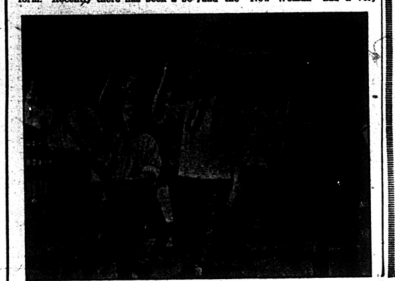
# The Women's Movement in the Near East

(Continued from page 4)

in the factories of Syria. In 1914 out of 14,000 workers in the silk spinning and weaving mills of Libanon, 12,000 were women. The gradual impoverishment of the present silkworm breeders of Syria is the cause of the disintegration of handicraft industry and of the establishment of big factories. Women's labor is greatly exploited in Syria, and the Syrian working women are working under conditions similar to those of the working women in France in the last century. Their earnings are ridiculously small, and the working day extremely long. But Syria, while being a center of capitalist industrial development, is also the country of the most ancient trade capitalism. Women's growing participation in production has made Syria the heart of the Arabian women's movement. Already the 19th century saw in Syria the advent of Arabian women writers, for instance: The Arabian poetess Varda-al-Yazyji. Since 1892 women's journals in the Arabian language began to make their appearance "Ali-Fatat," "Alis-Alojali," and "Fate-Allahark" (The Eastern Girl) published by the woman writers Khind-Nadhal, Alex-Avenino and others. Since 1908 a woman's journal "Alzasna" has been published in Beirut by Zhirah Nikyliabax. The Women's Movement in Syria coincides with the revival of the Arabian Nationalist movement (supported by Great Britain in opposition to the Pan-Turkoman movement) and is more in the nature of an educational movement. Cairo has been for some time the center of this movement, and has thus a great influence on the Women's Movement in Egypt.

The proletarian Women's Movement in Syria, has not yet taken a definite form. Recently there has been a beginning of the communist movement which is hitherto confined to the University students of Beirut.



Young Pioneers in Russia taking the oath of Communism

### Persia.

In spite of the recent attempts at a revolutionary movement, Persia is still more feudal than capitalist and is as dependent on western capital as a colony. The population of Persia consists of 70 per cent of impoverished peasants, crushed by taxes and oppressed by usurers, big landowners, and government officials. Ten per cent of the population are nomadic and twenty per cent town dwellers, including artisans and people engaged in handicrafts. Owing to the feudal-patriarchal customs and the strict application of Koranic laws, the Persian women are hitherto among the most oppressed and backward sections of the female population of the East.

As in Afghanistan, the women of the nomadic tribes in Persia are the freest.

The women in the towns, the wives of artisans and traders lead a secluded life like all Moslem women and do not take part in production. The female proletariat in the towns consists almost entirely of domestic servants. Persian peasant women are afflicted with a twelve-hour working day on the rice, tea and tobacco plantations, and have not the alternative of factory work, as the latter does not exist. Prostitution is flourishing in Persia especially in Teheran.

However, since the Russian revolution, an awakening has been perceptible even among the backward female population of Persia. Persia too is going thru a period of economic changes, the cost of living is rising, the peasantry is becoming more and more proletarianized, while the moral and ideological influence of the neighboring Soviet Republics is beginning to permeate the women masses of Persia. Up to the present the organized women's movement has a purely educational character and embraces only a small section of the native women intellectuals. Beginning in 1921, a women's journal "Women's World" was published in Teheran, but was subsequently closed down. In 1921, a woman's journal, "Woman's (''Woman's Voice") made its appearance.

The Communist movement in Iran, which two years ago resolved itself into the "Adalial" Party, is too weak to attract large numbers of women, but nevertheless there are a few women communists in Persia.

### Egypt.

Since 1919, there has been a pronounced Women's Movement in Egypt which took the form of active participation in the national-revolutionary struggle of the Egyptian people directed against British imperialism.

Towards the end of the XIX and in the beginning of the XX century, much attention was paid in Arabian publications to the position of Egyptian women. The most prominent theorist of the emancipation of Egyptian women was the Arabian writer Kasim Emin. His chief works "Takjair al Mara" (Women's Emancipation) and the "New Woman" had a very great influence in Egypt. It should be stated that Egyptian women take a prominent part in production. According to the census of 1897, there were 63,731 women artisans in Egypt. Nevertheless, peasant women (Fellaheens) constitute the largest section of the Egyptian female population. The Fellaheens, Egyptian peasant women on the banks of the Nile, perform the heaviest agricultural work. They are to their bushands mere labor power, to the same extent as cattle is labor power. Moreover, they bear the whole burden of exploitation by the state and by foreign capital.

During recent years a large number of women in Egypt have begun to work in the big industries, in cotton cleaning, sugar and tobacco factories. Handicraft and small industries also employ many women. It goes without saying that Egyptian working women are still more exploited than Egyptian working men. Their wages are just half of men's wages. Brifish capital in Egypt manages even to exploit the labor of the nomadic Bedouin women in carpet making, these carpets fetching high prices in Cairo.

Contrary to Persia and even Turkey polygamy and harem life (attributes of the Moslem world) hardly exist in Egypt.

The Women's Movement was initiated in Egypt in the beginning of the XX century by Syrian women writers in Cairo. Before the war it was a purely feminist movement of nationalist tendency, and embraced only the Egyptian women intellectuals. But during recent years, especially in 1919-20, the period of development of the Egyptian national-liberation movement, the Women's Movement fused with the latter and attracted not only women of the upper and middle classes, but also proletarian and peasant women.

In the big strikes of 1919 and 1920, in collisions between the masses and British troops, women took a very active part. They picketed at the gates of factories on strikes, helped to erect barricades in the streets and were subject to rough treatment and arrests.

Women's demonstrations were frequently more numerous than men's. In the villages women assisted their husbands in damaging railway lines and telegraph wires to impede the transport of troops. Women's demonstrations took place daily in which women carrying national banners demanded Egyptian independence from British rule.

The nationalist women's movement was under the leadership of women intellectuals.

The most prominent women intellectuals engaged in the political movement of Egypt are: Sophia Zaglul, the wife of the Egyptian nationalist Zaglul Pasha, who was arrested by the British, Hannan, the wife of another politician, and others.

Women's influence in a nationalist movement of Egypt became more preminent in 1922. Women agitators worked in towns and villages. But Egyptian women are not only fighting for national emancipation, but also for their own enfranchisement. In Alexandria the "Committee of the Society of Egyptian Women" demands of the Committee for the elaboration of the constitution the introduction of clauses for women's political rights.

The national-revolutionary movement of the Egyptian women masses is only a prelude to the social class movement. A Communist Party is already in existence in Egypt, and the transition of proletarian as well as other working women masses from the struggle against foreign capitalism to social struggle, is only a question of time.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"The idea becomes power when it penetrates the masses." —Karl Marx.

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**THE DAILY WORKER**

SECOND SECTION
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JUNE 28, 1924.


# June 17th and After

*By Alexander Bittelman*

THE convention of June 17 in St. Paul has accomplished its main purpose. It brought together into one national political body most of the really progressive and militant elements in the American labor movement. It created the machinery for and assured the carrying out of a national farmer-labor campaign in the elections of 1924. And last, but not least, it drew the line clearly and unmistakably, between independent class action of workers and poor farmers on the one hand and petty bourgeois, LaFollette-"progressivism" on the other hand.

### Make-up of Convention.

It was predominately a convention of what we call **class elements.** Not Communist, by any means, but representatives of workers and poor farmers who strongly believe in the necessity of a farmer-labor party as against following the leadership of petty bourgeois liberals of the type of LaFollette.

Nearly 30 states were represented at the convention. The state delegations of the east and the middle west were composed mainly of representatives of labor organizations, while those of the northwest, west and south were rather mixed in character, part of the delegates representing labor and part of them representing farmer organizations.

From the point of view of economic make-up the state delegations could be classified into three groups: First, predominantly labor; second, predominantly farmer; and third, mixed.

The first groups included the following states: Connecticut, Illinois, Indiana, Massachusetts, Maryland, Michigan, Missouri, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island and Wisconsin.

Second group: Iowa, Nebraska, North Dakota, South Dakota and Texas.

Third group: California, Colorado, Kansas, Minnesota, Montana, New Mexico, Tennessee, Washington and West Virginia.

It was quite a representative gathering geographically as well as economically, and its political physiognomy became manifest almost the very first day of the convention. The overwhelming majority of the delegates had come to St Paul to form a party on an independent class basis.

A comparatively small incident: the election of a permanent chairman of the convention gave the first real indication as to what direction the winds blew.

There were three candidates in the field. Senator Taylor, of Montana, a staunch supporter of the immediate formation of a class party; William Mahoney, of Minneapolis, a follower of LaFollette and author of the idea of "coalition" as against the formation of a party; and Mr. Putnam, of South Dakota, a favorite son proposition, who seemed to occupy the same position as William Mahoney.

Twenty-one states voted solidly for Senator Taylor, of Montana. Only one state, South Dakota, voted for Mr. Putnam. The remaining states split between Mahoney and Taylor. For instance: California, 7 delegates for Taylor; 2 for Mahoney. Iowa, 5 delegates for Taylor; 2 for Mahoney. Kansas split half and half. And Minnesota (Mahoney's home state), 20 delegates for Taylor, 63 for Mahoney.

The election of Senator Taylor to the permanent chairmanship of the convention signified the first real victory of the farmer-laborite wing against the small group of LaFollette's followers.

### Issues and Problems.

It was generally agreed, in accordance with the convention call, that it was the purpose of the convention to create a united front of the farmer-labor-progressive elements of the country for the coming presidential elections.

This was the convention formula, so to speak, and as such it was accepted by everyone present. When it came, however, to translating this abstract formula into concrete political and organizational action, there immediately occurred a division of opinion which crystallized itself into three distinct positions.

One. That this convention immediately proceed to the formation of a national Farmer-Labor party, on the basis of a platform which expresses the class interests of the workers and poor farmers, and with a presidential candidate nominated and controlled by and responsible to the Farmer-Labor party.

Two. That this convention form no party but merely a coalition campaign committee, and nominate no candidates but authorize the above campaign committee to endorse the candidacy of Senator LaFollette should the latter take the field on an independent ticket.

Three. That this convention create a coalition campaign committee, adopt a platform which would be acceptable to Senator LaFollette and nominate LaFollette for president.

Substantially there were only two main divisions on the issues before the convention. What were these issues?

**Platform.** Should it be a platform frankly expressing the class interests of the workers and poor farmers, or a middle class "progressive" LaFollette platform?

**Form of Organization.** Should it be a permanent, centralized farmer-labor party or merely a temporary coalition for the election campaign?

**Candidates for President and Vice-President.** Should these candidates be nominated by the Farmer-Labor party on its own ticket, on the basis of its own platform, controlled by and responsible to the party, or should the convention place itself at the disposal of Senator LaFollette and unquestioningly obey his dictates?

Such was the political line-up at the convention. It was farmer-laborism versus LaFolletteism. It was political class independence of the workers and poor farmers versus political subjection to petty bourgeoise liberalism and "progressivism." It was an economic class struggle between the interests of the exploited masses and the interests of the well-to-do middle classes.

### Strategy and Tactics of Various Groups.

The Workers Party of America, true to its mission as the most advanced section of the American working class, fought at the convention in the interests of the workers and poor farmers and against the political ambitions of the well-to-do middle classes. The Workers Party fought for a Farmer-Labor party, for a farmer-labor platform and for farmer-labor candidates. The Workers Party did all in its power to expose the petty bourgeois game of Senator LaFollette and to denounce and counteract his attempt to destroy the farmer-labor movement. The Workers Party fought for the political independence of the oppressed masses as against the political leadership and domination over these masses by both Big and Small Business alike.

Such was the strategy of the Workers Party at the June 17 convention. And the tactics employed were of such a nature as to secure for the position of the Workers Party almost the unanimous support of the entire convention.

The Workers Party as such was represented at the convention only by five delegates. In addition to these there were at the convention from 150 to 175 members of the Workers Party elected by bona fide labor and farmer organizations. All in all the Workers Party commanded in St. Paul an individual voting strength of not more than 200. And yet the policies championed by the Workers Party received the support of at least three-fourths of the delegates, which is about 535 individual votes, the total delegation numbering about 700.

The strategy and tactics of the opposing groups were not united. The clear following of William Mahoney, which was strongly pro-LaFollette but with a manifest inclination to cooperate with the real farmer-laborites and the Workers Party, numbered about 100-125 delegates. It was made up of about one-half of the delegation from Minnesota (65-70), the South Dakota delegation, and stray delegates from California, Iowa, and other northwestern and western states.

William Mahoney's strategy pursued the following purpose: He wanted the convention to form a coalition campaign committee which would be held in readiness to endorse unconditionally the candidacy of Senator LaFolette if the latter decides to take the field as an independent.

As to tactics, William Mahoney pursued a simple method. He continually held over the head of the convention the threat of a split in case his propositions are defeated.

There was yet a third group made up of the extreme right wing of the Minnesota delegation led by Mr. Starkey, chairman of the St. Paul Labor Assembly, the majority of the Nebraska delegation lead by Mr. Taylor of Nebraska (Not to be confused with Senator Taylor of Montana) and a few single delegates from other states.

This third group was strongly for LaFollette under all conditions, it was really not farmer-laborite in the true sense of the word, and it was unalterably opposed to any co-operation with the Workers Party. The tactics of this group, as soon as the make-up of the convention became apparent, were to manoeuvre for a split, irrespective of the final results of the convention. The two outstanding "split figures" at the convention were Mr. Starkey of St. Paul, reactionary labor bureaucrat, and Mr. Taylor of Nebraska, a rich farmer.

Under these conditions the tactics of the Workers Party had to be of a two-fold nature. First, to secure the support of the majority of the convention for our main ideas of a party, a class platform and class candidates and against the political hegemony of LaFollette. Second, by granting slight concessions to William Mahoney, e. g., the center groups, to prevent, if possible, an alliance between the latter and the extreme right wing led by Taylor of Nebraska and Starkey of St. Paul.

### Actual Achievements of Convention.

We can now safely say that, as far as the convention was concerned, we were completely successful in both. We have laid the foundation for a party. The convention declared itself in favor of a Farmer-Labor party and elected a national campaign and organization committee which is charged with the double task of, one, immediately proceeding to the building up of state and local organizations of the Farmer-Labor party, and, two, organizing and directing the election campaign of the presidential candidates of the party.

Furthermore, the convention definitely went on record, by accepting the report of the organization committee, in favor of our position that the Farmer-Labor party will support only such candidates as subscribe to the

(Continued on page 3)

DUNCAN McDONALD
Candidate for President on Farmer-Labor Party Ticket.

# Agricultural Tenancy in the South

By LOUIS ZOOBOCK

ANY consideration of farm economics must take into account the rapid increase of our rural tenancy during the past three or four decades. All social questions of moment resolve themselves back to questions of tenancy because this method of conducting agricultural activities effects every phase of the social life of the country regions. Standards of living are very different in communities where there is prevalence of tenancy than they are in communities where ownership prevails. Tenancy brings with it near-peonage; it leads to a lack of civic pride and neglect of politics; it means constant migration of the helpless farmer and his family and migration to the mills. Our rural schools, public roads, marketing facilities, and the general progress of rural communities suffer from the present tendency to increase agricultural tenancy.

The system of farm tenancy is not uncommon in the north and in the west, but the worst phases of it appear in the south. Here, under the dominance of the single crop, a large portion of the community is reduced to virtual slavery. The census report states prosaically: "In the south there are large numbers of tenants who do not look forward to ownership and for whom tenancy is a normal economical situation." The situation is neither "normal" nor is the statement that the tenants "do not look forward to ownership" any way near the truth. The fact is that under the existing conditions, the desire of the tenant to become the owner of the land is hopeless.

Tenancy in the south is not a matter of deliberate choice on the part of the farmers. It is a sad necessity on the part of moneyless men. It is a social estate. The large numbers of tenant farmers are continually increasing, and they are increasing because escape from tenancy is almost if not entirely impossible.

The tendency of the rural population in the south for the past thirty or forty years has been toward tenant farming. A remarkable concentration in ownership of land had taken place. With it came the attendant evils of a rising absentee landowner class and a descending tenant farmer class. Thus, forty years ago a little over one-third of all farms in 16 southern states were worked by tenants; today, one-half of all the farms. In the cotton and tobacco area, nearly three-fourths are occupied by tenants. The following comparative figures give the relative position of owners and tenants in some of the southern states:

| | Pct. Tenants |
|---|---|
| North Carolina | 43.5 |
| South Carolina | 54.9 |
| Georgia | 56.6 |
| Mississippi | 66.1 |
| Louisiana | 57.1 |
| Alabama | 57.9 |
| Texas | 53.3 |
| Arkansas | 51.3 |

The current belief in the north and in the west is that tenancy in the south is a black man's problem: on the contrary, it is mainly a white man's problem. We find that in thirteen states of the south producing cotton as a cash crop, 61.5 per cent of all tenants are white, and only 38.5 per cent are colored. And if we add the figures for three other southern states, the ratio of the white to the negro tenants is even higher. There are at present 154,000 more white than negro farm tenants in the south, and with their families they outnumber the negro farm tenant population by 800,000. There are more white than negro tenants in eleven southern states, and in Texas, which is the greatest cotton producing state, four-fifths of all the farm tenants are white. In other words, tenancy in the south is not a racial problem. The negro complicates the situation, but is not responsible for it.

As the figures show, in four southern states—Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi, and South Carolina, tenants operate over 66 per cent of the improved land; in other states of the south, tenants operate over 50 per cent of the improved land, etc. This shows that there are thousands upon thousands of men who do not own an inch of the land they till, that in many cases their fathers did not own the farms upon which they were reared, and, if things continue the way they are, their own children are predestined to toil upon other people's land—landless farmers into the fourth generation.

The cotton grower of the south is not a farmer. He thinks he is; but this is mainly a delusion. He is a tenant, and a tenant is a laborer who has sold his heritage for the doubtful privilege of being "run" by the landlord. As a renter, the tenant owns at least his own work stock and farm implements; but as a cropper, he owns little or nothing but the simple things in and around his cabin. Usually he owns no work stock and no farm implements.

In either case, whether the tenant is a renter or a cropper, he does not own the soil he tills; he does not work for himself; he does not own the "house" that shelters him. He does not raise sufficient food for his family; he has no pride in his home; he is constantly on the move from farm to farm seeking to better his condition; he has no pride in the fruits of the earth, no self-sufficiency, no independence. He is a kept man. He is a propertiless, homeless migrant.

The growth of landlordism has been added by the single crop system, which in the south makes it difficult for tenants to rise to the cash basis, and often impossible for them to become home owners. The single crop demands two things: extensive credit and elaborate machinery. These are beyond the farmer-tenants' reach.

The single crop compels the farmer to live on a money income. The money, however, comes but once a year, and so he has to borrow against his crop. And here is where the role of the local merchant comes in. The tenants depend upon the local merchant to supply him with food for his family, with tools for his farm, with work animals, etc. The failure of a crop or the overproduction of the crop leaves him in debt. To escape his indebtedness he increases his money-crop acreage. He thereby neglects his subsidiary crops—food, animal fodder, and other things that would ease the burden of indebtedness by making him less dependent upon the creditor. His attempts to escape the money-lender enmeshes him more securely in his clutches. The farmer ceases to be a free man. He becomes the humble subject of the local creditor.

Not only renters and croppers, but even small "independent" farmers, who have very little cash or credit, depend upon the local merchant who is very often the landlord himself. The landlord furnishes his tenant with food and clothes or stands good for him at some store. But before the landlord will "stand for them," before he furnishes the necessary implements, he sees to it that the tenant signs papers which practically reduces him to slavery. The tenant sounds himself out for a season for food and clothes for himself and family. And if by chance the bread winner is taken away by malaria, typhoid, tuberculosis, or some other killing disease, the widow in her extreme is often reduced to the plow and must sign away her prospect just as her husband did before.

The landlords, or creditors, are the great and conspiring enemies of the small farmers and tenants. In their effort to accumulate more and more land, they resort to the lowest methods of exploitation, methods which disclose their high-handed hypocrisy. The charges for advances to tenants are exhorbitant. The accounts are "padded." The landlords will not render itemized accounts. "There is many an entry made in daybooks and ledgers that only the 'experienced' landlord can explain to the hard-pressed renter." Besides, the tenant does not enjoy freedom of sale and does not enjoy the market price for his share when the landlord takes it over for advances. Finally, very often it is impossible for tenants to get a settlement.

The lack of freedom of sale is due to several causes. First, the landlord "runs" the neighborhood store where the tenant trades. Second, it is the landlord or his agent that weighs or measures the cotton, appraises its quality and value, and buys it himself. The landlord is thus exposed to a two-fold temptation: to employ short weights or shallow measures, and to inflate prices.

Still more, the crop is mortgaged and cannot be sold until the landlord is satisfied. For protection of the landlord there is a law in some states making it illegal to sell cotton after dark. Besides, buyers sometimes have an understanding not to bid against a landlord on his tenants' cotton. This is what makes it possible for the landlords to take over the cotton at less than the market price.

As for the final settlement in many cases that would simply mean to tell the tenant how much he is in debt. It does not allow that all the charges are fair ones. If the year happens to be a bad one, or if the crop fails—the tenant has to pay; if the crop is a bumper one, then he has to pay again; if he has overproduced and his stock is a drug upon the market—then, of course, he has to pay. In all these cases the number of tenants who fall behind is large. It is true the tenant should know the amount of his debt and generally he does find out. Unable to pay, he is asked to sign and pay it out next year with a good crop.

Occasionally, it seems, landlords refuse to make a settlement. The explanation given is the desire to hold the labor for another year. Before the Civil War, the landlord was sure of his labor because he belonged to him. Keeping the tenant in debt is another, but less sure, way of reaching the same end. The owners instruct for that purpose their agents to refuse settlement.

Thus we see that the creditor class dominates the rural community. The very existence of the tillers of the soil is in the hands of a handful of men, who own the land, the fertilizers, the oil mills, the banks, the warehouses, etc. The creditor class dictates what shall be grown and by whom. They are the politicians who control the political destinies of the rural regions. They dictate the elections of the local as well as national officers. The sheriffs and judges, who are their men, see to it that the lien laws are enforced to the satisfaction of the landlords.

In their effort to get a still firmer hold upon the land, the creditors resort to indirect methods of pressure to force smaller owners to sell their holdings; they use oppressive tactics in the form of unwarranted evictions, they use force to intimidate renters, arbitrary requirements in the matter of cropping contracts, threats to raise rents where land taxes were involved if elections should carry in favor of the tax, and "keeping the tenants on the move," when their political convictions might differ from the landlords, etc. In a word, the landlords are the masters of the community, politically as well as economically.

From the above it can readily be seen that the exploitation of the landless farmer has reached its highest point. The large plantation owners of the South are gradually taking over the land, thus reducing tenants, white and colored, to a state of unrelieved and helpless peasantry. C. E. Brannon, who investigated conditions in North Carolina, writes the following: "The average income per person of 329 farmers of Williams and Baldwins township, North Carolina, in 1921 was only 23 cents a day. The cash in circulation in the homes of 51 white tenants was only 12 cents a day per person, or only 14 cents a day in the homes of the negro tenants, only 32 cents a day per person in Negro farm owner homes, and only 34 cents a day per person in white farm-owner homes! God Almighty made North Carolina a paradise for poor folks—that is, for the average poor man content with merely keeping soul and body together in the country regions. But for the poor man who aspires to own his house, the state is a purgatory. If the farm is ever paid for, it must be paid for in pinching self denial, in the field work of his wife and children, and in the lack of school advantages, newspapers, magazines, and noble books. How could it be otherwise on an average money income of 15 cents a day per person?" This description can be applied to the South as a whole. David R. Coker of Hartsville, South Carolina, reckoned the average cash income of the cotton farms of the South at $600. (Address before the Cosmos Club, S. C., Oct. 22, 1922), which means that the farmers of the South handle too little money in the run of the year and, as Branson puts it "their surpluses in the best years are too small to serve as any sort of basis on which to build a commonwealth."

Such poverty is deadening. In his despair, the tenant becomes a wanderer. He moves from farm to farm, from community to community seeking for better conditions that are seldom to be found. It is estimated that 300,000 landless farmers move every year; that the average life of a tenant upon the farms of the United States is about 18 months. In the South, where the single crop system prevails, the restlessness is more insistent; here the tenants move every year, sometimes every six months. It is not an uncommon picture in our great Southwest to see tenant families preceding slowly along dusty roads in an old and rickety wagon drawn by a team of horses—father, mother, eight children, with all their worldly goods, moving from one little house to another.

This continuous shifting of our farming population is not conductive to any social growth to our communities. It makes a home impossible. It

(Continued on page 3.)

## THE EAGLE'S DREAM

By
EUGENE BARNETT.

Hail! The American eagle as he sits on a mountain peak,
Looking down on the politicians who are cursing the bolsheviks;
For trying to gain their freedom they call these workers fools,
Heartless knaves and cut-throats, for wanting majority rule.

He observes these pseudo-statesmen from his lofty mountain craig,
As they strive to crush the workers, and of their wisdom brag;
While children slave in sweat-shops as thru a weary life they drag
Their twisted weary bodies, piling up their masters' swag.

Twisted for want of sunshine, and for the lack of air,
And weary, oh! so weary, from all the wrongs they bear.
With souls that are scarcered and calloused from living in the slums,
And bodies undernourished from feeding on the crumbs.

This noble bird of freedom who is loved by all true men,
Is longing for the hand of labor to take the helm again;
And steer the ship of freedom to a stern and rock-bound coast
Where equality and justice will be no idle boast.

But where mankind will labor for the common good of all,
Making every life a pleasure, and earth a paradise for all.
With a home for every human, food and raiment, plenty too;
Organize and take the helm folks, make the eagle's dream come true.

# Culture Versus Life

*By a Teacher*

THE means Nature utilizes to accomplish her ends are cruel, immodest, wasteful. The ends she serves are at times good, beautiful and models of economy. A lily is lovely even tho it has grown on a dung hill. The lily is Nature's end; the dung hill, Nature's means. Persons who by temperament or training dedicate themselves to an appreciation of the perfected lily over-emphasize the importance of culture. Culture is too frequently the anaesthetic in lieu of travail. Persons who by compulsion of circumstance live close to the dung hill learn to overvalue life. They scoff at culture. To them it symbolizes anaesthetics. The conflict between lily-lovers and dung-hill dwellers has been bitter and long drawn out. It will continue to divide humans into the elite and rabble until the tillers collectively learn to condition the distribution of work and of leisure. Culture versus life symbolizes the historic struggle between leisure and drudgery. No one need feel shocked at the "ignorant" suspicions of the manual laborer that none but his ilk do any useful labor. Viewing "life" from his own darkling window, he can't understand what greater measure of joy or of freedom the "brain workers" have brought as a peace offering to him. His toil is endless; his life so hard that bitterness is his sole resource in an exhausting conflict with a world he does not understand: a hostile, crooked world. How does it happen that Superior Brains, since the beginning of Pithecanthropus Erectus' journey thru space, has held itself aloof from Inferior Brains? To those who can face the problem without any illusions about Superior Brains the explanation is simple.

How did a clever few manage to evade toil? Why were the credulous many made brothers to the ox? We must use our imaginations to reconstruct that earlier time when dramatic contrasts of life and death, sleep and awakening, believing and thinking, praying and starving were superstitious sources of abject mental and physical slavery. We must enter our imaginations here.

First, let us assume a starving population in love with the law of self preservation and victims of the fetich of self-production. Secondly, let us assume the presence amongst them of a few natively cleverer individuals in love with their own vanity and with the desire to avoid pain. Under these conditions what must have occurred to produce that enduring cleavage in Society between Workers and Shirkers which persists in our midst in our own day? How did the cunning few manage to effect that illusion of theatrical aim whereby the enslaved workers did homage to the exalted shirkers as their superiors? To establish one's superiority over the illiterate one need only exploit their puerile fear of the unknown. The Priest is invoked to befuddle the over-credulous Hocus-Pocus is erected as the worshipful Totem. Salvation by genuflection (that the benighted worship here means are their own sad pitch) is instituted. Fear stalks everywhere. And Fear throttles the passion to doubt.

All the accessories are thus splendidly staged for the historic melodrama of Toilers Versus Parasites. The stage managers are Cunning and Priestcraft. The major characters are Fear and Starvation and Credulity, the minor, the enslaved workers. The prologue was long ago enacted in the Valleys of the Nile the Tigris and the Euphrates. The first act was performed in Greece, the second in Rome; the third in the Dark Ages. The fourth produced the thrilling and still reverberant climax, gravely called The French Revolution (though it was more "Revolution" than "French"). The last act is unfolding before our eyes. For the edification of the reader it may be hinted that "poetic license" requires the death of the major characters—the strutting protagonists. (Also, Nota Bene: a new spirit is abroad in the land and the stage managers will be constrained to respond to this new dramatic demand for less gruesome protagonists. Peevishly and reluctantly, but none the less surely, Melodrama will yield its dominion to the social drama of amelioration. The tendency of all ripe drama is at present to avoid startling contrasts and limelight antagonism. The minor characters now have dignified parts to play even as their lackley comrades in their major roles. The Drama has become socialized. When the historic curtain rises again, whether in Europe, Asia, or North America, the spokesman for the leisure Class will speak winged words to the spokesmen of the Working Class!) In an economy where the leisure class is almighty, it is true that those who fear to doubt shall slave in darkness. The workers have believed too much. As a penalty to match their crime of over-credulity, they have been saddled with the weight of excessive toil. Their cunning superiors have sat light in the saddle, enjoying their elevated position. To this day, the dignity of labor is an article of the leisure-economy. Those, whose excess of leisure drives them to praise of honest toil clarify most vociferously a fair day's work for a fair day's pay. (Beware of the who first calls "Stop Thief." He may be a practical psychologist.) They fear the awakening of the common toiler. To them Edwin Markham's great poem, "The Man with the Hoe" is a work of blasphemy. So were Shelley and the Brownings and Swinburne, blasphemous poets; they disclosed some revolutionary truths about "our betters" which made some respectability's hair stand on edge. To preach the dignity of labor in a competitive age which mercilessly destroys human beings for the ideal of "efficiency," is to make a tragedly of humor. Laboring and laborer will some day be held in dignified esteem. That day our own generation will not behold. Why does the dignity of labor need so insistent an advertising? Is the fact so obvious, that the leisured well-wishers of the poor and thrifty must take upon themselves the thankless duty of calling attention to it? "Honest Toil" is an other delicious mouthful. Why the coupling adjectives "honest"? Is it secretly assumed that he who does not toil is—not quite honest? Or is the leisure class so indebted to the toilers that, as a token of its touching gratitude, it will praise labor for its commendable honesty, if not for its commendable lack of cleverness? The leisure folk are as honest as the workers encourage them to be.

Revolutions in morals, both business and professional, must proceed from the enlightened secretariat of the wage-earners.

Haughty culture came into this instinct-driven world when economic security relieved cunning of the need for daily drudgery. Cunning in sheer desperation, took to learning things, preferably the means of perpetuating its own filched privileges. Leisure inevitably became a class prerogative. Culture was the especial attribute of the shirkers. By dramatic juxtaposition, mere drudgery became the sign of mental inferiority. Thus the cleavage has continued through the ages. Scott Nearing says: "The pages of history may be searched in vain for the records of a civilization which did not evolve some by-product of the strong or the astute could live at the expense of the weak and the less able. The parasitic class has always but worked its position by the ownership of something. The land, which was originally common property, was gradually absorbed by a small landholding aristocracy or oligarchy, which was enabled by the possession of property titles, franchises, and special privileges to enjoy the fruits of other men's labor. As economic organization has grown more complex the opportunities for parasitism have become greater. In primitive society, the power of the parasites was ephemeral. They held their prerogatives by might. For them, eternal vigilance was the price of living at the expense of the workers. As civilization advanced, the spiritual as well as the physical forces of the world were called upon to place additional controlling power in the hands of the ruler.

"The church held out the threat of hell. The state, with gallows, jails, and rifles put the unfortunate subjects into line. The name 'tax gatherer' grew to be a name of reproach, because tax gathering was the outward manifestation of organized, regalized, sanctified and time-honored exploitation; it was the process whereby the few who did not work lived at the expense of the many who did work." . . . "The recipients of property income are the beneficiaries of laws. Behind them they have constitutions, laws, customs, beliefs, philosophies, practices and conventionalities that are ages old. They draw upon the resources of a system of social organization that has been evolving with the evolution of civilization. Their economic advantage is the direct outcome of the aggressive, coercive activities of vested interests all thru the ages. They constitute one generation in the lineal descent of exploiters—monarchs, landlords, slave owners, capitalists, and all of those who have devised means of living at the expense of the toil of their fellow-men. They do receive incomes from property rights, hold their titles and draw their income out of the struggles which the propertied class have waged, and thus far successfully, to keep in their hands the power to tax the labor of mankind." Why marvel that the Drudges are the sworn enemies of the Leisures? Culture, a beautiful end in itself when humanely attained and equitably apportioned, is the lily on the dung hill. The sweat and grime and ignorance and pain of a billion befuddled dunces have been the hideous fertilizers for the subsoil whence Culture, radiant with its hat lot beauty, has bloomed. Culture versus Life is a terrible reality to contemplate.

"Leisure and Culture once secured, the shirker class irresistibly came to appraise their own intellectual vanity and love of the Metaphysical as the desiderata of the Superior Life. The masses were held in unabashed contempt. Their problems, quintessentially physical and sordid, were regarded with an equal aversion. A lack of communal experiences, and inferentially, of fraternal sympathy, engendered the Metaphysical attitude toward concrete life. In his "Revolt of the Angels," Anatole France cleverly satirizes the barren metaphysicians: ". . . metaphysic or metaphysics, that is to say, all that is connected with physics and has no other name, so impossible is it to designate by a substantive that which has no substance, and is but a dream and an illusion. Here you may contemplate with admiration philosophers addressing themselves to the solution, dissolution, and resolution of the Absolute, to the determination of the Infinite and to the definition of the Indefinite. . . . The metaphysical really merged into a superior attitude. Barren abstractions naturally absorbed the serious energies of the haughty-cultured, while the masses were groveling in filth, ignorance and fear. (If haughty-thinkers dared to realize the enslaving costs of their "superiority," they would commit suicide out of sheer self-respect.) What more natural than that the knowledge of most worth to the cultured should have been the knowledge least utility to the toilers? We suffer today from this inherited opposition: Culture versus Life has split humanity into the alien orders of caste and class. The student must therefore be on his guard when he reads great men's disquisitions on What Knowledge is of Most Worth. A Howard Taft or an Arthur Balfour, professionally alienated from the aspirations of the common people, will stress subject matter and ideals as hostile to the work-a-day welfare of common folk as barren metaphysics is remote from experimental science. It was Balfour, the cultured snob, who advised the British association for the Advancement of Science to court single mindedly but one ideal: "Theoretical Inquiry." Practical science (for the household uses of Mr. Average Man) was too common place, too utilitarian. Let scientists play with unreality provided only they were being inspired to theorize broadly and transcendentally. Of this same heavily educated Balfour, Mr. Brailsford said: "He has all the indolence and indecision of Mr. Asquith, with a fastidiousness and aloofness of his own." Judge Edward Parry furnishes an additional clue to the nature of Caste Culture when he informs us that "Mr. Balfour's observation that among all the social evils which meet us in every walk of life, every sphere of activity, the greatest of all evils is the evil of intemperance is useful as a peroration to any platform speech on the subject, but only makes the judicious grieve that with the opportunity to do exactly as he liked and the ability to draft useful legislation, Mr. Balfour did nothing whatever to improve matters and diminish the evil of which he was so sensible . . . This intellectual aloofness from current concerns is of a piece with the heart-rending wail of the so-called classicists bewailing an ignorant electorate to restore Greek and Latin to their positions of pristine vigor. It is the cry of despair of an irreparably wounded vanity impotent to saddle a practical world with its own antiquated ideals.

## JACK LONDON AND MAXIME GORKY

(Continued from page 6)

ress on the industrial. Naturally it expresses the cruel struggle for existence, which demands of men extraordinary effort. There is in the New World stories, a lust for the pursuit of the dollar, and those who, in momentary reflection relax, or fail to avail themselves of the chance, must perish. It is impossible to concentrate on general problems when climbing the steep banks of Niagara Falls. In such a situation there is only time to search for a convenient boulder and measure every leap.

In reality every American is, more or less, climbing steep banks. To him it is not important why the here in the novel overlooks this or that risky enterprise. That is the private concern of the hero himself, and he is not bound to account for it. The hero leaps in full sight of all; for the American reader is eager not to miss any of his movements, and the American writer seeks to satisfy the readers' thirst for exciting action, partly because he considers outward drama of more interest than inward drama of strong emotion, and partly because otherwise his books would find no readers.

Gorky's novel, called Jack London, portrays so few soul movements and inward struggles. The battle here is always external, upon the open stage, in the snow deserts of Alaska, in the forests of the Rocky Mountains, in the waters of a billowy sea, in the skyscrapers of New York and Chicago, but not in the souls of men. Man only exploits nature and circumstance and possibility, and in this he evinces stubborn and restless volition. But he has no confidence in general problems. These he does not care to know; he is not capable of absorbing himself in world problems; he has no time. Life requires action, and action is bound up with great dangers that suck up all the energies of man and pitilessly cause his end.

Such was Jack London's conception of life because such is America.

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# The Women's Movement in the Near East

By V. KASPAROVA.
Turkey.

SINCE the world war the Women's Movement not only exists in Turkey, but gets stronger as time goes on. It no longer consists of such timid attempts as were made in 1908 by a few Turkish women intellectuals, among others, by the famous Turkish woman writer Hialide-Khanum, for the extension of educational facilities for Turkish women and for the abolition of the custom of making women cover their faces with a veil in public.

The world drew Turkish women into social activities and production. This applies to women of the pretty-bourgeoisie and of the intellectuals who went to the front as sisters of mercy, as well as to the proletarian women of Constantinople in search of a living to be able to keep themselves and their children, and to the peasant women of Anatolia on whose shoulders rested the burden of agricultural work during the war.

During the recent war the women intellectuals of Turkey for the first time took an active part in the national movement of the country, and were encouraged in this by the young Turkish bourgeoisie. The women's question has at present become the order of the day in Turkey. The feminist movement among Turkish women intellectuals and women of the middle class aims at women's admission to general education, at the right of political, social and family emancipation and at electoral rights to the Medjlis (Parliament). The movement receives the support of the vanguard of the Turkish bourgeoisie and of Kemal Pasha himself. The emancipation of women (if only partial) from Moslem customs is essential for the development of modern industry in Turkey and for the transition from the despotic feudal to the modern capitalist order. The Turkish liberal bourgeois press of Constantinople is conducting, especially since January of the current year, a campaign regarding the necessity of women's participation in social life and for women's political rights. The papers "Bakyt" and "Imory" make a special feature of the women's question, and have published biographies of the heroines of the nationalist front: Alta-Efe, Khaliedo-Edib and others. The Constantinople cinemas show films from the works of the famous woman writer, Khaliedo-Edib-Khanom.

The bill on compulsory marriage, introduced into the Medjlies by the Erzerum deputy Salik-Afendi, was strongly criticised in the Constantinople press.

In Angora this bill led to a hostile demonstration on the part of the Turkish women students of the teachers' seminary. According to the Turkish press, Kemal Pasha spoke at many meetings, especially in Smyrna, attended by women on the absolute necessity of giving women political rights. He has recently introduced a bill on this subject into the Turkish national assembly. The feminist movement for equality of rights is stronger in Constantinople than in Anatolia, where Turkish women as yet dare not come out without a veil, as is done in Constantinople.

In connection with the demand for political rights, the Turkish women intellectuals initiated a wide educational propaganda among women. Men and women teachers' trade unions are beginning to be organized throuoi Turkey. In Smyrna, Angora, and in other towns women have been elected to the administrative bodies of the trade unions. The Anatolian papers are full of announcements of the establishment of schools for women. Public meetings and lectures for women are being organised.

According to communications which appeared during the last few months in the papers "Yakyt" and "Aktum," a regular political women's party has come into being in Turkey. In addition to the conquest of political rights for women, this party pursues educational and social aims. The party was formed in Anatolia from the former Women's Section of the League of National Defense in the town of Khivas, founded by the Turkish woman Makbule-Khanum. The women's political organization assumed the name of the Women's National Party, but it has not yet received official recognition by the government. It has over two thousand members. One of the most active members of this party is the authoress Nezi-Khem-Mukhedin. The program of the party includes the struggle for women's electoral rights, struggle against polygamy and prostitution and for amendment of marriage laws, as well as wide educational and charitable activities.

The Turkish bourgeoisie hopes to bring over to its side, together with the women, the Turkish peasant and working class. This is shown by the fact that, in addition to the establishment of an official people's party, a so-called economic conference was convened in Smyrna which was attended by representatives of traders, artisans, and of workers' organizations. This conference was also attended by five women, one of whom was of the peasant class and four working women from Smyrna tobacco factories. It goes without saying that this conference was organized in such a way as to give preponderance to the representative of the bourgeoisie.

Turkish women's participation in production is growing rapidly of late, not only if agriculture but also on the industrial field. In the tobacco factories 71 per cent of the workers are women. In Constantinople there are 3,500 women in the tobacco factories. Women are employed in textile, carpet and other factories. The conditions of Turkish working women are certainly far from satisfactory. Their earnings are from one-fourth to one-half of men's earnings. In the Constantinople municipality women are working under terrible conditions. A strike broke out among them last year, but ended in failure. In a few industrial centers of Turkey, but mainly in Constantinople, Turkish women are beginning to participate in the growing workers' class movement. In Constantinople working women are joining the tobacco workers' trade unions. It should be stated however, that the purely working class women's movement in Turkey is as yet weak and not independent of the bourgeois feminist movement.

On the other hand, owing to historic circumstances, the influence of the great Russian revolution, sympathy for Soviet Russia and Communism have certainly a strong hold on the feminist movement of the Turkish intellectuals. At present the first class cadres of communist workers are being formed from the rank and file of these intellectuals.

The Turkish Communist Party was established in Angora in 1920. In 1921 the party began its work among women. The Women's Section of the Turkish Communist Party participated in 1921 in the press organs "Imen" and "Ikaz." But work on a large scale was out of the question owing to the weakness of the Angora Communist party. In 1921 the party had only three women members and ten women candidates. Among women communists the majority came from the teaching profession, but there was also one peasant woman and two or three working class women in their ranks.

Even at the Congress of the Turkish Communist Party in 1922 there was a total absence of women.

In Constantinople, in the Youth League and in the circle of the marxist organ "Aidanlyk" there is a group of women communists who carry on propaganda among working women.

The campaign for Women's Day (March 8th) was carried on in the current year for the first time in Turkey by means of a press propaganda in the organs "Aidanlyk" and "Ziya," the latter being published in Bulgaria.

SYRIA.

Syria is one of the centers of Asia Minor where industrial development has reached a fairly high standard. It always had a high reputation for its silk industry, and in ancient times it was famed for a special weaving process and for silk dyeing. The silk industry provides employment for the Syrian population, including thousands of working women. In Libanon, in Beirut and Aleppo this industry has reached a high state of development.

Up to the middle of the last century the Syrian silk industry was a purely handicraft industry. The first factory was established in Libanon by a French manufacturer in 1840. In Libanon there were nine spinning mills, out of which only 2 belonged to natives, and in 1912 there were already 200 factories, 3 of them being French. French capital is greatly responsible for the introduction of women's labor

(Continued on page 8)

A WOMAN'S CLUB IN SOVIET ARMENIA

# Will the Labor Government Stand for This?

By EVELYN ROY.

THE British Indian government is perpetuating the best traditions of autocratic despotism as practiced under the defunct Russian Czardom. And the exercise of this unlimited autocracy is backed up by the strength and power of the Labor Government in Britain, which thru Parliament and the Secretary of State for India, exercises ultimate control over the destinies of 320,000,000 politically disabled subjects of His Majesty, the King Emperor. The latest example of governmental persecution in India, (always excepting the chronic arrests, convictions and imprisonment, or imprisonment without conviction which have become a matter of course in the daily governance of the country) is the trial now proceeding at Cawnpore against eight persons under Section 121A of the Indian penal code, which reads as follows:

121. Whoever wages war against the Queen or attempts to wage such war or abets the waging of such war shall be punished with death or transportation for life and shall forfeit all his property.

121A. Whoever, within or without British India, conspires to commit any of the offences punishable by Section 121, or to deprive the Queen of the sovereignty of British India or of any part thereof, or conspires to overawe, by means of criminal force or show of criminal force the Government or any local government, shall be punished with transportation for life or any shorter term, or with imprisonment of either description which may extend to ten years.

The charge, as may be seen, is a serious one, usually reserved for offenders of the first rank who have been implicated in acts of terrorism or concrete attempts to overthrow the government by force of arms. In the case of the eight persons now under trial in Cawnpore, the application of this charge is a little unusual, in that it is based, NOT UPON ANY TERRORISTIC ACT NOR PLOT OF ARMED FORCE, BUT UPON THE ATTEMPTS OF CERTAIN INDIVIDUALS TO ORGANIZE THE INDIAN WORKERS AND PEASANTS INTO A POLITICAL PARTY OF THEIR OWN TO BRING ABOUT A CHANGE OF GOVERNMENT WHICH WILL IMPROVE THEIR PRESENT ECONOMIC CONDITION. In other words the charge of "conspiracy against the sovereignty of the King-Emperor" is brought against eight people professing to be socialists or communists, who have advanced the program of socialism for the projected emancipation of the Indian working class.

It is as tho a Magistrate's Court in Great Britain were to descend upon the leading members of the Labor Party, the I. L. P. and the Communist Party, and summarily imprison them, pending trial, for conspiracy to bring about the Social Revolution which all include in their programs. FOR THE EIGHT ACCUSED AT CAWNPORE HAVE DONE NOTHING WHICH LAYS THEM OPEN TO CONVICTION EXCEPT TO ADVOCATE THE ORGANIZATION OF A POLITICAL MASS PARTY OF THE INDIAN WORKING CLASS UNDER AN ECONOMIC PROGRAM CALLING FOR THE ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND POLITICAL EMANCIPATION OF THE INDIAN PROLETARIAT AND PEASANTRY.

The preliminary hearings have been concluded and the accused committed for trial at the Sessions on April 22. In his preliminary hearing the following accusations were lodged on behalf of the Crown, with the Director of the Intelligence Department as Chief Witness:

"The accused are charged under Section 121A with conspiracy to establish a branch organization of the Communist International thruout British India with object to deprive the King Emperor of the sovereignty of British India. It is alleged on behalf of the prosecution that they decided to make use of the association of workers and peasants or People's Party under the leadership of the accused, for securing complete separation of India from Imperialistic Britain by violent revolution, with an economic program of such character as to attract both peasants and workers. It is further alleged that the organization was to have both a legal and an illegal basis, and attempt was to be made to secure control of the Indian National Congress. The conspiracy (it is further alleged) was to be financed by the revolutionary organization in Russia, and an agreement constituting a conspiracy was arrived at by means of letters written by the accused to one another from various places, one of which was Cawnpore. It is also alleged that the accused introduced and circulated into British India proscribed newspapers, pamphlets and circulars of a revolutionary character."

As a proof of these allegations, sixty out of eighty intercepted letters alleged to have been signed by Manabendra Nath Roy were presented, either in manuscript or photograph, with the following explanation by Col. Kaye on cr. ex. Information was received by the government that some persons whom the latter considered as Indian revolutionaries from Europe called a meeting in 1921, at Moscow, with a view to making arrangements for the furtherance of Bolshevik propaganda. Finally one M. N. Roy was selected as the leader of the organization. As a result of this information, Government authorized the stoppage, interception and examination of postal letters addressed to certain persons. List of such persons was added to from time to time. The Government of India ordered prohibition of certain newspapers and pamphlets under the Sea Customs Act. In course of time a number of letters, newspapers and circulars were obtained, some originals, some copies and some photographs of originals which were produced as exhibits."

So much for the charge and evidence, which speaks for itself, and for the nature of British rule in India. IT IS ONLY IN BRITISH INDIA THAT SUCH A TRIAL CAN BE HELD ON SUCH A CHARGE; THAT THE ORGANIZATION OF WORKING CLASS PARTIES FOR POLITICAL AND ECONOMICAL ENDS, AND THE INTERNATIONAL AFFILIATION OF SUCH PARTIES TO THE WORLD PROLETARIAN MOVEMENT CONSTITUTE CRIMINAL CONSPIRACY. But the question that arises to one's mind instantaneously is this: WILL THE BRITISH LABOR GOVERNMENT, ITSELF A WORKING CLASS PARTY ORGANIZED FOR POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC ENDS, AND AFFILIATED TO AN INTERNATIONAL WORKING CLASS MOVEMENT, STAND FOR THIS REVIVAL OF CZARIST AUTOCRACY? WILL THE VARIOUS WORKING CLASS PARTIES OF BRITAIN AND THE EMPIRE, WHETHER CALLING THEMSELVES LABOR, SOCIALIST OR COMMUNIST, ALLOW THIS ATTEMPT TO CRUSH THE RISING PROLETARIAN MOVEMENT IN INDIA TO SUCCEED?

What are the facts of the case, so carefully veiled in the censorship which permits only the barest details of this trial to be published in Britain?

M. N. Roy is one of the founders of the Communist Party of India, established in October, 1920, as an open organization with a program which has been given to the world, embodying the minimum clauses of Socialism adapted to present-day Indian conditions, and presented before the 36th Indian National Congress which met at Ahmedabad in 1921. He is the founder and Chief Editor of the "Vanguard," the organ of the Communist Party of India, which the prohibited in India, circulates freely in other parts of the British Empire. He is the author of several books and pamphlets, equally prohibited and equally allowed, and of constant articles in the European and Indian press on Indian political, economic and social conditions, in which his views, his program and his tactics are openly exposed.

Mr. M. Singaravelu Chettiar is a venerable lawyer of over sixty years of age, a native of Madras, a follower of Mr. Ghandi who gave up his lucrative practice in conformity with the mandate of Non-Co-operation in 1921. He is a prominent Congressman, held in high respect and esteem by his countrymen, and active in the cause of labor since the foundation of the All-India Trade Union Congress in 1921 in the Gaya session of the Indian National Congress, which he attended as delegate, he proclaimed himself as an Indian Communist and urged the organization of labor for economic and political ends. Since that time, he has devoted himself to the organization of "The Labor and Kishan Party of Hindusthan," with an open program and statues calling for a minimum Socialist program, and to the publication of the legal organ of that party, "The Labor and Kishan Gazette." The proclaimed principle of his creed is non-violent, non-co-operation applied to the domain of working class agitation and organisation, in conformity with the resolution adopted to that effect by the Indian National Congress at Gaya, which appointed a Committee for Labor Organization of which he is a member. He holds various other public posts.

Mr. S. R. Dange, of Bombay, is a young man under thirty, Editor of "The Socialist," a weekly journal devoted to the propagation of theoretical Marxism and to the ideas of Birth Control and various other radical movements well within the law of British India. He is one of the organizers and founders of the Social Democratic Club of Bombay, and author of several books and pamphlets, among them a brochure entitled "Gandhi versus Lenin." He too was a Congressman and Non-Co-operator, well-known to his province and respected for his intelligence, ability and integrity to principle.

Of the other accused, one, Mr. R. L. Sharma, is a political refugee in French India, previously identified with the nationalist movement before forced to fly the country and seek shelter from British persecution on alien soil, where he has remained for nearly fourteen years; three others, Maula Bakeb, Muzaffar Ahmed, and Ahmad Nalin Das Gupta have been languishing in prison without trial or charge for an indeterminate period until suddenly hauled out in connection with the present proceedings, while the last, Ghulim Hossain, is a respected Professor of Lahore who has won the esteem of his fellows during his professional career, and is the author of several books on Social and Economic subjects, as well as former editor of a monthly theoretical journal devoted to the ideas of Marx.

This in brief, is the character of the victims of the present attempt to choke all efforts in behalf of the Indian working-class towards political and economic betterment, under the vulgar charge of "conspiracy." For the crime of having studied, thought and wrote about the conditions of the Indian proletariat and peasantry, and for having advocated various ways and means for their emancipation, (for the accused were not united into a single group, nor did they represent a single tendency or organized movement), these eight individuals are to be condemned, undefended, to the maximum penalty of the law. IT IS SIGNIFICANT THAT NO LAWYER HAS COME FORWARD TO DEFEND THEIR CAUSE.—THE FIRST CASE ON RECORD IN THE INDIAN COURTS AGAINST THE DEFENDERS OF THE INDIAN WORKING CLASS. So little is the true nature and gravity of the issue understood in India, that the cause of the Indian masses will be allowed to go by default, on a snap judgment and trumped-up evidence, and charges that could not be substantiated in a court of law in any other part of the Empire.

WILL THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT AND THE BRITISH PROLETARIAT PERMIT THIS EMANCIPATION MOVEMENT OF THE INDIAN MASSES TO BE WIPED OUT BY THE METHODS OF CZARIST AUTOCRACY? THE FATE OF THREE HUNDRED MILLION WORKERS AND PEASANTS OF INDIA HANGS ON THEIR REPLY.

From a Speech by MacDonald:
"Not every Christian is a Socialist, but every Socialist is a Christian."

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# Jack London and Maxime Gorky

By S. EPSTEIN

JACK London has been called the "American Maxime Gorky," but this is hardly correct. Both these great writers resemble each other only in their lives. Both came from poor, ignorant parents. Neither got any training or education to speak of. Both were vagabonds.

In early youth they began to feel the burden of life. As boys they had been thrown on their own resources, condemned to hard toil for their sustenance. They tried their hands at all sorts of trades, and engaged in a dozen occupations, enduring humiliation, insult, starvation and misery. They wallowed in the mire of the worst elements of society, in the darkest dens of the underworld, and witnessed the most nauseating spectacles of sin and crime. They wandered incessantly, got entangled in numerous adventures and encountered all sorts and conditions of men. More than once they stood on the brink of a precipice. Eventually they struggled out of the noxious quagmires, and by sheer innate force hewed their way thru to a bright, comprehensive life, acquiring extensive culture, developing conspicuous talent and becoming world-renowned writers.

Thus far the resemblances between Jack London and Maxime Gorky hold. In their creative art they often stand in contrast to each other. Altho in their conception of life both were led to Socialism, yet they greatly differ in its application to life. While with London it is purely external, with Gorky it is entirely internal.

The past American "tramp" conceives life altogether differently from the past Russian Bossiak.* The former sees in man all that is bad, all that is savage and beastly; the latter sees in man only the beautiful, the noble, the ideal. The main thing with London is the accidental circumstance and not the man. With Gorky the circumstance is incidental and secondary; the essential thing is man, his inner life, his soul's strivings.

London's heroes adapt themselves to their surroundings, but Gorky's heroes reach above the surroundings; they strive to change and dominate their environment. London's writings breathe a deep pessimism; Gorky's—a deep optimism.

Gorky is now a thorough-going collectivist; he believes in the inexhaustible force and unlimited power of the collectivity, and he embodies this idea in his creations. At one time he was a pure individualist. Then the individual personality played the primary role in his work; then he held that the will of the individual surpassed everything. But even in his works of that period there is no similarity between him and London. In his creative art London was and has remained an individualist, notwithstanding his strong personal belief in Collectivism as conceived in the Socialist philosophy. His individualism, however, is not the same as that of Gorky. Gorky's individualism is more philosophic, more abstract; it has reference to universal world problems. The individualism of London, on the other hand, is more practical, more concrete, applicable to definite facts.

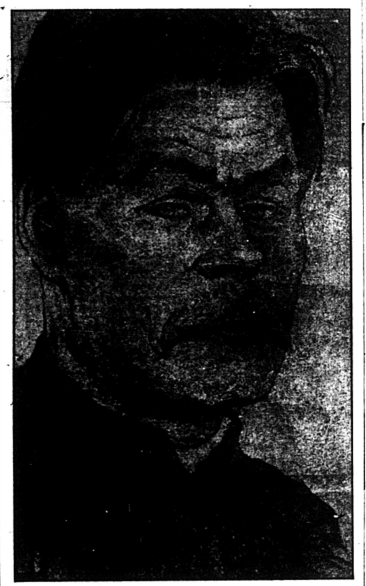
Fundamentally, London, in all his works, is an anarchist, and therein consists the contradiction between London the artist and London the man. Both are tremendously interesting, but they do not harmonize. On the other hand, Gorky the artist is the very embodiment of Gorky the man.

The Russian Bossiak in vivid colors has portrayed the barefooted vagabonds, and the American "TRAMP" has, in bold strokes painted the tramps. But what a difference between the two types of vagabonds! Gorky's illiterate Konovalov attains to a high moral altitude. Brought up in the worst circumstances abounding with filthy and disgusting conduct, he is nevertheless purity personified. His environment has not extinguished the human spark within; on the contrary, it kindles into a brighter glow, and there enfolds before our eyes a man with a wondrous soul, large sympathies and aspirations.

London's Frenchman Leclaire, who descends from civilized Europeans, is changed into a wild beast, when necessity compels him to live together with the dog, Battar, son of the large forest wolf. They both fight with each other in a manner that renders it difficult to distinguish between Leclaire and Battar.

Why is this so? The answer is plain. In Konovalov, the man is always predominant, even when he finds himself in bestial company, and in Leclaire the beast is uppermost, in spite of his being overfilled with civilization. In the former the man may be partly disguised, but at the first opportunity he emerges to the surface. In the latter the beast is masked and bounds forth when the mask becomes unnecessary.

Thus artistically conceiving man, it is not surprising that London was particularly fond of portraying animals. In this respect he is one of the most remarkable writers of fiction, and naturally "The Call of the Wild" ranks with the best of the world's literature.



Maxime Gorky

We have here a masterly description of the psychic processes of the dog Buck, how the new surroundings in the gold mines of Alaska aroused in him extraordinary ferocity and what dreadful strength he thereby reveals. Properly speaking, Buck is merely a symbol of bestial men. In this we see the qualities of London's talent. He seems to apply his best colors to the extraordinary, the clumsy, the beastly in life, while Gorky reveals the refined, the delicate, the truly human.

Particularly characteristic of both these literateurs is their portrayal of proletarian life with which they were so familiar.

In "The People of the Abyss" London paints a grandiose, vivid but most depressing picture of the workers' lives in London Town. There is not a single ray of light to relieve the gloom. All the people here described are veritable automata, devoid of will power, without ambition or aspiration; living corpses physically and mentally. All of them must, step by step, gradually sink down to the bottom of life whence there is no return. They are condemned thereto by a cruel fate; and in completing his study of them the author comes to the conclusion that he would rather choose the life of a savage than the life of these outcasts in Christian London. There is no hope for these benighted machine slaves. They do not feel their shackles. What can we expect from them?

True, here and there isolated individuals manage to break away from this thraldom. They perceive the truth, the causes of their baneful plight, the wherefore of their downward course and begin to struggle for their emancipation. There are strong personalities who possess indomitable wills. But they are isolated and must succumb to the inevitable. Such an individual is "Martin Eden," a great spirit. Himself a son of the oppressed working class, he breaks thru the unyielding wall of life, develops literary talent and engages in a combat with the bourgeois world. In the end he is exhausted and commits suicide. He cannot overcome the adverse surroundings and fails to infuse light and hope into the dark slums in which he was reared because he is not united with others, not realizing the necessity therefore, and thus overestimating his powers.

In his novel, "The Mother," Gorky similarly gives us a remarkable picture of proletarian life in a small Russian factory town. We see here no less poverty and squalor than in the metropolis of the world; the same exploitation, the same drudgery; but the picture does not terrify and depress us so much. The solitary strong personalities, as Paul and his mother manage to infuse into the benighted lives of the machine slaves so much the more light and sunshine because they do not overestimate their powers. They know and feel that only in merging with those around them in a somewhat united and compact whole will they be able to reach their goal. They set out upon this course and—a miracle takes place. The oppressed and enslaved, who apparently have been on the brink of perdition, are seen to possess enormous force. They are capable of inexhaustible powers. They become at times true heroes, heralding a new, bright future.

It is the force of the collectivity, of the combined units, in which Jack London does not seem to believe. In the "Iron Heel" London denies the rule of the majority, ridicules and altogether dismisses every form of government. Not because the present forms of government do not satisfy him, not because he is generally an opponent of government and of majority rule. To him the majority, the collectivity, is just a herd of cattle, submitting to be led by the nose, having no will of its own, impotent. To him the true ruler over life, from whom alone redemption may be hoped for, is the individual with his mighty Ego.

Originally Gorky had likewise believed in the power of the individual, but as his knowledge of life increased, as his Weltanschauung expanded, he perceived that the Martin Edens can bring no salvation to humanity, that the frenzy of the daredevils be no means promote the cause of the oppressed. The power of oppressed humanity consists in its units, in its collective personhood. Only a united humanity is powerful. In "The Confession" Gorky dwells on this idea, portraying the force of the collectivity in romantic lines that assume the form of religion. Under the happy effect of the man with its uplifted will, a peaceful, a child soul acquires walking strength.

With his faith in the united power of humanity so deeply rooted, it is not surprising that with him life triumphs over surroundings. He loves especially in his latest works is the people, and the people can never perish. It may suffer temporary defeat but is bound to rise again, regenerate and regather its forces. In the end the people must triumph. It cannot be otherwise.

Not so, however, in the case of Jack London's heroes. These are indeed powerful personalities, restless and irresistible. But they are alone in their fight with raw nature and adverse circumstances they are isolated. Hence their struggle is in vain and they succumb in sadness and loneliness. Hence London has so many suicides, misfortunes and doleful tragedies. With him, as a rule, but death triumphs. The respective creations of Jack London and Maxim Gorky reflect the conception of life of two separate worlds, of the old idealistic world and of the new materialistic world.

In the old world there is not that feverish pursuit of wealth, which is so marked a feature in the new world; not that dependence on chance, or hope of large possibilities. The culture of the old world is profound, its traditions are firmly rooted and permeated with the humanitarian ideas of centuries. Hence, there, art itself is inspired with a profound idealism. The Weltschmerz is its main theme, and the European, particularly the Russian, artist and man of letters ignores the petty phases of life. He directs his attention to the generality, the aggregate whole. For him the individual starveling is the symbol of the starving masses, the individual prostitutes—of prostitution in general, and in the same way he views every social evil he sees around him. His types are world types; they embody what is characteristic of all humanity, they express the continual seeking and striving of the soul to improve the world, to reconstruct life. As a child of that culture Gorky reflects all these problems as the New Age conceives them. Hence, the absence, in his works, of the hurry-up atmosphere which pervades Jack London's pages.

Logdon is a child of a culture which has hardly any literary traditions, a culture still formative and flat, consisting principally of technical prog-

(Continued from next page.)

*A barefooted fellow.

# JUNE 17th AND AFTER

(Continued from page 1.)

platform of the party and accept its leadership and control. This decision completely disposes of any possibility of the Farmer-Labor party, now or in the future, endorsing LaFollette as an independent candidate.

Thus our main aims have been accomplished. At the same time we were successful at the convention in preventing an alliance between the center and the right, thereby completely isolating the two reactionary gentlemen, Starkey and Taylor, who instead of staging a dramatic split vanished from the scene without anyone noticing it.

**July 4 and After.**

Which, however, does not close the fight. Quite the contrary, the struggle is just beginning. Only the accomplishments of the June 17 convention have placed the farmer-labor movement (and the Workers Party within it) in such a position with regard to the C. P. P. A. and LaFollette as to give the former decided advantages over the latter.

These advantages are: A national former-labor center, in fact, the only national center in the country. This means leadership and organization, nationally, by states and locally, for a fight all along the line against the C. P. P. A. and LaFollette if they remain true to their nature.

It means, in addition, an election machinery practically all over the country for the first real national campaign of a Farmer-Labor party. Also whatever sentiment of a working class nature will be generated and crystallized in the coming election, it will not be dissipated, but will be assimilated by the Farmer-Labor party and utilized by it for the building up of a real mass movement of workers and poor farmers.

**Absorb Class Elements of July 4.**

This should be the attitude of the Farmer-Labor party towards the coming convention of the C. P. P. A. in Cleveland on July 4. All those in the C. P. P. A. who really favor independent political action by the workers and poor farmers must be absorbed into the Farmer-Labor party. For this the convention of June 17 has made all necessary provisions.

It is perfectly clear by this time that the dominating forces in the July 4 convention will oppose even the ideas of a former-labor party. If McAdoo does not get the nomination of the Democratic party, then the C. P. P. A. may endorse LaFollette as an independent candidate. Which will mean, under the circumstances, just as serious a betrayal of the cause of the workers as the endorsement of either of the two old parties.

When this happens, many of those at present supporting the C. P. P. A. will be ready to break their old alliance and join with the Farmer Labor party in a common cause. These elements must be encouraged, supported and helped along generally to free themselves as soon as possible from the hegemony of middle class liberalism and to get into the ranks of the Farmer-Labor party.

Our immediate objectives, therefore, are:

**Build the state and local organizations of the Farmer-Labor party.**

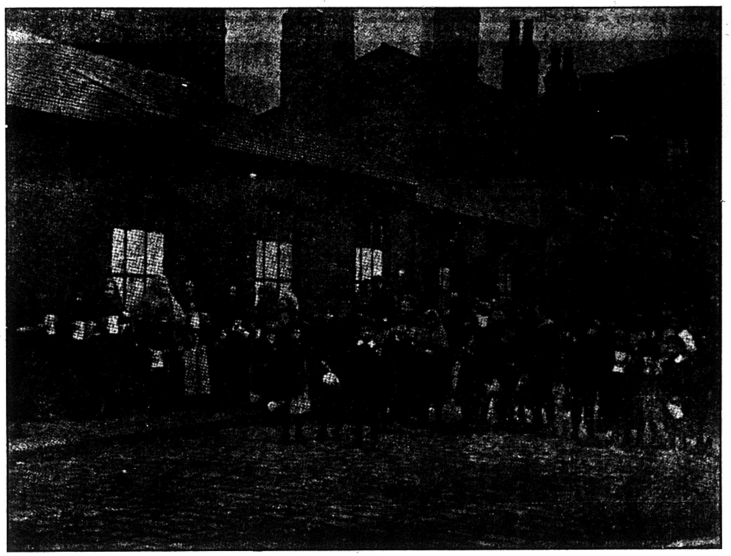
**Affiliate to it all organizations of workers and poor farmers.**

**Fight LaFollette and LaFolletteism wherever you come in contact with it.**

**Utilize the general break-up of the two old parties for the building up of the Farmer-Labor party.**

And while doing all this, remember the one slogan that holds good for all seasons and every situation which is:

**Build and strengthen the Workers Party.**



DURING THE LAST MINERS' STRUGGLE IN ENGLAND

This view of one of the hastily organized soup kitchens (taken in the South Yorkshire area) illustrates the purely spontaneous character of the efforts at workers' aid which have hitherto prevailed. The W. I. R. seeks a permanent organized expression of practical solidarity.

# Agricultural Tenancy in the South

(Continued from page 2)

explains the unkempt board and timber constructions, the old log houses, the barns and shacks which are commonly found thruout the rural regions of the South. The usual habitation of the landless farmer of the South consists of two rooms with a back shed room that is used both for a kitchen and dining room. A tenant who has screen doors is an exception. Mosquitoes feast on him at their pleasure.

There is also a good deal of neglect in the matter of drainage, proper water supply and decent shelter for stock and farm crops. In many cases the families must bring the daily water supply in oft-repeated trips up hill from springs; not all the houses have out-door closets, if they do have them, they are not fly-proof or water-tight. More frequently the bushes and the barn lot buildings are the screen of family privacy. Soil pollution by body waste is the rule here as elsewhere thruout the country regions of the United States.

Shiftlessness and homelessness creates also an attitude of indifference of both owner and tenant parents toward the development of schools. Tenancy and illiteracy go hand in hand. The poor tenant unable to eke out a living are forced to pit the labor of his children against the owner's land and goods. Instead of being in the schools, the children are in the fields. Hence, the high percentage of illiteracy in the rural regions of the South. In Tennessee, it was found that 70 percent of the children did not attend school because their labor was needed on the farms. In other states, the percentage of illiteracy is about the same. The scholastic attainments for 9.10 of the cropper's children seems to extend only to the fourth reader. The parents, on the other hand, lack real interest in the matter and interest in the world beyond.

All this means to lead an empty existence. Besides, the croppers and renters, who are forced to move from place to place with the seasons, are considered mere outsiders and are hardly recognized as a part of the community. They are left out of the local activities. In one locality it was found that 70 percent of the tenants had not attended a party during the year and had not been to a public meeting. Occasional visit to the city serves as a means to break the monotony of life. It is easy to explain why horrible lynchings of Negroes thruout the South attract large crowds. Sad as it may be, it is another way of breaking the monotony of the miserable existence.

Thus we see, that tenancy in the South means that the control of the farms is passing more and more into the hands of a few; it means that our tenants, who lack capital, must depend upon the fertilizer manufacturer, the supply merchant and the bank; it means, when the year's crops are sold and debts settled, that there is practically no balance left for the tenant to help him in a new years' start; it means in most cases that the landlord is the sole gainer from the year's farm labor; it means decreased support for the rural schools and illiteracy, it means few comforts and conveniences in the rural home; it means constant migration of our rural population; it fosters absentee-ism and political boisism, etc. In brief, under the tenancy system the landlords become the masters of the community politically as well as economically.