

THE TOLLER

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R. R. Workers Lose National Agreements

U. S. Board Denies Retention of National Working Agreements and Substitutes 16 Principles for Basis of Conferences of Men and Individual Roads.

Following a somewhat similar line of action to that of the British government in its return of the mines to the private control of the owners, the U. S. Railroad Labor Board has abrogated the national agreements between the workers and the owners of the roads. The date set for the expiration of the agreements is July 1. Whether the plans of the Board will result in the Millennium contemplated remains to be seen. The negotiations of the men and owners before the Board which have continued since the roads were returned to private control March 1, 1920 have resulted in this significant action of the Board. The workers' winnings in the negotiations consist to date only of the wage award. In the matter of the retention of the national working agreements for which the workers and counsel have labored unremittingly, they have lost. The railroad owners have won the strategic point of dealing individually with the unions—upon a basis of "16

principles" to which they cannot be greatly opposed.

Of the 16 principles, several deal with "honest service", the "spirit of co-operation", "economic operation", the "maintenance of discipline" etc., etc., all of which is conducive to a smoothly running, profit creating machine for the owners. About all that the owners could desire in "good" employees is contained in these 16 "principles".

Will the workers accept them—in fact? Can they accept them? Will the class interests of millions of workers on the railroads permit them under these 16 principles to continue any length of time to work and render profits to the owners? That is the question which time will answer.

In view of what is going on in the world of work, it can be said that sooner or later the 16 principles will be reduced to a slogan—"Workers' Control". We shall see.

WORKERS COUNCIL DEMANDS UNEMPLOYMENT RELIEF.

Philadelphia, Pa., April 7, 1921.
To the Editor:

The Soldiers, Sailors and Workers Council of Philadelphia, having adopted the enclosed resolution, is forwarding it to the unions of the Country so that it may be acted upon unitedly by all the workers. It is also being sent to all the working class papers in the country so that it may receive publicity and influence.

Due to the serious unemployment situation and the desperate condition of those out of work and their families, who are actually facing starvation, we feel that this unemployment wage is of paramount importance. Workers of other Countries have already acted and are now being paid by their governments when not working. If we workers of America do not also unite and act, the capitalists will use the millions of hungry unemployed to crush our organizations and force upon us an unlivable wage.

We ask that you publish this resolution, and the letter if you wish, with the request that any unions acting upon the resolution will at once notify the undersigned.

Fraternally,
L. W. BELZ,
Corresponding Secretary,
Workers, Soldiers and Sailors Council
3051 N. 9th St., Phila., Pa.

What's the Matter With Your Job?

Have you got a job? If not, why not?

Are you one of the five million out of work?

Do you belong to the big Army of the Unemployed, which is growing every day?

Have you a wife and children, and all of you hungry?

Isn't something wrong when 5,000,000 working people can be kicked into the streets and left to starve or beg?

During the war, they had plenty of work for us. They had us shooting men or making ammunition and guns to shoot them with.

We made BILLIONS OF PROFIT FOR THE BOSSES while the war was on. So they let us work. But when the war came to an end, the work stopped. There weren't any foreign markets for our goods. And American workers can't buy back everything they produce, with the wages they earn. The rest is the profit of the bosses.

So we were laid off.

They told us the boys were killed in Europe so that we would always have "democracy and prosperity."

Now we're getting that prosperity—tramping the streets, looking for work!

There's no use going to another town. Wherever you go, you see the sign: NO HELP WANTED!

That means US!

They want a big army of unemployed, so they can reduce wages and lengthen the hours of those still on the job.

They want to use us as SCABS when there is a strike.

The best they can give us now are soup kitchens, bread lines, cast-off clothing and Salvation Army barracks to sleep in!

With a job nowhere in sight! That's OUR share in the war profits!

Of course, the bosses don't care. The government doesn't care.

Why should they?

They say it isn't their business to take care of us.

IT'S UP TO US TO MAKE IT THEIR BUSINESS!

Five million of us certainly ought to know what to do.

WE WANT WORK. LET US DEMAND WORK!

Let us demand that the shops be opened. Then we can have work.

Let us demand that working hours be shortened, with no lowering of wage. Then all the unemployed can get a job.

Let us demand that the government pay the unemployed worker a decent living wage. The unemployed of England and Germany forced their governments to grant them an

(Continued on page 4.)



Organizing the Left Wing of Labor

By C. P. JACKSON.

The history of the left wing in the Labor movement of America is a vivid picture of failure, discouragement and despair. To-day, Labor is helpless, its influence nil. The vicious servile leadership of the A. F. of L. reduces the working class in the United States to impotence and inaction. Capitalist dominion apparently is as solid as the rock of Gibraltar.

This situation is by no means due to the absence of revolutionary element in the ranks of Labor; for, unquestionably, there are at least 3,000,000 people in sympathy with the idea of the abolition of the capitalist system. There are at least 300,000 determined for the overthrow of capitalism. The proportion of rebellious workers is far greater than the influence they exert upon the actual affairs of the country.

This condition in the Labor movement is due to various important facts in the Labor history of this country. The main reason, however, is the unrealistic and foolish tactics employed by the class-conscious militants toward the working class, and especially toward organized Labor. It is almost an axiom for American radicals to withdraw or refuse to participate in the work of conservative unions. It is their practice to build new unions on the basis of "pure theory and according to approved blue prints." Whenever they actually do participate and agitate within the conservative unions, they do so as individuals, without organizing themselves on a local, industrial or national scale. Gompers and Co.'s machine, being a well centralized organism and operating on a large scale, could easily dispose of all these attempts. As a result, we have a bagful of independent unions, usually the product or reorganizations, splits and expulsions from the unions by the Labor fakers.

We have the militants of industrial unionism, the I. W. W. and others, segregated in self-sufficient "pure" industrial unions etc. They have foolishly removed themselves from all possibility of influencing the conservative laboring masses, when they have left to the guidance and direction of the Labor fakers, to be dealt with as the fakers please. As a consequence, we find, that, although to-day there is every reason why unions should have become more militant organizations, capable of vigorous action in protecting their interests, organized Labor in the United States, under the leadership of the A. F. of

L., is among the weakest in the world. Gompers, consequently, may well be satisfied, since trouble inside his domain is so much more dangerous than interference from the outside. Nothing could better characterize the falsity of the position taken by the militants toward the labor union question than the following statement by Losovsky, Secretary of the International Council of Red Trade and Industrial Unions.

"The representatives of the I. W. W. held the opinion that the American Federation of Labor was an invincible fortress. The only thing to do was to abandon it and set up a separate organization outside of it. They further asserted that the reactionary character of the American Federation of Labor was bound up with its very structure, and to think of fighting the treacherous policy of Gompers inside the unions was a utopia. All this evidence of the invincibility of the trade union bureaucracy created a curious impression. On the one hand, these comrades were preparing to bring about a social revolution in their country; i. e., they calculated on overthrowing the powerful American capitalist class with its excellently organized State apparatus, and in its place to set up the power of the working class—and, on the other hand, they speak of Gompers with such holy horror as if to drive Gompers and the other traitors out of the trade unions was a much more difficult task than overthrowing the mighty capitalist class of America. The American comrades were clearly illogical, for it is ridiculous to think that it is possible to bring about a social revolution in Western Europe without or in spite of the trade unions. To leave the unions and to set up small independent unions is an evidence of weakness; it is a policy of despair, and, more than that, it shows lack of faith in the working class."

(Continued on page 3.)

social-chauvinists, are, in most cases, directly or indirectly connected with the bourgeoisie and the police), and to work, by every possible means, wherever the masses are to be found. Great sacrifices must be made, great obstacles be overcome, in order to carry on agitation and propaganda systematically, stubbornly, persistently and patiently in all institutions, societies and associations where proletarians or semi-proletarians gather.

"A greater lack of sense and more harm to the revolution than this attitude of the 'Left' revolutionaries cannot be imagined. Why, if we in Russia, after two and a half years of incredible victories over the Russian bourgeoisie and the Entente, had demanded that entrance into the Trade Unions must be conditional upon the acceptance of the dictatorship, we should have committed a stupid act, impaired our influence

PASSAGE TO RUSSIA STOPPED.

New York, April 14.—An amusing condition has resulted here in connection with the recent decision of the Russian Soviet Government not to allow any person from America to enter Soviet Russia whose passport has not been vided by the Soviet representatives in the United States. The representative of Latvia in the United States, John J. Kalnin, informed the Immigration Commissioner today that the government of Latvia, which had previously been permitting persons to pass through his territory to Soviet Russia, had agreed with the Soviet Government not to do so in future, as the Soviet Government has stated it would refuse to allow them to enter.

The position taken by the Soviet Government, it was explained, was that, as the United States refused to recognize it, the Soviet Government also exercised its privilege of not recognizing the right of persons traveling from America to enter its territories without the proper credentials. This means that, unless the United States permits Soviet Russian consuls to exercise their functions here—and that would be equivalent to recognition—no one can leave for Russia with any hope of getting there. This has already held up the departure of 35 deportees whom the authorities were just ready to ship.

Political Heresy and Workers Defense.

By EDGAR OWENS.

Fifteen months have passed since the "red raids"—fifteen months wherein the mask of hypocrisy has been stripped from the face of Capitalist Society and exposed it, a ruthless, vindictive monster of bared fang and unsheathed claw. Political heresy is the crime of crimes and he who questions the sacredness of the Established Order does so at his peril.

ESPIONAGE PROSECUTIONS.

The Espionage Act was passed as emergency war-time legislation. Its ostensible purpose was to discourage the activities of enemy agents. But in its application it has teeth only for the militant workers. A survey of Espionage prosecutions reveals the fact that the spokesmen of the working class—men and women who refused to close their eyes to the facts of the class struggle in war as in "peace"—were about the only ones against whom its power was levied.

CRIMINAL SYNDICALISM.

The Espionage Act is emergency war-time legislation. With the coming of the "peace" it automatically ceased to exist. But that does not mean that government loses its oppressiveness. The form is merely changed; the substance remains. For, taking advantage of the war-time hysteria, state after state enacted so-called Criminal Syndicalist laws. And these laws are permanent. They are designed to accomplish in "peace" what the Espionage Act accomplished in war. And under these state laws the prosecutions continue with unabated vindictiveness.

In California Reed and Ragsdale go to trial May 15th charged with being Communists. Others have already been pronounced guilty there for the same "crime". In Southern Illinois Hewlett and Carr will be tried early this spring. The big Chicago Communist case in which twenty men were found guilty for "conspiring to advocate the overthrow of government..." and given sentences ranging from one to five years will go to the Supreme Court on appeal in August. In New York, Larkin, Gitlow, Winitsky, Ruthenberg and Ferguson, all splendid types of militant working class spokesmen, are in prison under sentence of from five to ten years. The cases of Jack Carney and J. O. Bentall are pending before the Federal Appellate Court. Thus from coast to coast, the slimy trail of a monster Capitalism is strewn with class war victims.

DEPORTATION.

Arrest of "alien" workers goes on constantly. The ferocity that marked the discredited Palmer method is no longer employed. The rounding up like wild beasts of thousands of men and women whose accent indicated them to be foreigners was too crude to get away with. The appearance of persecution must be avoided. Now the arrests are made in the less spectacular way of one or two at a time. This does not attract so much attention and can therefore be made more effective.

WHAT CAN BE DONE.

The class struggle has been taken to the courts. Our comrades must be furnished with an adequate defense. Cases under conviction must be appealed. Where we are able to furnish a proper defense more than 90% of the deportation cases are dismissed. There is urgent need for relief of families of class war victims. This is the workers' fight. The workers must see it through. The workers

BRITISH MINERS' STRIKE - WHAT IT'S ABOUT.

"Nationalization", that's what the Miners' strike in Britain means. It is the latest step in the long fight of the miners for a new system of ownership of one of the basic industries.

What do British miners mean by "nationalization"? They mean this according to Frank Hodges, miners' leader:

"The basis of the miners' whole scheme rests on our demand that the mines as well as the minerals must be national property, public property. The coal and the mines must be national assets, but the government must by no means operate the mines or have the controlling voice in determining production or controlling the industry."

The miners have planned a National Mining Council, half of whose members would be appointed from the Miners' Federation. The other half would be comprised of technical and commercial experts, and members of Parliament representing the public. The Federation proposes 15 district councils, operating under the supervision and in conformity with the policy of the national council to carry out policies determined upon. Pit and colliery committees would deal with local problems and working conditions. It is thru these committees that the mass of the workers would find expression.

While the matter of wages is up for settlement, the main issue hinges upon the question of instituting this system of mine ownership and control for the present one of private ownership."

The decision of the government to release the mines to the control of the private owners precipitated the present war.

The miners have accepted the government's challenge knowing that to take the step now from government control to nationalization is a far shorter one than from private control to nationalization.

The miners are not demanding Socialism, Communism, but only a modified form of Capitalism—the capitalist State would still exist.

TRIPLE ALLIANCE WEAKENS.

The strike of the Triple Alliance in support of the miners which was scheduled to take place last Friday has been recalled. Last moment conferences of the leaders decided to not call out the railroads and transport workers. Reports show great dissatisfaction among the rank and file for this action.

A resolution adopted by 8,000 railroad workers at Cardiff repudiates the leaders' actions in failing to support the miners in a show down with the government. The resolution demands a delegate conference of all parties of the Triple Alliance and all other unions which are prepared to take independent action to formulate a strike policy to be put into effect without fail.

must not desert their comrades.

Let you who read this place a dollar bill in an envelope and send it to the NATIONAL DEFENSE COMMITTEE. If you can spare more send it on. Your imprisoned comrades look to you for help in this, their day of need. Make remittances to Edgar Owens, Sec'y Treasurer, and mail to The National Defense Committee Room 303, 166 W. Washington St. Chicago, Illinois.

The Open Shop-Modern Return to Slavery

ROBERT MINOR
Cartoonist, Writer and World Traveler

—WILL SPEAK AT—
REMENEY'S HALL
WOODLAND AND E. 55th ST., CLEVELAND, O.
APRIL 26, 8 P. M.
ADMISSION FREE

An "Open Shop Drive" is now going on in the United States for the purpose of destroying Labor Unions and reducing workers and their families to poverty and helplessness. The amazing system of strike breakers, spies and provocateurs maintained by employers in factories and in unions will be exposed by the speaker. Unemployment, labor-baiting, union-breaking and wage-cutting as a result of the World War! Why the great bankers of New York blocked trade with Russia, threw the country into unemployment and started the Open Shop Drive to break the Labor Unions!

IF YOU WANT TO KNOW, COME!
MINOR WILL SPEAK AT AKRON, APRIL 27th at CARPENTER'S HALL, 44 E. MARKET and CANTON APRIL 28th at CANTON MUSIC HALL.

Auspices NATIONAL DEFENSE COMMITTEE.

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THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE 2nd CONGRESS OF THE 3rd, COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL: Moscow 1920

(7th Installment.)

THIRD SITTING OF CONGRESS.
(Petrograd Pravda, July 28, 1920.)

Lenin's Report on National and Colonial Questions.

On July 26 the Congress listened to Comrade Lenin, who made a report upon the results of the work of the committee of the Congress on national and colonial questions.

"The fundamental characteristics of imperialism," says Comrade Lenin, "is the dividing up of the world into a small handful of oppressors and an overwhelming majority of oppressed."

"At the present moment 70 per cent of the entire population of the globe—that is, more than one and three-fourths billion people—are under the yoke of imperialist powers. This yoke expresses itself in the most varied forms of exploitation of man by man. This question acquires great importance, and as a result of its complicated and varied character in different countries it is one of particular difficulty."

"The Soviet idea is spreading everywhere, even in the most backward countries. As a result the question has come up, and was discussed in the committee, whether the Communist International should support the bourgeois-democratic parties of oppressed nationalities."

"We came to the conclusion that the bourgeois-democratic parties of oppressed nationalities are of various kinds. Some of them have adopted reformist tactics, and are adapting themselves to the political regime existing in a given country, harmonizing their activities with the interests of the ruling classes. Of course we shall not give any support to such parties. Here we have the essential difference between Communists and reformists, because the latter support bourgeois-democratic movements in politics. However, reformists, in fact, always come out against revolutionary movements in colonies and semicolonial States. On the other hand, Communists should support the national-revolutionary movements, but only when these movements are in fact revolutionary."

"The peasantry is usually the support of such national-revolutionary movements. In such countries, the Communist Party is not able to attain success unless it supports the peasants. Here we come to the question as to what should be the work of a Communist Party in precapitalist countries (for example, our Turkestan), where one must note a practically complete absence of industrial proletariat."

"However, a Communist Party even in the precapitalist countries has a wide field for activity, inasmuch as you have in these backward countries also exploitation of the population by trading capital, and a semi-feudal relationship in agriculture."

"The struggle of agricultural toilers against landlord exploitation is the basis upon which you can build an organization of toilers, even in backward countries."

"In such countries it is quite possible to establish a Soviet authority. The experiences of Russia and of various Mussulman republics—for example, Turkestan—show that the Soviet movement can be successful not only in proletarian countries, but even in those countries where precapitalist relations exist. In these countries you experience great difficulty in organizing Soviets, but without question it is possible to arouse an independent revolutionary consciousness and movement even in these countries. The Soviet idea is very simple, and can be understood not only by the proletariat, but also by the broader nonproletarian masses."

"Here we come to another very important point, which has aroused rather lively debates in the committee. Can countries with precapitalist relations in production pass to Communism without going through the period of capitalism?"

On this point Comrade Lenin notes that if the victorious proletariat having State authority in its hands in the most developed industrial countries, will come to the assistance of the Orient with all its organization and State means, then the backward countries will be able to attain Communism without passing through the capitalist stage of development.

"One must abandon scientific prejudices that each country must absolutely pass through capitalist exploitation; the power of Soviets, when there is a powerful industrial proletariat uprising on a world scale, can be established in those countries in which the capitalist development has not attained any serious proportions."

Very lively debates in the committee accompanied the question of the attitude of the workmen who live in the metropolis toward the revolutionary movement in colonies. Comrade Lenin on this point indicates that the refusal of the workmen of capitalist countries to support the revolutionary

FROM "THE SECOND CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL," PUBLISHED BY THE RUSSIAN DIVISION OF THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE.

movement in colonies is treason with respect to the revolution, and is jingoism which is the worst form of chauvinism. "In this kind of Socialist-Patriotism lies the greatest danger for the revolution. Against this danger you must fight energetically, and not with words, but by acts. Not only must you speak of revolution in the colonies, as did the II International, but you must assist by action every colonial revolutionary movement."

IN THE SECTIONS OF THE CONGRESS.

(Petrograd Pravda, July 28, 1920.)

National and Colonial Questions.

On the first day the work of the Sections is on national and colonial questions. These questions have now become practical questions of the revolutionary struggle. This is clear from the fact that so many colonial countries are represented at the Congress, such as India, Korea, China, Persia, and so forth. The II International, even in its best years, could not boast of such an international membership as we find here at the 2nd Congress of the III International. The toiling masses, many millions, of the Orient have developed closer relations. It is natural that their revolutionary representatives should be at a World Communist Congress.

European and American capitalism pitilessly repressed and oppressed the colonies, took away all the vital strength of oppressed nations, and doomed them to stagnation and ruin. Now new times have come even for the most backward and oppressed. An enormous quantity of inflammable material has accumulated everywhere.

Dutch India (Comrade Maring).—A Socialist propaganda has been conducted there for about five years. "Imported" capitalism did not permit the development of a local, native bourgeoisie; but there has been an adequate number of large power robbers. Capitalistic development went forward, as did also the process of depriving the local population of land and of ruining the small artisans. In Dutch India (Java) there are thirty millions of Mussulmans. Of this number twenty-four millions are peasants. The proletarians number three millions. In 1912 occurred the first great mass movement, which brought into the foreground workmen and peasants. It took place under the slogan of the struggle of Islam against foreign capitalism.

A new revolutionary movement already has a history of three years. The most revolutionary elements are the railroad workers. Ten thousand of the forty thousand are already organized. At Java there worked both reformists and a revolutionary Socialist Party, the latter having now changed its name to Communist. The reformists have only a hundred members, all of them European (colonizers). In the ranks of the revolutionary Socialist Party are 1,500 Javese and 100 Europeans.

Persia (Comrade Sultan-Zade).—The importation of cheap manufactured goods from abroad contributed particularly to the ruination of the peasant masses and the small artisans. The peasant masses are cruelly exploited by the Shah's clique, and by the feudals who own estates equal in size to Belgium and Holland. There is no unity in the ruling classes. This leads to constant political strife in their midst. The agrarian aristocracy constantly looks toward "imperialist protectors." A section of the merchant groups thinks mainly of the markets of the rich metropolis, while another section sees no other way out except to remain in dependence.

A schism took place among the propertied classes in 1912, during the Russian attack on Persia. It continued even during the period of the English occupation. In view of the weakness of the ruling classes of the native society, and of the acuteness of the agrarian relations, the revolution in the Orient is inevitably taking on enormous social proportions.

The institutions of revolutionary self-administration, the Anjumani, which were in existence in the time of the first revolution, have spread rapidly throughout the whole country.

India (Comrade Roy).—In India there are 37,000,000 landless peasants. Land ownership is highly centralized; 600 to 700 princes own almost the entire territory. About 5,000,000 proletarians work in enterprises which number 500 workmen each. The Nationalist movement rests for the most part on the middle classes (in south of India). A revolutionary strike movement of proletarian masses is blazing for itself its own road.

China (Comrade Liu).—China was refused everything at the peace conference. At the present moment the Nationalist-revolutionary movement is having much success. The student youth are at its head. They organize strikes, and have close contact with workmen, who often strike on their appeals. Sometimes even the small traders also strike. The day of the Japanese ultimatum to China, May 4, 1915, has been proclaimed a day of national shame. Industrial Shanghai is the leader of the revolutionary movement, and carries on a struggle against the Southern and Northern Governments. Sun-Yat-Sen, who was formerly in the Southern Government, left and took with him only generals—adventurers.

A Socialist printed organ is published in Shanghai; there also a Left Party is active, and calls itself a Marxist Party; it stands for alliance with Soviet Russia against Japan, and for assistance to Korea. All Provinces are in the hands of governors-general; the finances are also in their hands. Therefore the Central Government is conducting systematically a selling out of China to foreign robbers. Shantung and much more was ceded to Japan. The overwhelming majority of the population are agricultural. The majority of the poor of the cities are small artisans. The Chinese army numbers about 2,000,000, but these are hired soldiers who serve those who pay the money. In China there are no large estates (China is one big kitchen garden). There is great shortage of land. And therefore Sun-Yat-Sen himself energetically supports the policy of colonizing the border Provinces. The rural population is very much stirred up over the high taxes. An industrial proletariat is just beginning to grow up. It represents an extreme revolutionary element.

Korea (Comrade Pak).—To 1914 the nobility and the prosperous elements were the only standard bearers of the national movement. A mass revolutionary movement has begun to develop only in the last year and a half. Japan has Korea in colonial slavery, and therefore trade capital only is to be found there. In the north of Korea there is small land tenure. But to the south there are exclusively part-day laborers and tenants, who have to give up 70 per cent of their crop. At first some hope was put in the League of Nations. However, Left Socialists immediately raised the question squarely—Moscow or Paris. Taking advantage of the support of the Rights, America has tended to speculate on revolution in Korea. But Socialists have definitely unmasked this deception.

Comrade Frid (This report was transmitted to Moscow by telephone and an apparent error made in the name of the delegate who was unquestionably John Reed. Ed dwells particularly on the condition of the negroes in America. In this famous "democracy" there are three categories of oppressed people: First, the immigrant workman; second, the colonial and half-dependent peoples—Filipinos, Indians, and such; and third, negroes. The negroes number about

ten millions. They are concentrated in the large industrial centers. They are absolutely without rights, and, in spite of the Constitution, have not the suffrage. Inequality as to rights with respect to everything. In South Carolina, for example, while \$35 a year is spent in schools for each white child, only \$1 is spent for a black one. Instances of mob violence and lynching are particularly frequent. Till recently many trade-unions did not take in negroes. At one time there was among the negroes a movement to return to Africa, but this movement was not successful. The negroes feel a close tie with America. On the labor market they compete with the whites. The return from Europe of 4,000,000 American soldiers led to a whole series of street conflicts over jobs in the factories. But the negroes have become quite different since the war. They are easily inflamed by revolutionary propaganda and many call themselves Bolsheviks. The organization of the Industrial Workers of the World has already begun to work among them.

The Situation in India—Report of Comrade Roy.
(Petrograd Pravda, July 29, 1920.)

Among the reports submitted to the committee on national and colonial questions, the report of Comrade Roy on the situation in India deserves special attention:

"The nationalist movement in India began to take more or less concrete form in the eighties of the last century, and found its expression in a national congress. "This movement has embraced in its development large circles of the student youth and of the middle classes, but the appeal of the Nationalists for a struggle for the independence of India found no response in the masses of the population."

"The popular masses of India are not reached by the nationalist spirit; they are interested exclusively in questions of a social-economic character. The conditions of life of the population of India are extremely hard."

"Since English capitalism became established in India 80 per cent of the population of the country, who live by the tilling of the soil, have lost their property and become agricultural laborers. These millions of people literally go a-begging. Although they till the soil, they go hungry, because all they produce by their labor is exported. These tens of millions of people take absolutely no interest in the bourgeois capitalist watchwords; the only slogan that will interest them is: 'The land to the land-tiller.'"

"In comparison with the rural proletariat the industrial proletariat is numerically very small. There are about five million workmen in India. Among these workmen the trade-union movement is spreading rapidly. During the last years the strike movement has been spreading intensely in the working class of India. The first important strike occurred in 1906. It took in the railroad workers and assumed the form of a genuine uprising."

"There are elements in India to form a

strong Communist Party. But the revolutionary movement in India, in so far as it concerns the broad popular masses, has nothing in common with the nationalist liberation movement."

On the basis of this analysis Comrade Roy arrives at the conclusion that it is necessary to eliminate from point 11 of the theses on the national problem the paragraph according to which Communist parties must assist any bourgeois-democratic liberation movement in eastern countries. The Communist International should assist exclusively the institution and development of the Communist movement in India, and the Communist Party of India must devote itself exclusively to the organization of the broad popular masses for the struggle for the class interests of the latter.

Comrade Roy defends the opinion that the revolutionary movement in Europe is absolutely dependent on the course of the revolution in the East. Without the triumph of the revolution in the Eastern countries, the Communist movement in the West may be brought to naught. World capitalism is drawing its main resources and incomes from the colonies, and principally from Asia. The European capitalists may in emergency give to the workmen the entire surplus value in order to attract them to their side and to destroy revolutionary tendencies. The capitalists themselves would continue, with the aid of the proletariat, to exploit Asia. Such a way out would be most comfortable for the capitalists. Therefore it is necessary to direct all efforts toward the development and rise of the revolutionary movement in the East and to accept as a fundamental thesis that the destiny of World Communism depends on the triumph of Communism in the East."

Comrade Welch, of the British Communist Party, answered Comrade Roy. Comrade Welch argued that we are duty bound to aid every movement against imperialism. The national liberation movement in India might not enjoy, for the time being, the sympathies of the large popular masses; but this does not mean that it will not gain them in the very near future. The English Government will find it very easy to handle the purely Communist propaganda in the colonies and to suppress the Communist movement there. It will find it much harder to defeat the national liberation movement in a colony."

Comrade Lenin also disputed the viewpoint of Comrade Roy. In Russia we supported the liberal-liberation movement when it was taking a stand against Tsarism. The Hindu Communists are duty-bound to support the bourgeois-liberation movement without, however, merging with it. Comrade Roy goes too far in declaring that the destiny of the West will depend exclusively upon the degree of development and the strength of the revolutionary movement in Eastern countries. Notwithstanding the fact that there are five millions of proletarians and thirty-seven millions of landless peasants in India, the Hindu Communists did not succeed until the present time in establishing a Communist party in their country, and because of this single fact the views of Comrade Roy are to large extent not well grounded.

(Next week Discussion of Colonial and National Policy.)

INTERNATIONAL HAPPENINGS.

Capetown, South Africa.—Slowly the various scattered sections of the revolutionary movement are getting together here. Recently, several conferences have been called in this city, under the chairmanship of that stalwart for revolutionary unity, Comrade E. J. Brown, late Secretary of the Belgian Congo Workers' Union. Among the organizations participating are the Capetown Communist Party, the Social Democratic Federation, the Socialist League and others. The debate has centered around the twenty-one points of admittance to the Third (Communist) International, and it is expected that soon a strong United Communist Party of South Africa will emerge from these discussions.

Moscow, April 10.—On March 21st the Central Penal Department of the Tartar Republic, under Soviet rule, has decided that all its prisons shall be at once transformed into workshops, theatres, libraries and similar institutions.

"For a communist with a correct understanding of his own ends, the art of politics lies in correctly calculating the conditions and the moment when the proletarian vanguard can take over power successfully."
—Nicola Lenin.

Berlin.—The office of the Execu-

tive Committee of the International of Communist Youth is busy registering new affiliations. Formed in November, 1920, with only about 250,000 members, the International of Communist Youth now numbers nearly a million young proletarians in the various lands where it possesses national sections. There are Young Communist Leagues in forty different countries; and even China sent its young revolutionary delegates to the international conference!

Glasgow, Scotland (By mail).—Great demonstrations were held in this city, and all over the British Isles, on March 27th, to protest against the governmental persecution of the working class movement. The following British Communists and revolutionary unionists have been sentenced to prison terms: C. L. Malone, M. P., six months; Sylvia Pankhurst, six months; E. Volthime, six months; Taylor, six months; Scott, six months; Paterson, six months; Steele, three months; Harvey, three months; Webb, three months; Gallacher, three months; H. M. Emery, two months. The following have been arrested and are awaiting trial: H. W. Emery, Guy Aldred, D. M'Leish, Janet H. Patrick and Andrew Fleming.

In this city the meeting was held under the auspices of the Communist Party of Great Britain. Thousands of

workers gathered on Glasgow Green to protest against the imprisonment of their comrades and to demand their immediate release.

Dublin, April 9. Details of the execution by the British government of the six Irishmen at Mountjoy should be of some interest to the workers of all lands. The six men who were so brutally done to death by the great capitalist imperialism of the Old World, were all working men. Four of them were members of Trade Unions. On the day of the execution, the workers of this city abstained from work until 11 a. m. The appeal to the workers was carried only in one paper, and appeared in the columns of the extra edition at 7 in the evening of the day previous to the execution. Yet the result, with so inadequate a warning, was a splendid demonstration of working class solidarity. The city was rendered powerless and lifeless by the unanimous stoppage of work. Labor tasted of its power. It removed its hand from the levers of production, and the town was dead! Only the motor lorries of the military moved; industry had ceased. Only the machinery of the imperialist capitalist state stirred. When shall that also cease to function, and the revolution be complete?

Unemployment in the little republic of Switzerland is spreading. Already the number of workless reaches nearly 200,000 in a national population of only 7 million. Most of these

workers were employed in the export trades.

Odessa.—The Greek steamer Marietta has arrived here with a large cargo of manufactured goods and coal for Soviet Russia. An Italian steamer, with a cargo of copper, has just arrived at Novorossisk.

Stockholm.—The steamer Heimdahl, loaded with 102 tons of various goods, including telephone material, motors, saws, etc., left for Reval last week. The cargo is destined for Soviet Russia, and has a value of 430,000 Swedish crowns.

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