

5. Also, in order to spread our influence among the land workers, and poor peasant youth, the work in the country must be attentively and earnestly conferred upon by the Congress. The work in this sphere, which has been most neglected by the separate unions, is a vital question for the proletarian revolution in almost every country. The Communist Youth International must in this sphere, as in various others, act as pioneer.

6. An important task, which has become most pressing during the last period, is the discussion of the tasks and activity of the Communist Youth organizations in the period of the struggle for power. This must be earnestly considered by the World Congress.

7. The Leninist education of the workers must be laid down by the World Congress as an important task for the coming period. The educative work of our movement has hitherto, both nationally and internationally been insufficient and this has to be strengthened.

8. Finally, the World Congress must direct great attention to the work in the Orient and in the colonies. Since within the last period the winning of the Orient could almost have been accomplished, we now have immediately before us the task to form: (a) Communist mass organizations in the Orient; (b) in the colonies of the imperialist states, strong supports for the development of a Communist mass movement, for which the fulcrum in North Africa and the well-developed union in South Africa offer us excellent possibilities. In this connection there is also the important question of work among the negro youth (in America also).

Summarising the various separate tasks we can briefly and comprehensively say: the Congress must set up as the main task of the CYI. and of its affiliated unions: the Communist Youth Unions must continue to proceed definitely along the way indicated by the III. World Congress to the Communist mass organizations of working youth, which brings the whole of the working and peasant youth under its leadership, and enlists them in the struggle of the working class in the proletarian revolutionary front. The Communist Youth Union is the organization of working class youth. All the other organizations which comprise the young workers, from the social democratic to the religious and Fascist organizations, stand on the other side of the barricade. The Communist Youth Union must carry on a tenacious struggle for those young misled workers. The methods to be used will be dealt with by the Congress in a special item of the agenda.

These are, in the main, the tasks which lie before the CYI. for the next period. The IV. World Congress will discuss them thoroughly in detail, and decide upon the lines for their execution. The development during the period just passed gives us surety that it will fulfil its tasks.