# 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 principles" to which they cannot be of action to that of the British gov- greatly opposed. ernment in its return of the mines to the private control of the owners, the U. S. Railroad Labor Board has co-operation", "economic operation", abrogated the national agreements the "maintenance of discipline" etc., between the workers and the owners etc., all of which is conducive to a expiration of the agreements is July machine for the owners. About all 1. Whether the plans of the Board that the owners could desire in will result in the Millenium con- "good" employees is contained in templated 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' win- under these 16 principles to continue nings in the negotiations consist to any length of time to work and 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 In view of what is going on in unremittingly, they have lost. The the world of work, it can be said railroad owners have won the stra- that sooner or later the 16 principles tegic point of dealing individually will be reduced to a slogan-"Work-

Of the 16 principles, several deal with "honest service", the "spirit of of the roads. The date set for the smothly running, profit creating 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

with the unions-upon a basis of "16 ers' Control". We shall see.

# EMPLOYMENT RELIEF.

Philadelphia, Pa., April 7, 1921.

To the Editor:-The Soldiers, Sailors and Workers It is also being sent to all the work- dition as workers; ing class papers in the country so

families, who are actually facing can hardly buy our daily bread due to the condition where we can hardly buy our daily bread due united States to impotence and intended to the fact that the employers have action. Capitalist dominion apparent- to the fact that the employers have action. Capitalist dominion apparent- to the fact that the employers have action. Capitalist dominion apparent- to the condition where we can hardly buy our daily bread due united States to impotence and intended the condition where we can hardly buy our daily bread due united States to impotence and intended the condition where we can hardly buy our daily bread due united States to impotence and intended the condition where we can hardly buy our daily bread due united States to impotence and intended the condition where we can hardly buy our daily bread due united States to impotence and intended the condition where we can hardly buy our daily bread due united States to impotence and intended the condition where we can hardly buy our daily bread due united States to impotence and intended the condition where we can hardly buy our daily bread due united States to impotence and intended the condition where we can hardly buy our daily bread due united States to impotence and intended the condition where we can hardly buy our daily bread due united States to impotence and intended the condition where we can hardly buy our daily bread due united States to impotence and intended the condition where we can hardly buy our daily bread due united States to impotence and intended the condition where we can hardly buy our daily bread due united States to impotence and intended the condition where we can hardly buy our daily bread due united States to impotence and intended the condition where we can hardly be conditioned to the condition where we can hardly be conditioned to the condition where we can hardly be conditioned to the condition where we can hardly be conditioned to the condition where we can hardly be conditioned to the condition where tries have already acted and are now of those few whom they still allow 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 organizations and force upon us an

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

unlivable wage.

Fraternally, L. W. BELZ. Corresponding Secretary. Workers, Soldiers and Sailors Council

RESOLUTION

"WHEREAS, we workers gave our Council of Philadelphia, having ad- support to the late war, only due to opted the enclosed resolution, is for- the fact that we sincerely believed, warding it to the unions of the as the Government then stated, that Country so that it may be acted the war was being fought for demoupon unitedly by all the workers. cracy, and the betterment of our con-

the streets, and have cut the wages tar.

sembled, therefore demand that the tual affairs of the country.



LIBERTY 'INCARCERATING' THE WORLD!

# Organizing the Left Wing of Labor

By C. P. JACKSON.

that it may receive publicity and imbetterment of our conditions, we vivid picture of failure, discourage workers who fought the war and produced in order that it might be situation and the desperate condition of those out of work and their brought to the condition where we to seen fit to throw us unemployed into ly is as solid as the rock of Gibral-

This situation is by no means due to the absence of revolutionary "AND WHEREAS the State has element in the ranks of Labor; for, done nothing to alleviate the condi- unquestionably, there are at least 3, of hungry unemployed to crush our tion of the unemployed, but on the 000,000 people in sympathy with the other hand has used the forces of the idea of the abolition of the capitalist State to protect the interests of the system. There are at least 300,000 employers of labor in their attempt determined for the overthrow of to crush the organizations of the capitalism. The proportion of rebellious workers is far greater than "WE WORKERS, in meeting as- the influence they exert upon the ac-

Congress of the United States pass | This condition in the Labor movesuch a law as will fix a tax upon ment is due to various important all employers of labor, such as will facts in the Labor history of this raise a sufficient sum to pay to country. The main reason, however, every unemployed worker in the 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 all these attempts. As a result, we have a bagfull of independent unions, That's OUR share in the war usually the product or reorganizations, splits and expulsions from the unions by the Labor fakers.

We have the militants of industrial mionism, the I. W. W. and others segregated in self-sufficient "pure" ndustrial 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 day there is every reason why unions ses.' To help the 'masses' and to valent to recognition-no one can organizations, capable of vigorous support, one must brave all diffigetting there. This has already held under the leadership of the A. F. of crats (who, being opportunists and to ship.

L., is among the weakest in the social-chauvinists, are, in most cases,

social revolution in their country; i

e., they calculated on overthrowing

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 cannot be imagined. Why, if we in trail of a monster Capitalism is not call out the railroaders and do was to abandon it and set up a Russia, after two and a half years separate organization outside of it. of incredible victories over the Rus-They further asserted that the re- sian bourgeoisie and the Entente, actionary character of the American had demanded that entrance into the Federation of Labor was bound up Trade Unions must be conditional with its very structure, and to think upon the 'acceptance of the dictatorof fighting the treacherous policy of ship,' we should have committed a Gompers inside the unions was a stupid act, impaired our influence 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

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 rideulous 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

that, it shows lack of faith in the The position taken by the Soviet mindedly these 'Left' Communists

dition as workers;

The history of the left wing in the "AND WHEREAS, instead of the betterment of our conditions, we work of failure, discourage-workers who fought the war and dispair To-day, Labor is well be satisfied, since trouble inside the bourgeoisie and the police), and his domain is more dangerous to work, by every possible means, than interference trains the outside. Wherever the masses are to be found:

harm to the revolution than this at- before the Federal Appelate Court, has been recalled. Last moment contitude of the 'Left' revolutionaries Thus from coast to coast, the slimy

(Continued on page 3.)

#### PASSAGE TO RUS-SIA 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 vised 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 Govan evidence of weakness, it is a ernment has stated it would refuse policy of despair, and, more than to allow them to enter.

Government, it was explained, was It is interesting to note with what that, as the United States refused rigor Lenin denounces such tactics. to recognize it, the Soviet Govern-"It is this absurd "theory" of no ment also exercised its privilege of participation by the Communists in not recognizing the right of persons reactionary trade unions that de- traveling from America to enter its monstrates most clearly how light- territories without the proper credentials. This means that, unless the regard the question of influence over United States permits Soviet Ruswith as the fakers please. As a con- the 'masses'; how they contradict sian consuls to exercise their funcsequence, we find, that, although to- their own complaints about the 'mas- tions here-and that would be equishould have become more militant gain their sympathy, confidence and leave for Russia with any hope of action in protecting their interests, culties, attacks, insults and persecu- up the departure of 35 deportees organized Labor in the United States, tions at the hands of the bureau- whom the authorities were just ready

## **VERY SPECIAL "MAY 1st" EDITION** APRIL 30. ORDER NOW 1c per copy.

working class."

#### Political Heresy and BRITISH MINERS' STRIKE - WHAT Workers Defense.

By EDGAR OWENS.

Fifteen months have passed since ruthless, vindictive monster of bared dustries. fang and unsheated claw. Political the Established Order does so at his leader:

ESPIONAGE PROSECUTIONS. fact that the spokesmen of the work- the industry." ing class-men and women who re- The miners have planned a Na-

CRIMINAL SYNDICALISM. pressivness. The form is merely carry out policies determined upon. And these laws are permanent. They ers would find expression. 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 pronounted guilty there for the same "crin e". In Southern Illinois Hewlett and Carr will be tried early this spring. The big Chicago Communist case in which twenspiring to advocate the overthrow of to ten years. The cases of Jack Car-"A greater lack of sense and more ney and J. O. Bentall are pending 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 and women whose accent indicated them to be foreigners was too crude 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.

The class struggle has been taken to the courts. Our comrades must be to the NATIONAL DEFENSE COMfurnished with an adequate defense. MITTEE. If you can spare more send Cases under conviction must be ap- it on. Your imprisoned comrades pealed. Where we are able to furnish look to you for help in this, their a proper defense more than 90% of day of need. Make remittances to the deportation cases are dismissed. Edgar Owens, Sec'y Treasurer, and There is urgent need for relief of mail to families of class war victims. This The National Defense Committee is the workers' fight. The workers Room 303, 166 W. Washington Str. must see it through. The workers

WHAT CAN BE DONE.

IT'S ABOUT.

"Nationalization", that's what the the "red raids" -- fifteen months Miners' strike in Britain means. It wherein the mask of hypocricy has is the latest step in the long fight been stripped from the face of Cap- of the miners for a new system of italist Society and exposed it, a ownership of one of the basic in-

What do British miners mean by heresy is the crime of crimes and "nationalization"? They mean this he who questions the sacredness of according to Frank Hodges, miners'

scheme rests on our demand that the The Espionage Act was passed as mines as well as the minerals must emergency war-time legislation. Its be national property, public property. ostensible purpose was to discourage The coal and the mines must be nathe activities of enemy agents. But tional assets, but the government in its application it has teeth only must by no means operate the mines for the militant workers. A survey or have the controlling voice in deof Espionage prosecutions reveals the termining production or controlling

fused to close their eyes to the facts tional Mining Council, half of whose of the class struggle in war as in members would be appointed from "peace"-were about the only ones the Miners' Federation. The other against whom its power was levied. half would be comprised of technical and commercial experts, and mem-The Espionage Act is emergency bers of Parliament representing the war-time legislation. With the com- public. The Federation proposes 15 ing of the "peace" it automatically district councils, operating under the ceased to exist. But that does not supervision and in conformity with mean that government loses its op- the policy of the national council to changed; the substance remains. For, Pit and colliery committees would taking advantage of the war-time deal with local problems and workhysteria, state after state enacted ing conditions. It is thru these comso-called Criminal Syndicalist laws. mittees that the mass of the work-

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

The decision of the government to release the mines to the control of the private owners precipated the

The miners have accepted the government's challenge knowing that to take the step now from government,

scheduled to take place last Friday ferences of the leaders decided to 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 sunlike wild beasts of thousands of men port the miners in a show down with the government. The resolution demands a delegate conference of all to get away with. The appearance of parties of the Triple Alliance and persecution must be avoided. Now 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

> > 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 provocators 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 CARPEN-TER'S HALL, 44 E. MARKET and CANTON APRIL 28th AT CAN-TON MUSIC HALL.

Auspices NATIONAL DEFENSE COMMITTEE.

#### 3051 N. 9th St., Phila., Pa. United States Ten Dollars a week." What's the Matter With Your Job?

Have you got a job? If not, why

out of work? Do you belong to the big Army still on the job. of the Unemployed, which is grow-

ing every day? Have you a wife and children, and

all of you hungry? 000,000 working people can be kicked barracks to sleep in! 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 to know what to do. 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 kil- be shortened, with no lowering of led in Europe so that we would al- wage. Then all the unemployed can ways have "democracy and prosperi- get a job.

Now we're getting that prosperity

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

That means US!

They want a big army of unem-Are you one of the five million ployed, so they can reduce wages and lengthen the hours of those

> They want to use us when there is a strike. The best they can give us now

are soup kitchens, bread lines, cast-Isn't something wrong when 5,- off clothing and Salvation Army a large scale, could easily dispose of With a job nowhere in sight!

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

Why should they? They say it isn't their business take care of us. IT'S UP TO US TO MAKE IT

THEIR BUSINESS! Five million of us certainly ought

WE WANT WORK, LET US DE-MAND WORK! Let us demand that the shops pened. Then we can have work. Let us demand that working hours

Let us demand that the government pay the unemployed worker a -tramping the streets, looking for decent living wage. The unemployed of England and Germany forced

(Continued on page

# THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE 2nd CONGRESS OF THE 3rd, COM (7th Installment.) THIRD SITTING OF CONGRESS. (Petrograd Pravda, July 28, 1920.) MUNIST INTERNATIONAL: Moscow 1920 Strong Communist Party. But the revolutionary movement in India, in so far as it concerns the broad popular masses. has

(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 di viding 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 countries. 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

"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 semifeudal relationship in agriculture.

"The struggle of agricultural toilers against landlord exploitation is the basis upon which you can buid 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 merotpolis 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 road.

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

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 nationals 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 occured 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

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

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

fused everything at the peace conference. At the present moment the Nationalist-revolu-tionary 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 to ps 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

China (Comrade Llu).—China was re- I 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 schoos for each white child. anly \$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 com-

mittee 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

"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 tradeunion 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 occured in 1906. It took in the railroad workers and assumed the form of a genuine uprising.

'There are elements in India to form a

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 Communistic propaganda in the colonies and to suppress the Communist movement there. It will find it much harder to defeat the national liberation no "owns"

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 Na-

tional Policy.)

#### INTERNATIONAL HAPPENINGS.

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 suc

Berlin .- The office of the Execu-

Capetown, South Africa .- Slowly | 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. following British Communists revolutionary unionists have been sentenced to prison terms: C. L. Malone, M. P., six months; Sylvia Pankhurst, six months; E. Velthime, six months; Taylor, six months; Scott, six months; Paterson, six months; Steele, three months; Harvey, three months; Webt, 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 An-

In this city the meeting was held nder the suspices of the Communist

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 exe-

cution 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 colums 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

Unemployment in the little republic of Switzerland is spreading. Already the number of workless reaches nearly 200,000 in a national popula-Party of Great Britain. Thousands of I tion 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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### THE TOILER

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#### CAPITALIST OWNED COURTS.

It is a commonly accepted truism that the courts of the United States of America are capitalist owned, controlled and manipulated in the interests of the owners. "The poor man, the worker, cannot get justice in the courts," is a summing up of the situation that has grown into a wide-spread conviction. This conviction that the courts, instead of being the bulwark of the liberties of the individual and the nation, according to a once popular delusion, are now a machine for the perpetuation of capitalist class rule and workingclass exploitation, has been arrived at thru the method of scientific investigation of the class character of society and by the more commonly practiced method of observance of Shop Committee which is not di- The unions cannot get control over court actions and decisions. Accepting the old saying that 'example is more convincing than argument," the workers are de-|shop-hence; ciding that the decisions of the courts are made in conformity with the class interests of the wealthy.

While this is all commonly accepted, there occasionally arise such stern examples of this truth that they become worthy of being called attention to as additional proof. Three such case are in point. The first is the case of Alexander Howatt, found guilty April 8, of contempt of court in ordering a strike of miners in Kansas. He was fined \$200 and placed under bonds of \$5,000 not to call any further strikes. The Kansas Industrial Court Law has declared miners strikes illegal. A miners' strike strikes at the profits of the mine owners. How to stop the insurgent Kansas miners from delivering such paralyzing blows in the only vital spot in the bosses' anatomy was a puzzle until Governor Allen hit against a shop committee, sometimes union men to oppose the unions. upon the Industrial Court plan. Kansas has not erected any machinery to compel the mine owners to allow the miners to thus live, however, and there have been more strikes in Kansas mines since the erection of the Industrial Court than in the same previous period-which would seem to indicate that the as the miners know the character of Kansas courts. Kansas courts are thus clearly seen to be instruments of the property owning class of Kansas. Ask the miners.

Last week, the only remaining hope (if it yet remained) of organized either by direct appoint consciously play a part of the comthe I. W. W. that the Chicago cases, numbering 79, would receive justice in the United States Supreme Court were blasted, Haywood and the rest were refused a review of their cases. While the appellants had no legal claim to a review, it is a privilege A band plays some popular patriotic against each other. They are: (1), to concentrate all efforts on a cerwithin the power of the Court to grant had it been so inclined. "Brag time" to stimulate the proper non-union men, led by company agi- tain educational work leading to-It flatly declined the review. The 79 will go to prison and remain enthusiasm. The company's best tators and better paid men, sup- wards establishment of powerful there for from 5 to 20 years each unless a general amnesty is granted-or the organized power of the masses of workers is used to set them free.

The I. W. W. cases need no review here, nor does the I. W. W. re. slaves. Then the floor is thrown pective departments. quire additional proof of its character as a class-conscious proletarian organization fighting with all its power against the exploitation of the workers by the capitalist class and the capitalist State. Its long years of service to the workers must commend it to the capitalist State and Courts as a fit object of hatred venom to pick out the "best" men, the men gamation of all the trade union men and persecution. In the face of the I. W. W.'s long and tenacious fight against the capitalist system, to hold out the hope of justice in the courts could only be classed as the wildest dream, an un- from individual employees for con- meeting of all the workers. It must becoming flying in the face of actualities.

It remains however, for the court to convict itself out of its own mouth. It has done so. In rendering a decision against the Amalgamated Clothing Workers recently in favor of an employing Wilson's Second Industrial Confer- shop committee be elected, which firm, Judge James C, von Siclen of the Brooklyn Supreme Court ence recommends. Such is the plan will be able to carry on its work spills the beans" in a manner that can leave no one in doubt, of labor representatives Charles openly and unflinchingly. Whether you believe in the Class Struggle or not the Judge's signed decision granting the injunction ought to commend itself as a marvelously frank statement of the position of the Courts keep away "outsiders" in order that meetings over which their employers in what it conceives to be a struggle to the death between two his own workmen may select their have no control and no representation of the masses the consciousness that opposing classes in present day society. Says the Judge:

"The issue between the parties is nothing more than the old conflict between capital and labor. The swing of the pendulum is influenced almost entirely by the law of supply and demand, and neither capital nor labor at any time is satisfied to be governed not theirs. Therefor they call it the strongly organized. The nature of zation of the economic management dissimilar to another group working in touch with the masses. by the length or sweep to and fro . . . . . When capital has the up- "Bosses Committee." per hand it will continue to grind down labor, and when labor is in the ascendant it will in turn continue to harass, cheat and seek to either control or destroy capital. Neither at any time is willing affiliation concealed. Whatever he more aggressive is the shop committees under which they are suffering to be to give the quid pro quo, and the never ceasing conflict goes on. does in behalf of his union-he does tee.

"The courts must stand at all times as the representatives of secretly. Secret organization work is However, in many places the capital, of captains of industry, devoted to the principle of individual initiative, protect property and persons from violence and destruction, strongly opposed to all schemes for the nationalization of industry, and yet save labor from oppression, and conciliatory toward the removal of the workers' just grievances."

The lesson the "agitators" have been trying for generations to bring to the attention of the masses ought to be easier of accomplishment now. The Judge makes the matter plain. The never ceasing conflict" between capital and labor is on. In this battle for power the courts cannot attempt to serve both. It must take a stand-and does so firmly and unmistakably upon the side of Capital, There is no equivocation, no attempt at deception.

All that is necessary now is that the workers should accept Judge von Sicien's statements as true; for true they are.

# EDITORIAL PAGE OF THE TOILER

## The Shop Committee-What Kind? ORGANIZING THE LEFT WING OF LAN

on the subject: "I believe, I advocate, and I prac- their grievances tice the principal that the workmen

ditions with their employers. under which they work."

good lessons. (1) That the class-conscious in tory for the workers. dustrial magnates do not trust any

labor union; and

rected and supported by some power- the shop committee, because "everyful labor organization outside of the body" union men, non-union men half dozen fit men for a shop com-

not the Shop Committee, but the tinuously assisting, the "others" by purpose and the basis upon which means of firing and hiring. Through it is built.

Typographical Union card in one your interests free of charge?" Propocket and a Machinists Union card paganda of this nature is often disin another, I have seen all kinds of tributed among the workers, and tees, welfare committees, joint com- ments are pretty high-it has a mittees, councils, etc. Sometimes one certain effect. The company does is "fired" by the boss for fighting everything to pencourage the nonfor organizing one.

of workingmen. Nevetheless, one piece work go to non-union men. group can be rightfully designated Foremanships assistant, foreman-

Bosses' Shop Committee,

ment by the company, or in the pany's game-to keep the workers following manner. A shop meeting is divided. open for discussion. Usually, some of | It should be plain that in such preparation the audience is invited who are longest in the shop, and into One Big Union. This shop orelected. It consists of such men as at its own closed meetings and vote were chosen by the Company.

Schwab approves. And, true to his conviction, quite recently he engaged These are the committees which and is really suffering extremely representatives unmolested.

shall we do in such shops and under elects a delegate or more.) such conditions?

shop committee."

Still Another Kind.

dustrial Council, which was appoint- (Quite often the large automobile a proper working condition. ed by President Wilson, approved companies advertize: "honest and inand strongly recommended a certain dustrious union men may apply, but kind of Shop Committee as a strike slackers and agitators are not and create shop committees without Messrs. Gompers, Jouhaux, Henderremedy. Also Charles Schwab, the wanted.") Here, besides some bos- first carefully preparing ground for son, Legien, etc., are very grateful steel king, more than sympathizes ses' committee exist various trade them. Through such action we may to such 'Left' revolutionists who, like with the idea. Here is what he says union branches. But they are not only discredit the idea and gain noth- the German 'Opposition-on-principle'

where the company has an equal control over the shop. tives, however, as they may select, committee. Since the company has a writes: must come from their own ranks and couple of its men in the shop com-

(2) that they are not afraid of a tem and the trade union branches. time. and others-take part in the elec-(3) The most important thing is tions, and the company is consuch committees the company is car-Occasionally "floating" from one rying on a continuous campaign shop to another in east or middle- against unions. "Why are you paywest, sometimes working as a car- ing high dues to outsiders when you penter or repairman while having a have a committee which protects Shop Committees, workers' commit- since the union dues and assess-

When hiring-the non-union man is There exist two distinctive kinds preferred, when laying off-the ships and all steadier and better paid jobs go to non-union men. Natural-

called by the company. Everybody is In short-here are two fractions in this direction shall not be to set present-from sweeper to "super." of workers who are cleverly incited up worthless shop committees, but speaker calls the meeting to order porting the company plans of labor and tells a story about mutual in-representation, and (2), union men terests of employers and employees. fighting against the "Scab Commitor about the company's love for its tee", trying to unionize their res-

the company's spies have prepared places we must line up with the speeches and denounce unions, bol- union men in order to secure a solid sheviks, agitators, etc. After this footing to work from. We must carry on agitation in favor of amalelect them on a shop committee for ganization must secure full control the purpose of receiving grievences of the votes before it calls a general sideration, etc. The committee is pick out all candidates in advance in the general meeting en block. This is the kind of a committee Only then can a real workmens'

Workers' Shop Committees.

General Wood and a whole army to are elected by workers assembled in from the economic crisis." tion in. Such committees may be a systematic reconstruction of the then it would be sound sense to link of whom will be in sympathy with The more intelligent workers in found in government arsenals, navy public economy on the basis of a them up together and formulate a the point of view of the propagand-Schwab's and other establishments yards, and in many railroad shops capitalist order, which would mean common policy, so that an unofficial ists. After this minority has been understand the purpose of this kind and the clothing industry. These in favor of the capitalist class, is group working within one craft union approached and consolidated, there of shop committee. They know it is places are either closed shops or now totally impossible. The organi- would not be propagating a policy still remains the problem of getting the shop committees, therefore, de- corresponding with the interests of within another union in the same in-Wherever this arrangement exists pends upon the character of the the working masses, is only possible dustry, thereby nullifying each other's talism for the great mass of the no union man is tolerated. If one unions, which organize them: the when the government is in the hands efforts. It might be necessary for people to be sufficiently well information. is in such a shop he must keep his more radical are the electors—the of the working class." Thus is sum-

bodies (for instance in Watertown when a considerable number of work-

Before the committees can act on sive leadership, when discontent has ferent trade unions, because each -the workers' control over produc-Another variety of Bosses' shop union considers the other one as an tion.

When, How and What For?

allowed to bother the company with ing. A timorous weakling can be Party (Heaven preserve us from tation in treating for wages and con- the "Joint Board", or "Council", and aggressive, striving for workers Trade Unions and of refusing to

not from the ranks of some indus- mittee it always wins out in the committee "can take the lead in bourgeois governments, to priests, trial or local that knows nothing Joint Council. Of course the em- taking up grievances of the workers police, courts, in order to prevent allow this fact to come out clearly. gressive action to redress their Trade Unions, by all and every In spite of that, there is a con- the comrade who wrote the quota- hound and persecute them. kind of more or less centralized tinuous friction between this shop tion has not been inside of a re- "It is necessary to be able to with-| committee and the Joint Council sys- presentative American shop for some stand all this, to go to the whole

your hats and coats and get out." stituted, and its ex-members, when

siderable extent. Therefore, it is a rope, which is soaked through with Bishop Brown's. useless waste of time to set up inveterate legalist, constitutionalist, voluntary shop committees. The kind bourgeois-democratic prejudice, it is cessity for such a thing is fully understood by a considerable number of workers, who would be ready to protect it. Hence, our primary task ones in due time.

"The campaign in favor of the of the popular masses, even not directly belonging to the factory proletariat, there should be instilled the conviction that the bourgeoisie is responsible for the economic crisis, while the pro'etariat, under the motto of workers' control of industry, is struggling for the organization of production, for the suppression of tions of the day, the lack of fuel, the transport crisis-to unite the to attract wide circles of the petty bourgeoisie, which is becoming more

man is fired as soon as the employer tion and support. In many cases groups, the bosses and reactionary Trade Union propaganda groups down the barriers standing in the finds out that he belongs to a labor these shop committees are delegated labor leaders shall not know. Only should be knit together as closely as way of working class enlightenment The question before us is: what Arsenal, Mass., each trade union ers show unmistakable signs that they are ready to back up aggres- tants in every local organized and by highly theoretical arguments. There can be only one answer: anything, each delegate must get the reached a high level, only then a district, and finally on national lines, minority, if the minority can win To hell with the bosses' shop com- approval from his union. This causes meeting of all workers of a shop we shall be ready for action. Using their confidence in times of industrial mittees. Let's organize secretly un- delay and paralizes the committees' shall be called and the shop com- method, deliberation and caution, peace. To do that, contact will have til we are strong enough to come work. General shop meetings, if held mittee elected to take care of the and operating on a large scale, and, to be established, out openly and elect a real workers' at all, can not make their decisions immediate situation and direct the at the same time, having these unbinding on the members of the dif- movement until attaining its object official groups organized, we shall working class, we must become active

(Continued from page 1). | committee exists in many factories outsider which has no right to tell over the masses, and helped the This subject has received much where a large number of skilled it what it shall or shall not do. So Mensheviks. For the whole of the attention lately, not only in progres- workers are required, and where you see, even here there is a lot of Communist problem is to be able to sive labor circles but also from em- there is not a sufficient number of educational work to be done before convince the backward, to work in ployers. For instance, the Second In- unorganized to fill the vacancies, the shop committees may be put in their midst, and not to set up a barrier between us and them, a barrier of artificial, childishly 'Left' slogans. It is an absurd policy to go ahead "There can be no doubt but that

created in any shop, especially if such 'principles') or like revolution-They have to bring their scruples self appointment is practised. But ists in the American 'Industrial of this country are entitled to rep- before the committee. Only if it ap- this is not what we want! We want Workers of the World,' preach the will be so well able to carry on. Folresentation and collective represen- proves them, the grievances go to shop committees which are active necessity of quitting reactionary work in them. Undoubtedly, the lead-"I believe that such representa- number of votes to that of the shop I do not believe, as one compade ers of opportunism will have recourse to all the tricks of bourgeois diplo-A voluntary (self appointed) shop macy, will appeal to the help of of the conditions or circumstances players are careful enough not to against the management and by ag- Communists from working in the This statement teaches several mise which is hailed as a great vicmise which which is hailed as a great vicmise which which is hailed as a great vicmise which whi shop committee system." Evidently unpleasant as possible, to insult,

> length of any sacrifice, if need be, Let us take any large industrial to resort to strategy and adroitness, establishment. It is easy to find a illegal proceedings, reticence and submittee. Suppose these men forget penetrate into the Trade Unions, rewhat they have seen, and, finding main in them and carry on Commungrievances, go to the employers and ist work inside them, at any cost. demand redress. What will happen? Under Czarism until 1905, we had "Ah, you must be the Anarchists no 'legal posibilities,' but when Zuwho are distributing bolshevik liter- batov, the secret service agent, orature around here. I am running this ganized Black Hundred workers' place the way I see fit; you get meetings and workmen's societies for and gets a free book. Since half the purpose of ferreting out revolu-Thus the shop committee will be tionists and fighting them, we sent liquidated quicker than it was con- members of our party into these meetings and societies. (I personally looking for new jobs, will never dare remember one such comrade, Babushtell their last place of employment. kine, an eminent Petrograd workman, During my thirteen years in Amer- who was shot by the Czar's generals and carried on systematically.

("Left Communism--Lenin.) It is high time for the class-conscious elements in the ranks of labor to effect a change in tactics in regard to trade union work. Many of those who hitherto were opposed to work within the unions are now realizing that it is important that the militant Lefts in the Labor movement organize for action without shop committees must be conducted further loss of time. It is our duty in such a way that into the minds to approach the workers from every

> The function of groups working within unions is to formulate a feasible policy of organization and to utilize every crisis arising in the union to propose a definite policy of action to the masses.

possible angle.

It is a waste of shouting "Revolution, Revolution!" speculation, disorganization and high It is the business of a revolutionst prices. Our duty is to struggle for to lay down a definite line of policy control over production on the to be pursued by the workers in any ground of the most insistent ques- crisis. To give the masses barren your Toiler is the best" formulae instead of revolutionary the unions within an industry are of capitalism itself. possible.

the labor fakers, and approach work at once

#### The Doers' Column.

Comrade F. A. Leipheimer is one among many who order a copy each of the list of reduced pamphlets.

New bundle orders reaching us this week come from: Lynn, Mass., Seattle, Harmarsville, Pa., Chicago, Lyndonville, Vt., Los Angeles, Superior, Wisc., Warren, Ohio.

Readers of Bellaie, O., have set an example for others in supporting The Toiler. They recently held a dance and remitted to us the net receipts consisting of \$52. This is one kind of work which our Toiler Clubs low the example of Bellaire.

Comrade Baworovich, of Holyoke, Mass., sends in a contribution list containing \$5.00. We express our hearty thanks for these five donations of a dollar each.

The increased number of subscription cards received the past two weeks show that our sub hustiers are on the job. Incidentally, we would like to insist that remittances for cards be made when sold.

A comrade from W. Va. sends in three dollars for subs and writes: "Am now working but three days a week, so I have more time to work or communism.

This comrade knows what he is here for. Let more of the workers

Comrade Morkun of Detroit remits yearly subs are easy to get and when the value of the premium is considered, it is surely an extra inducement to step out and grab the

"Sold the 6 copies of Communism ica I have not met an employer who in 1906.) They put us in touch with and Christianism and please send me will not immediately get rid of a the masses, acquired much skill in 6 more copies for the enclosed dolcommittee which is organized in his conducting propaganda, and succeed-lar." This is the content of many shop for aggressive action against ed in wresting the workers from letters we have received within the of shop committees, both consisting union man is about the better paid him, and the firing of which would under the influence of Zubatov's past two months. It just proves how not cripple his business to a con- agents. Of course, in Western Eu- valuable is this work of comrade

About every week we receive at This species may be found in steel ly, the union-men hate the non-union. Voluntary snop committees. The kind bourgeois-democratic prejudice, it is of shop committees we advocate can more difficult to carry on such work; least one, sometimes mare, subs from mills, machine shops, shoe factories, woolen mills, etc. They have been portunity and by so doing often un-

> A number of comrades of Lorain have recently joined hands in a big boost for The Toiler. A remittance of \$15 has arrived, as a result. The comrade remitting, writes: "We realize that the need is for more education of the workers and since The Toiler is the best food with which to feed the hungry proletariat, we have collected \$15.75 to send you." The letter concludes, Yours for the Moscow International and is signed, South-Slavic Workers.

We will take this opportunity, since we have no address to write to, to thank the comrades for this generous donation.

Writes one who signs himself "A Store Clerk," I've read all kinds of Socialist and I. W. W. literature but

guidance may be an easy way of the goal of abolishing craft unionism different groups of proletariat and avoiding thought and trouble, but it and establishing industrial unions. We leads nowhere in the long run. If shall then be nearer to the abolition

and more proletarized day by day, craft in form, then there should be Too much must not be made, howa linking up of the various unof- ever, of the possibilities of propaficial groups within the industry. If ganda in the locals only. As a rule "We must instill into the minds there are other groups operating in the locals are only attended by a other unions within the industry, tiny minority of active men, many

It is quite impossible under capiagitation for the Shop Committee. and groups, to force mass action able to know exactly what to do in a In order to be able to carry out within the industry during a crisis, crisis. It is only the minority who, common among workers where em- work of these committees does not our work in this spirit, we must even if no reorganization of the of- in virtue of more than average opployers have established spying and amount to anything worth while. This organize our own educational groups ficial organizations has taken place. portunity or more than average black-listing systems and where a is because they lack power, jurisdic- in every shop and labor union. These It is, therefore, necessary that all capacity, have been able to break and can possibly lead the mass. The In this manner, having the mili- masses are not open to be convinced centralized on industrial, then on They will follow the lead of the

soon be able to take away power and aggressive: we must begin this

#### FUNDAMENTAL PROBLEMS OF RUSSIA'S ECONOMIC LIFE.

Speech of Krzyzanowski before the Eighth All-Russian reducing distances three times, if not local low grade coal and peat. Congress of Soviets, held in Moscow, in December, 1920. more... It would give an outlet for Donets anthracite to the Volga: The peat will be erected and will make

nomic life at a most difficult time. dustry, but to create a new one. Even not be over-estimated. Events have proved that Russia canif, at the beginning, we should connot be thrown out of the circle of tinue to work the Donets Basin on the old lines, we would come up number of electric stations must be mining. The stational at Machursk us is to elaborate such a plan of industry as to enable us, in a very port. To carry coal such long dispersion of the volga and the Dnieindustry as to enable us, in a very port. To carry coal such long dispersion of the volga and the Dnieindustry as to enable us, in a very port. To carry coal such long dispersion of the volga and the Dnieindustry as to enable us, in a very port. To carry coal such long dispersion of the volga and the Dnieindustry as to enable us, in a very port. To carry coal such long dispersion of the volga and the Dnieindustry as to enable us, in a very port. To carry coal such long dispersion of the volga and the Dnieindustry as to enable us, in a very port. To carry coal such long dispersion of the volga and the Dnieindustry as to enable us, in a very port. To carry coal such long dispersion of the volga and the Dnieindustry as to enable us, in a very port. To carry coal such long dispersion of the volga and the Dnieindustry as to enable us, in a very port. To carry coal such long dispersion of the volga and the Dnieindustry as to enable us, in a very port. To carry coal such long dispersion of the volga and the Dnieindustry as to enable us, in a very port. To carry coal such long dispersion of the volga and the Dnieindustry as to enable us, in a very port. To carry coal such long dispersion of the volga and the Dnieindustry as to enable us, in a very port. To carry coal such long dispersion of the volga and the Dnieindustry as to enable us, in a very port. To carry coal such long dispersion of the volga and the Dnieindustry as to enable us, in a very port. To carry coal such long dispersion of the volga and the Dnieindustry as to enable us, in a very port. To carry coal such long dispersion of the volga and the Dnieindustry as to enable us, in a very port. To carry coal such long dispersion of the volga and the port of the volga and the port of the volga and industry as to enable us, in a very port. To carry coal such long distance and Epifan, consuming the low grade those stations would have the same aspirations, under the rule of the such a strained financial condition? short time, to gain a victory on the tances as to the moscow and retto gy for the needs of our water trans- and Epital, condition?

labor front similar to that gained grad centres of industry, is a mat- port and harbors. Electrification will coal near Moscow, will also supply effect as if one threw an army of bloody monarch, of any of the sup- She places all her hopes on Gerbloody monarch, of any of the support and harbors. Electrification will be of particular importance for the many, on the military front;—and ter of great difficulty. It is, there be of particular importance for the many, on the German bourgeoisie, which is not her friend at all. She manner upon the electrification of many of the support and harbors. Electrification will be of particular importance for the low grade Moscow and the hustries of the low grade Moscow and the hustries of the fore, necessary that the industrial low grade Moscow and the hustries of the low grade Moscow and the hustries of the fore, necessary that the industrial low grade Moscow and the hustries of the stations will make ened civilization. As a tactical step, national selfdetermination was proples and widows to be taken care of. born in the old capitalist order, which mendous. The deposits of peat in- ing here an electric station we shall Kursk railway with ts outlet to the develop a power, substituting the mised all small nations which would But Germany has the same cripples places in the hands of man a mastery crease every year to an extent repre- cover the rapids and make the river harbor of Mariupola over the lorces of nature which cannot be bound in the limits of private property. Where it is a question of forcing tremendous rivers into bounds of stone, and building powerful electric stations to serve and influence tric stations to serve and influence peat would be turned into electric stations to serve and influence peat would be turned into electric stations to serve and influence peat would be turned into electric stations to serve and influence peat would be turned into electric stations to serve and influence peat would be turned into electric stations to serve and influence peat would be turned into electric stations to serve and influence peat would be turned into electric stations to serve and influence peat would be turned into electric stations to serve and influence peat would be turned into electric stations to serve and influence peat would be turned into electric stations to serve and influence peat would be turned into electric stations to serve and influence peat would be turned into electric stations of the peat cannot be carried long distances. Local electric stations show that we have in our rivers a supply of energy to the extent of 20 million powerful electric stations to be erected on the rivers Volkhov and vir will provide industrial area of the entire volkhov and vir will provide in the real saviour of "civilization" and the rivers Volkhov and vir will provide of the entire industrial area of t the life of huge territories; and energy and transmitted along a ra- horsepower, counting only such of where. where there is a question of uniting dius of two hundred versts, (1 verst them as have not less than ten thousproperty as an institution, blocks the way and must be removed if we are Apart from peat, wood waste etc. 3 million in Turkestan, about 2.5 milto approach the resources of nature could be turned into electrical ener- lion on the Dnieper, Dniester, and in accordance with the demands of gy. The fears that the utilization of Bug, and the remainder in the Pettechnique and science.

of the Revolution, it is necessary to forest reserves are colossal. We do that caution must be exercised in the strengthen our economic front and not utilize even a small portion of construction of large hydraulic stamaintain a severe struggle with the our annual growth of timber. capitalist economy of the West. Here, Our other difficult front is that ed only such stations the energy of in spite of our energy, we may be of the food supply, which equally re- which could be utilized to the full. defeated if we overestimate the ele- quires exceptional measures. Russia ments of so-called human power at produces about four billion poods of 45 000 small electric plants utilizing

existence of such an electrical sys- dous areas .... tem would have as its effect a co- The treatment of the land with ordinated rational economy embrac- tractors and electrical ploughs being the whole country. Besides this, comes an urgent matter. as sources of energy, the refuse of ces of supply of fuel and food creates and the increase in the number with promptly way to do away they are clever, competent and in- M. Cheron has facts and figures be-

present conditions, are mere waste. crisis. Electrification must, therefore, become the foundation on which the we shall be obliged to fall back, in plan of our public economy must be the Center and in the North, chiefly

be decisive for the destines of our proving our transport and bringing industries. The Donets Basin is at it into a state of efficiency, so that the forefront of our fuel problem. it may be able to cope with the dif-According to our specialists, the ficult tasks before it. rational. As to the development of large work of reconstruction of the

We are coming to grips with the anthracite mining, it will be neces-fundamental problems of our eco-sary, not to reestablish a former in-fundamental problems of our eco-sary, not to reestablish a former in-fundamental problems of our eco-sary, not to reestablish a former in-

The Great Problem.

corn, the greater part of which is water power and represent an ag-The regeneration of the economic grown on our periphery, such as life of the country in connection with Ukraine, Northern Caucasus, Middle The number of these plants could be liquidating the crisis in our food Volga, and Siberia. Very little corn supply, transport, fuel and labor, is produced in our industrial centers, ing new stations in their spare time, may be brought about in three dif- and food has to be carried across while we would provide them with ferent ways. One and the most simple long distances, which greatly taxes the necessary equipment. Subsequentis the intensification of labor. The our transport. The non-production of second is the mechanization of labor, cereals in Central and North Russia and the third is the better organiza- is due to causes which may be overtion and coordination of labor on a come. Our reserves of arable land rational basis. By establishing a are enormous. Out of two billion comparatively small number of elec-idessiatins (1 dessiatin-2.7 acres) of tric stations in the whole country, land, we have up to now utilized not connected with one another, and more than one hundred and three forming one single network, we could million; this is because of the limitaunite the economy of the country tions of peasant labor, which could into one single whole. The mere not physically handle such tremen-

industry, such as coal-dust and slack, a situation where the crisis in the companies waters only 67 per course. Now what is the contract of th transport involves a fuel and food

It is evident that, for the present upon Donets coal and Southern and Southeastern grain. We are, there-The removal of the fuel crisis will fore, faced with the problem of im-

Donets Basin might yield, if we pull | The waterways of Russia may be ourselves together, up to three thou- divided into two parts. In the East, sand million poods (1 pood-36 lbs.) there is the Volga and in the West, of coal. The regeneration of the the Dnieper. Our network of rail-Donets coal industry would require ways, although considerable, is nevera few years, and then about forty theless weak, and we are faced per cent of the fuel required by our with the enormous problem of exindustries would be covered by the tending this network still further Donets coal. There are, however, two and also of improving the carrying aspects which make the utilization capacity of the railways. The radiof the Donets coal difficult. The first cal solution of the problem, as pracis the nature of the former methods ticed abroad is the construction of in connection with the sluicing of the of coal-mining in the Donets Basin special trunk lines for purposes of which paid attention mainly to the freight only. In view of our present best coking coal, that is coal which conditions, such a course is impracis urgently needed for purposes of ticable and the most economical metalurgy where as the anthracite method wold be to adapt some of 800 thousand horsepower. This staregion representing a tremendous our railways for such trunk lines by wealth has hardly been touched. To means of electrification. Such a from 100 to 130 million poods of destroy the best source of coal is ir- course, which would not involve any

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ing capacity of the railways to one war conditions. This is tantamount to

million horsepower in the Caucasus. wood fuel may be harmful for our rograd region, the Murmansk and In order to fortify the conquests forest economy are groundless. Our the White Sea. I must give warning tions. In our scheme, we have select-

Before the war, we had in Russia increased by the peasants constructly, all these stations would be included in the general State system. The industries of such a town as Petrograd, which in the past lived upon imported coal could not be maintained and developed without electrification.

Our calculations have shown that, by electrification, we may increase the productivity of our industries cure all the consumptives by send-

The New Electric Stations. During the first period the Commission on Electrification proposes You who read this, show the world to construct 27 stations, in such regions as would make it possible to connect the whole of Russia by one electrical system.

It is proposed, first of all, to electrify the Donets Basin, and the first station of 20,000 kw. will be erected at the village Kashperovka. In close proximity, there will be erected another station near Lisichansk, in the region of the coking coal. These electric stations will utilize the coal refuze and the low grade coal, so as to economize the better sorts.

Of particular importance for the Donets Basin will be the station to be erected at Dnieper, near Alexan- it is open to the unorganized, the drovsk, which will supply the works river, which will create a pressure of water enabling at first the utiliza- demand decent working conditions. ging, stealing, or possible suicide. But the manner is not at all striktion of from 200 to 300 million kw. later developing the power to about tion alone will mean a saving of coal per annum.

The fourth station in the same region is proposed to be built at Grushev. All these stations will be connected with one another and thus will enable us to introduce mechanical methods of coal mining create bet-Iter conditions of life and labor for the miners, and to increase output while reducing by half the number of men.

Next is the station Belaya-Kalitva, near the Volga, in the anthracite region. Then there is a station to be built in the Kuban region, which will make possible to increase the production of zinc, lead, copper, etc. Next is a station on the Terek, near Georgia, which could also supply the latter with energy. A station will be erected at Grosny, in the Caucasus,

in the oil region. Then come stations which will supply the Volga regions. The Tsaritsin station will make is possible to bring the coal from Kalitva to the Volga, and reduce the consumption of oil by the Volga fleet. The Kashparsk station near Samara will consume local shales. Near Kazan a station will be built at Svyazhsk, which will utilize peat and wood waste. These stations will enable us to electrify agriculture in the Volga

existing lines, would raise the cary-region. Near Novo-Usensk, a station most important points and will be to cover the whole of our inand a half or two billion poods per local natural gas and will supply dustry. verst, and reduce the cost of freight energy for purposes of agriculture. by two-thirds as compared with pre- In the central industrial regions, stations will be built for using the

importance of the electrification of possible the development of the cheapart from the electrification of the

The stations to be erected on the

be sent you postpaid.

By SARGEANT.

think hard while you are at it, re-

member the workers are the ones

who will have to solve this problem.

Say Bill, you have worked steady

for quite a time, havn't you? And

here you are now out of work only

two or three months and you are

nearly, if not broke already? On

the level, isn't it funny? During

that whole time the bosses havn't

worked at all. And they have all

kinds of dough, some puzzle! Say

The open shop, is a closed shop.

That sounds odd doesn't it? But it

is true nevertheless, for the reason

weak, and careless. But closed to

those who dare to belong to a Union.

Because they have the courage to

you have some brains.

Bill, can you solve it?

Quite apart from this is the plan of the electrification of the Murmansk railway, of Siberia and of Turkestan.

The plan outlined may be accomplished to a large extent with our own means but will require an enormous amount of human labor. However, if we obtain powerful machinery from abroad, our scheme will be realized within the next ten years.

The effects of electrification on energy of 30 million people.

In the Urals state as will be built existence. At the mention of a sta- "Civilization" is again in danger. Not of Germany and she insists still more various territories into one economic 66 miles) and with improved methods and horsepower each. This is distri- at Kiselovsk on the river Chusovaya, tion by Comrade Krzyzanowski, it that the Prussians threaten to in- on the isolation of her former eneunit, it is clear that not only private property in land, but also private property in land, but also private it may be required.

and those power can but a Yegoryevsk (using anthracite) was immediately lit up on the map but and destroy it. They merely but and destroy it. They merely but and destroy it may be required.

and those power can but a Yegoryevsk (using brown coal). by a little electric lamp, producing a million horsepower in Siberia, 2.7 and Cheliabinsk (using brown coal). These 27 stations will be built at strong impression upon the audience. "wicked" Germans are blamed for Rhine valley from Germany, she bit-

There are two kinds of unem-

ployed. One respectable, who con-

all the luxuries, and abundance of

in display of dress and jewels. Breez-

ing in costly automobiles and Pull-

ling, yacht cruising, and many other

of the unemployed rich.

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SORROWFUL LOT OF CIVILIZA-TION'S SAVIOUR.

By MILNER.

France stood the brunt at the outneath the heel of Prussian militarism. Czaristic Russia assisted in accomplishing this great task. All was support "the war to end war."

The real saviour of "civilization" ficient material to show what "civilization" faces.

The "Times" of March 20, 1921, carries a dispatch by Edwin L. James, dated Paris, March 19, 1921, under the heading "France Faces Big Financial Crisis." The article begins: "Discussion of the French budget of 1921 is coming in the Senate next week, just when the reparaployed ever came together and or- tions situation is scheduled to become ganize for the purpose of solving again strained." Further, in the same Five million unemployed. Unem- the industrial problem, their days of dispatch we read: "As for the French ployment is a disease of the wages- idle laughing would be a thing of budget, M. Cheron, Chairman of the system. Now Mr. Workingman, or past history. Form an unemployed Senate Finance Committee, says in his report distributed to the Senators today, that unless Germany twice, as compared with pre-war coning a few to the mountains? You ditions, but, at any rate, the increase know it can't be would not be less than 80 per cent, unemployment of the would not be less than 80 per cent, unemployment of the capital by giving ignorant. On the part of the capital French press tonight critices M. while the increase in the expenditure a few workers a job. The only way ist-class to do no work, means they Cheron for thus characterizing the of fuel would be only 35 per cent to prevent disease is, to get at the are ladies and gentlemen, because Government's financial situation, but

In the next paragraph Mr. James

as follows: "France must find 58,-000,000,000 francs this year, and her revenue is estimated at 22,000,000,- Soviet Russia. Then there will be sider it a disgrace to work because 000. She is carrying a deficit of 38,- market for our goods. Russia needs they are rich, and are supplied with 000,000,000 already spent on the pro- all kinds of machinery and manuspects of German payment, and 16,- factured goods. Russia can give us wealth, which they have extracted 000,000,000 more is carried in this raw material in exchange. Russia has from the workers. Consequently, they year's budget to the same account. gold to pay for everything she are busy spending the wealth creat- She cannot make ends meet by in- needs. The British have got in ahead ed by the workers in conducting ternal loans M. Cheron says, and he of us. Let us force the government charity-balls, applying for divorces, discounts all plans of heavy realiza- to do business with Soviet Russia at selecting poodle dogs as substitutes tion immediately on the prospects of once! for children; vieing with each other German payment. His whole report comes to one conclusion: Germany THINGS, WE'LL KNOW WHAT TO must pay or French finances are in DO! mans; attending horse races, gamb- a hopeless fix." Then the honorable gentleman makes a comparison be- GANIZE! useless diversions. Such is the life tween the France before the war and the France today, the victorious France. "In pointing out that Fran-On the other hand, we have the ce's prewar debt of 27,000,000,000 matter what their trade is. unemployed of the working-class, has mounted to 302,000,000,000 M. who must seek work out of neces- Cheron explains it in the following sity, unless they should turn to beg- striking manner," says Mr. James. But those acts are against law and ing, for the same old song of Gerorder! So the poor unemployed are man aggression is repeated and noththe Unions. But just the thing for havn't learned yet how to steal lethe war. Although we quote one senthe Bosses, and they like it, it gives gally, like the unemployed rich. So tence from the "Times": "To defend them the power and opportunity they they will have to continue suffering her liberties and her soil, to save Let us show them our strength! have been looking for. To play the in their ignorance and squalor until the civilization of the world, she outs against the ins, with the re- they organize with all their fellow sacrificed 1,300,000 of her children." sult, wages are being reduced, sim- workers for the intelligent over- But Cheron does not say a word listen to us. ply because the workers are being throw of this class system, and in- about the squandering of hundreds compelled by hunger, and want to stitute a system where all healthy of millions by Clemenceau in destroying the productive forces of Russia.

the millions that were appropriated for reconstruction work in Northern break of the war and at Marne saved France, devasted during the war. "civilization" from being crushed be- These millions were not used for construction but for destruction, and Cheron says they are saving civili-

What will become of France under

and widows to look after and is in even a worse position than France, to be erected, and in blue those in Paris but the French themselves. sailles Treaty, which makes a pauper the present misery. So. Paris and terly opposes the joining of Austria France are threatened now but not to Germany. All these plans and by invasion. It is the French capital-schemes are advocated for future ist system and the governing clique safety of the "saviour of civilization" that is about to collapse. Read what but they spell immediate ruin of the they say and how they illustrate saviour herself. She owes already their present situation. No bolshevism immense sums to England and to is implicated, no information is taken | America and it is questionable whethfrom any bolshevik source. The er those countries will lend her more, chairman of the Senate Finance Com- for she does not use the money for mittee of France and the "New construction but for destruction. York Times," supplies us with suf- Consider hes assistance to a sister "saviour of civilization," Poland. The French bourgeoisie is heading towards destruction and suicide. It already is not able to pay interest on

> loans. Thus is seen that the hour of the crumbling of European bourgeois civilization has come, and beneath its own weight. The sooner it falls the better for the world. The ground will be cleared for a better civilization. And, in our presently discussed case, it will not be the French working class or the nation that will suffer, but the French bourgeoisie, the skinners of the French nation, the renegades Millerands, Briands and Vi-

its loans, except by means of new

#### WHAT'S THE MATTER WITH YOUR JOB?

(Continued from page 1).

are going farther! Let us demand trade relations with

IF THEY WON'T DO THESE

But to do anything, we must OR-

We must organize all the unemployed in the city. We must line them up in one organization, no

We must get the unions to help

ns do this It's their business as much as ours. Their members may be out of a job

We must organize in the city, in Unemployment is a bad thing for right up against it, because they ing is said about the actual cause of the state and then all over the

country. Let us go out and demonstrate! Then when we make a demand, the bosses and the government will

THEY'LL HAVE TO! National Propaganda Committee for the Unemployed.

#### know, if the employed, and unem- all. WORK AMONG THE UNEMPLOYED.

compete for jobs. Consequently the and able will have to do some use-

fellows on the jobs out of fear of full service or they won't eat. They

loosing take a reduction, to keep the are attempting to solve that problem

outs, from getting in. And all the now in Russia. Lets keep our faith

time the Bosses are laughing up with her in the attempt, and aid

their sleeves at the stupidity of the whenever possible, in order to settle

workers in general. Because they this age long struggle once and for

The present is the educational season among the unemployed. They nust learn WHY they are unemployed and the remedy. YOU must help them to get the information. Copies of The Toiler for distribution among the unemployed can be had for one cent per copy. Order a bundle and

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