

Opening of the IV. World Congress.

English Edition.

Unpublished Manuscripts - Please reprint.

INTERNATIONAL

Vol. 2 No. 97

10th Nov. 1922

PRESS

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Opening of the Enlarged Executive Session

(Radio to "Inprekorr.")

Moscow, November 2. Under the chairmanship of comrades Zinoviev and Zetkin the session of the Enlarged Executive was opened today with a speech of welcome by Comrade Zinoviev.

The delegates that have arrived up to now are distributed as follows: From Germany 21, France 9, Italy 16, Czechoslovakia 7, South Africa 1, America 6, Argentina 2, Australia 2, Belgium 1, Bulgaria 2, China 1, Denmark 2, Egypt 1, England 5, Estonia 1, Georgia 1, India 1, Java 1, Jugoslavia 1, Canada 2, Lettland 3, Norway 5, Austria 2, Poland 5, Roumania 1, Russia 75, Sweden 1, Switzerland 3, Angora-Turkey 1, Constantinople-Turkey 2, Turkestan 3, Hungary 6 and Japan 4.

The Youth International and the R.I.L.U. are represented by 20 delegates each.

Comrade Zinoviev informed the session that the chair proposed to telegraph to the French comrades Cachin and Frossard inviting them to take part in the Enlarged Executive Session as well as in the Congress. The Enlarged Executive agreed to this proposal and sent a telegraphic invitation to the two French comrades.

Comrade Zinoviev further announced that five representatives of the Italian Socialist Party and three members of the Czechish opposition whose exclusion had not been confirmed by the Presidium and would be laid before the Congress, will take part in the proceedings with an advisory vote.

The delegations were divided into five groups. The first group representing 45 votes, the second group with 9 countries 30 votes, the third group with 8 countries 20 votes, the fourth group with 14 countries 10 votes, and the fifth group with 9 countries 5 votes.

In addition to Zinoviev representing Russia it is proposed to allow the following countries to be represented in the Congress Presidium:—Germany, France, Italy, The Balkans, Czechoslovakia, Japan, England, America, Scandinavia and Poland.

The standing orders for the congress were adopted unanimously. The agenda was supplemented by the addition of the Italian, Czechish and Norwegian questions.

The delegates travel tomorrow to Petrograd where the formal opening of the Congress takes place.

The Opening of the IV. World Congress in Petrograd

(Radio to "Inprekorr.")

On November 3rd, the delegates left Moscow for Petrograd where the IV. World Congress was to open. The Company of Honor, the *Comintern Regiment* gave them an imposing welcome. There followed speeches by the delegates from Germany, Russia, England, France and America. The road to Petrograd was festively decorated; flags were hung at all stations.

Petrograd itself made an elevating impression. An immense crowd of people had gathered for the arrival of the delegates. Thousands upon thousands of working men and women, members of the Red Army and the Red Navy, squadrons of Cavalry. The *International* pealed forth in all languages.

Comrade Yevdokimov greeted the delegates in the name of the Petrograd Communist Party. He declared that with the aid of the world proletariat Russia was becoming a great power. All interior and outer enemies are vanquished. Soviet Russia remained the outpost of the world revolution. Comrade Bozern, member of the newly elected Petrograd Soviet, wished the Congress success in its work. He hoped after another five years to be able to greet in Petrograd the delegates of the *World Soviet Republics*.

Comrade Heckert replied heartily in the name of the delegates. He declared *Soviet Russia* to be the *guiding star of the world proletariat*. The workers of the world must, like the Russian workers, vanquish their class enemies.

Comrade Lunatcharsky then spoke on the future of the proletariat. After him, Clara Zetkin, at the wish of the clamouring working masses mounted the speaker's tribune. She declared that the ten minutes in which she had been able to be present here today were alone worth a life-long fight for the revolution. The delegations were then greeted by the Red Cavalry General Budyeny. He pledged himself to hold on high the flag of the Red Army until the final victory of the world revolution.

The delegations then repaired to the *Smolny*, at one time the headquarters of the October Revolution. Here too they were given a most hearty reception. In the afternoon eighty meetings took place in the workshops, factories, institutes, barracks of Petrograd, Cronstadt and Gatchina. Everywhere the delegates spoke. Everywhere masses of workers and soldiers; everywhere the same enthusiasm.

The manoeuvres of the Cronstadt Red Fleet offered an overwhelming sight.

Comrades Serrati, Thalheimer, Kun and Souvarine spoke in the Communist Universities. Serrati spoke for affiliation to the Communist International. The workers bombarded the delegates with questions over the situation of the workers' movement in the various countries.

In the evening a women's meeting was held, with Comrade Zetkin participating.

A festival performance in the Petrograd theatre concluded the day.

Tribute to Those Who Died for the Revolution

(Radio to "Inprecorr.")

Petrograd, November 6th.

This morning the Congress paid tribute to the memory of the victims of the Russian Revolution. The place where those who died for the Revolution are buried, is adorned with red and black flags. Wreaths were laid on the graves of the victims to the accompaniment of salvos by the artillery.

Clara Zetkin in an impressive speech referred to the victims in Russia, Hungary and Munich who fell under the flag of Bolshevism. She declared that we remember the victims not with sunken but with unfurled flags.

After this solemn commemoration came the march of the Petrograd proletariat to the Uritzky-Square, where in 1905 the masses of peaceful demonstrators were shot down. In endless procession working men and working women, the youth, students of all faculties, party organizations, members of the Red Army and Navy and aviators passed the tribune of the Congress delegates amid deafening cheers for the world revolution, the Communist International and the solidarity of the proletariat.

The passing procession lasted three hours. In spite of torrents of rain the greatest enthusiasm prevailed among all the participants.

This evening the opening session of the IV. World Congress takes place.

The First Session of the Enlarged Executive in Moscow

Moscow, November 2.

In the *Mitrofanievski Hall* of the Kremlin—the same hall in which the International was founded—the first session of the Enlarged Executive took place. Comrade *Zinoviev* opened the session at 9 o'clock in the evening and greeted those present. Comrade *Eberlein* then reported upon the composition of the Enlarged Executive. Each party was allowed twice as many delegates as in the current executive; 29 parties were admitted with voting rights and 16 parties with advisory votes. 6 parties have four votes each (Germany, Italy, France and Czecho-Slovakia). Besides these, the Youth International and the R.I.L.U. are each represented by 4 delegates. Russia has 10 votes, while the remaining parties—comprising England the United States, Poland, the Ukraine, Norway, Jugoslavia, Bulgaria, Sweden, Finland, Japan, Spain, Roumania, Lettland, Switzerland, Austria, Holland, Belgium, Greece, Ireland, Georgia, Australia and the Argentine,—2 votes each. The following countries have advisory votes: China, India, Lithuania, Hungary, Esthonia, Denmark, Persia, Turkey, South Africa, Java, Canada, Portugal, Roumania, Mexico, Brazil and Armenia.

Three comrades were appointed to examine the mandates; this committee was later enlarged to 7 members.

The invitations to the 4th World Congress have been responded to a lesser extent than formerly. 352 delegates in all had been summoned. 20 delegates were summoned from Germany; 23 were reported and 21 have already appeared. From France 20 were invited; 24 were reported and 9 have already appeared. Italy 20; 16 already appeared (11 with deciding votes and 5 comrades of the Italian Socialist Party with advisory votes). Czecho-Slovakia 20; 7 already appeared. South Africa 1, 1 arrived. America 10, 6 appeared. Argentina 2, 2 appeared. Armenia 1 delegate, Aserbeidshan 2, Australia 2, 2 appeared. Baku 1 delegate, Bashkir Republic 1. Belgium 1, 1 appeared. Bukhara 1, 1 appeared. Bulgaria 6, 2 appeared. China 3, 1 appeared. Denmark 2, 1 appeared. Egypt 1, 1 appeared. England 10, 5 appeared. Esthonia 2, 1 appeared. Finland 6. The Far East 1.

Georgia 2, 1 appeared. Greece 1. Holland 1. India 4, 1 appeared. Canada 1, 2 appeared. Corea 1. Lettland 6, 3 appeared. Lithuania 2. Metico 1. Norway 6, 5 appeared. Austria 3, 2 appeared. Poland 10, 5 appeared. Roumania 4, 1 appeared. Russia 75, most of whom have already appeared. Sweden 6, 1 appeared. Switzerland 3, 3 appeared. Spain 3. Tartar Republic 1. Turkey (Angora) 2, 1 appeared. Turkey (Constantinople) 2, 2 appeared. Turkestan 1, 3 appeared. Ukraine 10. Hungary 3, 6 appeared. White Russia 1. Portugal 1. Japan 6, 4 appeared. Chili 1. Uruguay 1. Brazil 1. Persia 2. Youth International 20 and R.I.L.U. 20.

Comrade *Zinoviev* announced that a number of Comrades would arrive tomorrow or the day after.

Comrade *Cachin* and *Frossard* of our French brother party were also absent. The Chair had decided to send a telegram to comrades *Cachin* and *Frossard* inviting them to come to the IV World Congress of the Communist International at Moscow. The telegram was sent two days ago. He requested the Session of the Enlarged Executive to confirm the telegram sent to Comrades *Cachin* and *Frossard*.

Clara Zetkin, proposed in the name of the German Delegation that this telegram be at once confirmed since the demands in the telegram were of so obvious a nature that no further debate was necessary.

The sending of the telegram was agreed to by the session.

Comrade Eberlein: The Chair proposes to the Session of the Enlarged Executive that the voting in the plenary sessions of the Fourth World Congress of the Communist International be so arranged that the delegations will be divided into five groups. The first group with 45 votes, the second group with 30 votes, the third group 20, fourth group 10, and the fifth group 5.

The Communist Parties shall be divided as follows:

1. the Communist Parties of Germany, France, Italy, Russia, Czecho-Slovakia, the Youth International and the R.I.L.U.; altogether 7 delegations with 315 votes.

2nd group with 30 votes each;—the Communist Parties of England, the United States, Poland, the Ukraine, Japan, Norway, Jugoslavia, Bulgaria and Finland;—9 delegations, 270 votes.

3rd group with 20 votes each, the Communist Parties of Spain, Roumania, Sweden, Lettland, Switzerland, Austria, Holland, Belgium; 8 delegations with 160 votes.

4th group with 10 votes each:—the Communist Parties of Greece, China, India, Ireland, Aserbaidschan, Georgia, Lithuania, Esthonia, Denmark, Persia, Turkey, Australia and Argentina; together 14 delegations with 140 votes.

5th group with 5 votes each:—the Communist Parties of South Africa, Java, Canada, Chili, Uruguay, Brazil, Mexico and Armenia; together 9 delegations with 45 votes.

There are also delegations with advisory votes from the countries in which a consolidated Communist Party does not yet exist, for Khiva, Bukhara, Mongolia, Iceland, Corea, Fiume, Palestine, and for those countries whose delegates have not yet arrived.

There are therefore 47 countries in all, with voting rights invited to the Congress. We propose to assign to these 920 votes.

Comrade *Zinoviev* further announces that some other comrades were especially invited to the Congress. These are representatives of the Italian Socialist Party and 3 comrades representing the opposition expelled from the Communist Party in Czecho-Slovakia. The Executive had decided to lay the matter before the Fourth World Congress of the Communist International. These comrades will be permitted to take part in the Congress with advisory votes in all questions. Likewise the comrades from the Italian Socialist Party.

Upon the motion of Comrade *Bukharin* this proposal was unanimously accepted.

Comrade *Eberlein* acquainted the Enlarged Executive with the standing orders. The time for speakers delivering reports was fixed at one hour, and a half hour for discussion. Speakers reporting on the same matter are granted the same length of time. Votes would be taken if demanded by five delegations with deciding votes. Voting would take place by the elected representative of each delegation giving the votes. The standing orders were unanimously accepted without further discussion. The Presidium is to consist of 13 members: Comrade *Zinoviev* as chairman, two other Russian comrades, and one representative each from the parties of Germany, France, Italy, Czecho-Slovakia, the Balkans, Japan, England, the United States, Scandinavia and Poland. Comrade *Eberlein* announces that special secretaries were appointed for the various languages, to establish contact between the various delegations and the Communist International. The opening of the World Congress will take place on

Sunday in Petrograd. The delegations will go to Petrograd on the 3rd of November where over 200 meetings will take place in which the delegates will speak. On the second day the opening session of the Congress will take place and on the third day a joint session of the delegates of the World Congress with the newly elected Petrograd Soviet.

After the agenda proposed by the Executive (with the addition of the Italian, Czecho-Slovakian and Norwegian questions) is confirmed, the first, session of the Enlarged Executive will be adjourned.

IN SOVIET RUSSIA

The Destiny of Public Education in Soviet Russia

By A. W. Lunatcharsky.

From the beginning the Soviet Government was filled with the consciousness that the only real supplement to the conquests of the proletariat and the peasants, can be the mastery of science. A man who has the power in his hands is a master,—not only in the vulgar sense of the term. And a real good master can only be one who not only has the power, but knows his business thoroughly. It is necessary that the proletariat forms from out of its ranks a wide section of various specialists, who will replace the old semi-bourgeois intelligentsia in the ideological and technical leadership of the political and social life. It is also absolutely necessary to raise the level of the whole of the people, in the field of general culture as well as in the field of political self-consciousness.

Such tasks cannot be solved in a short period in an illiterate country. And if we also take into consideration that the five years existence of our republic were filled with war and continual economic destruction we shall not be surprised that the Department of Public Education could not during this period fulfil the above-mentioned tasks to any considerable extent.

Now, on the fifth anniversary of our Revolution, we hear many authoritative declarations which deal with the relations of the Communist Party to the problems of Public education.

Comrade *Bucharin* declared at the trial of the S. R.'s that the question whether the new economic policy will end with the victory of Communism or the reappearance of the bourgeoisie depended upon how quickly and to what extent the proletariat can provide its own specialists. Comrade *Trotsky* at the Youth Congress described the question of the education of the youth as a vital question of the revolution. Comrade *Rykov*, pointed out at the Trade Union Congress that the third front, i. e., the cultural front, (the first front being the military and the second the economic), was the most important. But to characterize the situation we must recall the observation which Comrade *Rykov* made, to the effect that this third front cannot be quite realized in consequence of the severe situation on our second front. Of course the struggle of our ideology against the bourgeois ideology, whose importance was pointed out by comrade *Zinoviev* at the last Party Conference, will be carried on with sufficient energy, but the whole basis of this war — a widespread and reformed public education beginning with the elementary schools — demands an enormous amount of money which for the time being we have not.

We must divide the history of public education during the Revolution into two parts: the years 1918 and 1919 were the period of revolutionary enthusiasm; the years 1920, 1921 and 1922 the years of clear reckoning. Our heritage from the first period are: our Declaration, our fundamental ordinances regarding the Unified Polytechnic Workers' School, the work of political exposition and its methods, a correct formulation of general vocational education, the properly formulated methods for the capture of the higher educational institutions through the most intelligent forces of the proletariat.

But these first years of enthusiasm created much more. They created almost out of nothing a network of primary institutions for children below school age which embrace more than 200,000 children. They raised the number of schools in Russia to 60—70,000. They created a whole series of educational institutions in the provinces. Unfortunately these real successes, which arose during the severe war, have proved to be unstable or at least for the time being, — untimely. The desolation which the war wrought in Russia has also affected public education. All means which remained in the country after the war had to be used to heal those wounded organs of the republic, without whose

restoration nothing can live: the heavy industry and transport. Public education can only receive the crumbs. We have to effect a great reduction in the number of the pre school establishments and a great reduction in the elementary schools; in addition to this, the second grade schools are also in poor condition. In a word: the foundation of the Russian people's education is in a greatly shaken position. The ideal Socialist school which we had in view, has not only been retained but in some of the better schools we even see an exemplary extension of many of its main features. For the realization of this plan we simply and solely lack the funds.

What else could we expect? The richest countries, America not excepted, maintain their schools out of municipal funds and out of private means, and only a relatively small percentage is defrayed out of the national treasury. In Russia the conditions during the revolution were quite otherwise. There were no private means available for the maintenance of the schools, there were no municipal budgets, and the central material resources rested entirely on the requisitioning of grain in the village and the printing of bank notes.

The State took upon itself the task of building up the whole system of the people's education. But in view of its weak financial basis it was not capable of coping with such a fearful crisis.

What measures are now being adopted to save, restore and then to extend the foundation of public education, the public schools of both grades, and the education of the masses outside of the schools, the libraries, the reading rooms in the villages, the courses for adults, etc.? The chief measures are the same as those recommended by the People's Commissariat of Finance for the salvage of the state finances: — the restoration of the system of taxation, and not only of the state taxes but of the municipal taxes.

This taxation apparatus is still in its growth. Local means are already available and the People's Commissariat for Education hopes for their increase. The provincial Executive Committees should order a sufficient percentage of all local incomes to be assigned to education.

On the other hand the results achieved by public education are somewhat comforting. Although the equipment of the higher institutions has suffered greatly through poverty, energetic measures have been recently adopted to raise the standard of living of the teachers. The formation of *Workers' Faculties*, i. e., preparatory schools through which the most capable proletarians can pass directly into the universities, have almost entirely won the sympathy of the students. The last elections to the Petrograd Soviet and the elections to the students' councils in Moscow proved that the real leaders of the student body are Communists. We cannot boast that our universities are in good condition, but we can at least say that they are living.

Up to now the People's Commissariat for Education has succeeded in supporting the chief centre of scientific and artistic life and almost entirely to maintain it and to collect great treasures which had been stored up by the Tsar's aristocrats and monasteries. The enormous work in this field will one day be adequately appreciated. Russian art and science constitutes an important element of human culture, in the sense of preserving the old traditions as well as in the sense of the new discoveries evoked by the revolution.

Taken altogether we may say: all roads that the revolution has taken are right. We know what we have to do and how it must be done. The ideal machine must only be set into movement by steam power and for this we must obtain the necessary fuel in the form of material resources. The country is for the time being frightfully poor, but a better future awaits it. Therefore we can look with confidence into the future of the Russian people's education.

Protection of the Workers in the Soviet Republic.

By S. Kaplan.

It was only natural that the first Workers' and Peasants' Government which the world has seen, a government born of the proletariat itself should devote particular attention to the protection of its workers, to guarding the lives and health of the working masses engaged in the process of production. Only four days after the fall of the opportunist Provisional Government and the proclamation of the Soviet Power, on the 29. October (11. Nov. new style.) of the year 1917, the decree on the eight hour day was issued, making law of what was regarded as the leading premise of workers' protection, and of all basic demands of the revolutionary Socialists.

The workers' code of laws, issued in December 1918, was already the result of the whole of the practical experience of the first year of the Soviet power. No single land possesses a code of civil law protecting the interests of the workers to such a high degree, indeed no code could do more, not even in the most "perfect" bourgeois democracy.

Further developments of economic and political conditions rendered it impossible for us to carry out the whole of our legislation for the protection of the workers. The tremendous economic devastation resultant on Russia's general economic backwardness, on the long years of imperial and civil war, and on the inhuman blockade maintained by the whole capitalistic world against the red republic; the necessity of straining every nerve in the interests of the red army; the great lack of workers, especially of qualified specialists; the difficulties experienced by the workers in obtaining adequate sustenance, by which they were induced to work voluntary over-time; and finally the impoverishment of the country, limiting the re-equipment of undertakings and of the introduction of various improvements required by sanitary technics, — all these factors induced the Russian working class to make various conscious concessions on the question of protection for the workers, concessions necessary for the acceleration of the victory over the counter-revolution, and in the interests of the maintenance of the workers' power.

To-day, now that the civil war has ended in our victory, and the transition to peace economics has been made, we return to our fundamental principles regarding protection of workers, and re-establish the whole of our former legislation in the new workers' code of civil law coming before the session of the All Russian central committee; we cancel all our temporary concessions, and in many cases go far beyond the terms of our first laws. Despite our poverty, and despite our difficult economic position, we have attained infinitely more for the actual protection of workers than the workers of Western European or non-European states have ever been able to force from their law-givers, and this despite all the uproar made by the Geneva Labor Bureau of the league of nations.

I pass on to a brief outline of the fundamentals of our legislation.

The final transition has been made from the 10-11 hours day of pre-revolution times to the eight hours day. Even when the republic was passing through its worst days, and much over-time was needed, the average working day was 8.57 hours. Over-time is now only resorted to in exceptional cases (according to the code no more than 120 hours over-time are to be worked per year), and over-time is paid for at the rate half as much again. And although the "workers' bureau" has so much to say on the subject, it is an actual fact that only 2 out of the 21 European states have made the eight hours day law, and that in these the capitalists render the law illusory by sabotage of the worst kind, aided by the state apparatus and by their economic power.

Besides the eight hours day for the manual workers, the six hours day has been introduced for mental and office workers.

A shorter working day has been introduced for especially injurious branches of production, as for instance 7 hours for the tobacco workers, and 6 hours for gas workers.

The code prescribes 42 hours of uninterrupted rest weekly (thus it is only permitted to work for 6 hours on Saturday). Those who cannot take a rest on Sundays are granted another free day weekly.

Every worker has a right to a fortnight's holiday yearly, with full wages.

In especially injurious branches of production, and for youthful workers under 18 years of age, the amount of holidays granted, is two fortnights yearly.

As a rule women are not allowed to perform night or underground work. Pregnant women are exempted from work, 8 weeks before confinement if they are performing physical work, 6 weeks if performing mental or office work. Certain mental occupations putting a great strain on the worker are placed on an equal footing with physical work.

After confinement women are exempted from work for 8 or 6 weeks. During pregnancy, and after confinement, the woman is entitled to full wages.

Nursing mothers have half an hour's recess after every three hours of work.

Children's work (under 16 years) is prohibited. A large number of youthful workers are being gradually taken from work (especially in the injurious trades), and are being materially assisted and placed in schools.

The working day of minors has been considerably shortened; those workers between 14 and 16 years of age who are still working have a 4 hours day, those between 16 and

18 six hours. It is prohibited for workers under 18 years of age to work overtime, or to perform night or underground work.

A large number of obligatory measures have been introduced with respect to technical means of avoiding danger, to sanitary arrangements, and to the hygiene of each particular trade, by which considerable improvement has been attained in the working conditions in the factories and workshops.

In all injurious branches of industry the workman is provided with working clothes free of cost, these being suitably adapted to guard him against dust, gases, damp, etc. The code also provides for the distribution of fatty substances (milk, soap, and other special protectivemeans).

The laws for protecting workers in Soviet Russia differ in two points from the workers' protection laws of even the democratic capitalistic countries. Above all, the laws apply to all wage workers (to industrial and transport workers, employees, season workers, day laborers, servants, etc.), and to all persons performing state duties (on the basis of the obligation to work).

In order to combat concealed forms of exploitation, the workers' protection and superintendence laws extend to the members of Cooperative Societies, directly employed in actual production. The law also extends to the protection of home workers. It must be noted that the supreme economic organs demand directly of the leaders of production that all measures for the protection of the workers be strictly observed. The second point in which the Russian workers' protection laws differ from those of other legislatures is that very great attention is given to superintending the actual carrying out of the laws, the control being placed directly in the hands of the workmen themselves.

Besides a broad network of workers' protection commissions in the factories and workshops, etc., the whole state apparatus for the workers' protection, and the whole of the work inspectors, are elected by the trades unions. This apparatus is further supported by the aid of assistants elected from the most competent workers in the young people's association and in the women's departments.

Those work inspectors who do not possess special knowledge are of course aided by specialists, engineers (technical inspectors) and physicians (sanitary inspectors). At present a total of about 1400 work inspectors and about 200 technical and sanitary inspectors are being employed.

The work inspectors possess extensive rights, even to the abandonment of undertakings dangerous to life or health. Besides this our legislature provides a number of guarantees for really protecting workers in cases of legal actions arising under the laws. Our code of criminal law devotes several articles to questions of workers' protection, and prescribes imprisonment up to one year in serious cases. Besides this, provision is made for the legal proceedings being especially accelerated for such actions. (Judgment has to be given within a week of beginning of the action; less complicated actions can be decided by the judges, after they have heard the parties, by means of a judicial order.)

Our new economic policy, involving the restoration of private capital and with this the renewed exploitation of the workers to a considerable extent, induced us to work more energetically than before for the protection of the workers, and has also enabled us to adopt many strict measures with regard to state industry, and to create considerably better working conditions among state industrial undertakings, in pursuance of our aim of preserving living working power, the fundamental condition upon which political economy can be rationally conducted. There is no doubt whatever that the dictatorship of the proletariat, supported as it is by the whole power of the state and by the local trade union groups, by which closest relations are kept up between the organs for the workers' protection and the broad masses of the workers, will succeed in overcoming all difficulties, and in making real advances towards the protection of life and health of the working masses.

Under a capitalistic regime the laws for the protection of the workers occupy themselves with petty hair-splitting, with the erection of card houses which fall down at the first breath of an unfavorable reactionary wind. The October revolution created the first possibility of making the workers' protection laws real levers towards the attainment of healthy working conditions, and towards the reorganisation of production on a basis taking into consideration the interests of each individual workman, and at the same time the physical welfare of the whole proletariat.

The Nationality Question in the Russian Revolution

By Yrjö Sirola (Petrograd).

There have been naive Social Democrats who dreamed of solving the question of nationality abstractedly: "democracy" and "right of self-government" are to remove the difficulties arising out of the question of nationality. The majority of such thinkers have forgotten the main point: the rôle played by class in national interests. When less naive Social Democrats have occupied themselves *practically* with the question, and have acted as members or supporters of bourgeois governments, they have found the results of experience to differ widely from their theories. For instance, in 1917 the Finnish Social Democrats were in favor of Finland's independence, but the Russian Mensheviks and Social Revolutionaries decided against it. In his capacity as Swedish prime minister, Mr. Branting supports right of self-government for the Åland islands. (Naturally he does this with the idea that the Åland Islands will unite themselves to Sweden.) Branting's Finnish comrades are, however, not in agreement with him. The social patriots of England are fully convinced that it would be most harmful for Ireland to be completely independent, though this conviction is merely a hypocritical circumlocution of the imperial interests of Great Britain. In short, it is impossible for the Social Democrats of the Second and 2½ Internationals to maintain a consistent policy in this question.

The Bolsheviks had already thoroughly discussed the question of nationality before the revolution, and had formulated a definite line. It was none other than comrade Lenin, who before and during the revolution invariably sharply condemned those comrades who attempted to avoid taking up any definite attitude in this question, and who declared that *under capitalism the independence of nations is a Utopia*, and that the right of self-government could have no application in a Socialist state of society. Comrade Lenin declared that such an attitude leads in actual political practice to contradictory and even anti-revolutionary conclusions. He has said the same to comrades who were willing to recognize only the "right of self-government of the workers".

In the program of the Russian Communist Party the question is put historically: The solution depends upon the case in question. The answer depends on whether the national movement bears a progressive or a reactionary character. In the cases of Ireland and Turkey this view has been perfectly justified, and in the case of Soviet Russia even more.

In Tsarist Russia the Bolsheviks had always accorded the nationalities the right of separation. In doing this, they had no desire of supporting the idea of the creation of many small states. In the summer of 1917, comrade Lenin especially emphasized the fact that the nations would strive less and less for separation when they realized that it was solely to their advantage to maintain the closest possible relations with Great Russia.

We are now in possession of sufficient object lessons justifying this standpoint. The small border states, (Lettland, Esthonia, Finland, etc.), which have separated from Russia, and have adopted an attitude of enmity towards it, are leading a wretched existence. Separated from Russia, to which they naturally belong economically, they serve as military outposts for the imperialism opposing Soviet Russia.

The other states however, the Soviet republics, the democratic republics, the communes and autonomous districts, which have remained in the Russian Federation (the Ukraine, Republic of the Far East, Carelia, the Caucasian states) enjoy in common with Soviet Russia the advantages and the honor of having carried revolutionary progress most fully forward amongst humanity. They have taken part in the solution of the most burning social questions, among others, of the agrarian question. The nationalities of Russia are able to develop national culture as never before. There are, for instance, various Finnish races in Russia (together about 14 million souls), who cannot even learn their mother tongue if they stand alone. Almost all these human beings have always been at the lowest point of human civilization. Now they have seminaries, high schools, vocational schools, newspapers, etc.; their sons and daughters can receive scientific education in the Finnish department of the University of National Minorities of the West. The same applies to the other nationalities, in so far as they are federated with Soviet Russia.

And most important of all: while the nations of Balkanized Europe languish under heavy military burdens as vassal states of the Entente, and exist in constant danger of war with one another, and form together a world power which could already

have been thrown in the balance of the Near and Far East at Genoa.

Disintegrating capitalist society cannot solve the question of nationality. The proletarian revolution alone has shown the way to solve this complicated problem.

POLITICS

The Lausanne Conference

By Karl Radek.

The Allies are undoubtedly making great progress in geography. On the 23rd of September when they addressed their note to Turkey they were not yet aware that Russia is a Black Sea power.

In the note which they recently handed in to the Russian Government in the name of the governments of France, England and Italy they reveal a knowledge of the fact that Russia borders on the Black Sea.

We congratulate comrade Tchitcherin on the success of his pedagogic activity.

The invitation of the Soviet Government to the Near Eastern conference is without doubt a victory for Soviet Russia, who in her calm but energetic manner succeeded in calling the attention of the Allies to the fact that she is still in the world. But the invitation also proves the uncertainty and indecision of the Entente whose diplomats are not yet capable of thinking out the situation to its completion.

At first the Allies ignored Soviet Russia generally, for which England laid the blame upon France, and France passed on the blame to England. Then the idea arose of holding the conference in two parts and only inviting Soviet Russia to that part which would deal with the question of the Straits. But since the question of the Straits cannot be separated from the general complex of the Near Eastern question, the Allies apparently accepted the idea of a single conference and invited Soviet Russia to the same; but the Russian delegates are only to take part in those negotiations which concern the question of the Straits

But with regard to the Straits it is not merely a question as to whether the coasts are fortified or not and in whose hands they are to remain. The Dardanelles question depends firstly upon whether Turkey will have the right to maintain troops in Thrace and whether the number of these troops is to be limited or not. Finally the solution depends upon whether Turkey will have the right to maintain a fleet of aeroplanes and submarines as a means of defending her sovereignty. These questions can in no way be separated from each other; hence the invitation to Soviet Russia to take part in the negotiations over the question of the Straits can be understood in no other way than as an invitation to take part in the *negotiations over all* relating questions. Soviet Russia is at least as greatly interested in all question as is, for instance, Japan.

The invitation gives occasion for misunderstandings on the following point: The Allies invited us to Lausanne "to take part in the adjudication of the Dardanelles question." What does that mean? Will a discussion club be opened in Lausanne to deal with the Near Eastern question, or will the Near Eastern affairs be concluded there. If they are decided there and not merely discussed, *then the delegation from Soviet Russia appears at Lausanne to take part in decisions and not merely in discussion.*

The Allies reveal ordinary capacity for learning geography. We trust that during the time which separates us from the conference, they will make just as much progress in logic which will compel them to perceive that Soviet Russia wishes to take part in the conference not merely for the love of debate, but because she is interested in the decisions.

As the Allies did not fail to see that the question of the Straits touches such interests as renders necessary special discussions with powers not involved in the war, and especially with the powers bordering on the Black Sea, so the good sense of which the English pride themselves so much, must probably tell them that one does not merely like to discuss and debate over one's interests, but also wishes to have an influence upon the decision of the question connected with them.

We trust that this good sense will gain the upper hand not only in England but in France, who although late in the day, nevertheless has recognized, *that nothing can be arranged without Soviet Russia.*

The Situation in Great Britain

By Askw.

Great Britain is at the moment of writing in the throes of an election. The Democracy is to be called upon to show its superiority to all forms of dictatorship. In other words the masses of the people are called upon to choose from one or more men, over whose actions they at any rate will lose all control till the next elections, which may be four or five years later. In the meantime they or the Government whom they support may do practically anything including going to war without saying a word to the electors; in other words, they are asked to vote for their own dictators, and as long as these dictators do not fall out among themselves, or at least can manage to settle their differences, they can remain dictators for at least 4—5 years when the farce is repeated. Indeed we have just been saved from war; but not because the Labor Party and the Trade Unions uttered threats which everybody know were mere empty verbiage, but because the capitalists themselves were anxious, and Lloyd George had to give way.

There seems no need to go at length into the difference between Lloyd George and his opponents. The Capitalist parties are aghast at the suicidal results of their own policy and have no idea what to do. One moment they denounce the coalition between Liberals and Tories as the root of all evil to find themselves renewing it five minutes later in order to keep out the "Bolsheviks" of the Labor Party. Lloyd George is told that he has a most dangerous amount of imagination, and in order to circumvent that a man is chosen who notoriously has no ideas at all and who openly proclaimed in one of his opening speeches to his electors that he did not know where he was, in other words that he neither understood the position of affairs at present nor had any idea how to get out of it.

The Labor Party despite their attempt to expel the Communists are attacked as "Bolsheviks" and as disguised "Revolutionaries" despite their milk and water program. The Communists for their part, in accordance with the policy of the united front, are doing all that they can to help the Labor Party into power, much indeed to the embarrassment of the Labor Party leaders who are obviously aiming at forming a coalition with the Liberals. The Communists for their part make no disguise of the fact that they hope to get the Labor Party into power, certainly not in coalition with the Liberals which they will do all in their power to render impossible, but independently, in order that it may be forced to show its hand and make it clear what it can do, and that for the obvious reason that the more completely the Labor Party is allowed to discredit itself, the more completely it estranges itself from the workers, the clearer will the way be for the Communists. On that account the Communists are abstaining from putting up any candidates against those of the Labor Party; they have in fact only two candidates at all, namely Comrade Newbold at Motherwell near Glasgow and Comrade Gallacher at Dundee against Winston Churchill. Unfortunately the illness of the latter threatens to deprive the bitter contest of much of its interest, but all the same these two contests will be among the most striking events of the election.

A year ago it seemed as if the Labor Party were going to win a sweeping victory, but its own halting policy has made it clear that if in power it would be more reactionary even than the so-called Socialist governments in other countries, so that now whatever enthusiasm the prospect of a Labor Government might have aroused, is largely evaporated. All that the Labor Party today hopes is to be able to form a Coalition Government with the Liberals. The manifesto issued by the Labor Party for the election chiefly turns round the demand for a levy on capital—a demand which was put forward by capitalist representatives during the war as a means of solving the question of war debts. As regards the reparation question it does not even go so far as the banker and the Liberal Minister McKenna, and its whole program reads more like the pronouncement of a conservative workmen's Association than anything else. There is certainly nothing in it to which a moderate Liberal could not subscribe, except the levy on Capital, and that was proposed by a liberal capitalist.

Unfortunately for the Labor Party the elections for the Municipal Councils all over England take place almost at the same time as the Parliamentary, which will put a great strain on its resources, though in both, the main question is likely to be that of unemployment and how to deal with it.

The bourgeois parties in the municipal elections are concentrating all their attack on the question of keeping down taxation in which they accuse the Labor Party of extravagance. Naturally enough any economies that can be practiced can only in the main be at the expense of the workers and unemployed. In the Parliamentary Elections too, this question is bound to play

a most important part, and here it is noteworthy that the Conservative Chancellor of the Exchequer has already declared that it will be impossible to reduce taxation which probably means among other things that they will not dare to reduce the unemployed "doles", so called before the election. What they will do after is another question.

In any case the question will form an acid test for the Labor Party. Naturally, no one believes that it or anyone else can settle this question so long as capitalism endures; but whether it is capable not only of alleviating it as far as possible and of preventing the organized movement of the workers being wrecked, but of making clear to the workers that they must concentrate all their efforts upon the suppression of capitalism itself as the only means of abolishing this evil, in other words, develops into the fighting party on the side of the proletariat. That is the question.

Up to now it must be allowed the Labor Party and the Trade Union leaders have not displayed much intelligence in their treatment of this question or shown that they had any other policy than one of *from hand to mouth expedients*. The organizations of the unemployed has, owing to the lethargy of the organizations, been allowed to be taken up by separate organizations, and in consequence, instead of the question being treated as a vital interest of the employed workers and their trade union organizations, a division of interests has been allowed to arise. The Communists alone have worked for the unity of the employed and unemployed and that at the very time when the leaders of the Labor Party were endeavouring to get them expelled from the Labor Party.

As to the expulsion of the Communists from the Labor Party it is true that the Congress of the Labor Party has resolved on that step and the Executive has even sent out a circular that in the event of a Trade Union or a Labor Party sending a Communist as a delegate he would not be recognized; but those who know the temper of the British trade unionists know that as soon as one of the powerful trade unions sends a well-known Communist, a man of influence in the trade union world, that this regulation will be broken through like matchwood. In the meantime not a few of the local Labor Parties ignore the resolution already, and have in fact never carried it out. The capitalist press is zealously looking for signs of an improvement in trade and the diminution in unemployment—but the statistics do not give much ground for hope. Certainly, the coal exports recovered to a certain extent after the miners' wages had been forced down to a starvation level and recently the American coal dispute would seem to have given an impulse to the trade, an impulse of which every worker ought to feel ashamed because it calls attention to the despicable role played by the British labor movement in regard to their American brothers; but in any case it can only be a very temporary impulse and it may well be doubted if a single worker derives, the slightest advantage from it.

In the meantime miners' wages are acknowledged to be below subsistence level and the Poor Law authorities in many mining districts are absolutely bankrupt; but not only in the mining districts, in practically all working-class districts the cost of unemployment and poor relief is imposing a tremendous strain on the system of Poor Law relief as hitherto practiced. Unemployment does not materially diminish and there is no sign of the crisis coming to an end.

The Communist Party is now engaged on a scheme of reorganization which it is hoped will make the party more effective. What the results will be remains to be seen. The need for a strong Communist Party is becoming a more burning one every day.

THE LABOR MOVEMENT

The United Proletarian Front against the Capitalist Offensive

To the French Workers.

Comrades!

From day to day the capitalist offensive against your most elementary advances in labor conditions becomes more furious. In all branches of industry the standard of living sinks systematically lower and lower, and attempts are made to despoil you of the eight hour day. The most simple gains which have been wrested from capital through many years of bitter struggle, are vanishing before the organized attack of capital. And capital has all the force of the bourgeois State, of the venal press, and of the police, behind it. The entire bourgeois world is advancing with

a compact and united front against the working class. And while the bourgeoisie is attacking you with a united front your own ranks are torn through inner strife. This lack of unity in the workers' organizations brings great joy to capital; the enemies of our class take advantage of every manifestation of internal dissension among the workers.

The R.I.L.U. follows with profound attention everything that is taking place in your country; it is happy to greet the effort of the *United Miners' Federation*, of the *Amalgamated Unions of the North*, and of the *Trade Union Defense Committee*, for the united front of all the unions in order to resist the capitalist offensive.

Our joy is great in greeting these efforts, for we believe that the latest acts and appeals of the above-mentioned organizations for united action on the part of the unions of all tendencies, puts an end to the disagreements in regard to the united front. The R.I.L.U. has never proposed otherwise. The R.I.L.U. advanced the idea of unity as soon as the capitalist offensive was launched. Many workers did not yet see the capitalist drive; they declared themselves against our tactics. But as capitalist pressure made itself felt more strongly, and as the devastations caused by it became more apparent, the absolute necessity for a united proletarian front—or the only alternative of being thrust several years backwards in their struggle—became clear to the workers.

The Executive of the R.I.L.U. calls upon the working class of France to consolidate its organizations, and to accomplish unity of action in the struggle against the capitalist attack. Whoever may be the leader of this unity of action, whether the unions be revolutionary unions or reformist unions, every sincere revolutionary, every partisan of the R.I.L.U., every union-member, should welcome with joy all propositions having as their objective *unity of action*. Now more than ever the working class of France needs this unity, for your bourgeoisie is definitely determined to recover all the costs of the war at your expense. In addition it wishes to deprive you of all the gains you wrested from it during the world-wide slaughter.

There will be many reformist leaders who will refuse to establish a united front with you, for they prefer the united front with the bourgeoisie. But do not let that stop you. There are in the reformist organizations, members who are your class-colleagues, who are interested as you are, in resisting the exploitation of the bourgeoisie. The revolutionary workers should insist upon unity of action stubbornly, methodically, systematically. The more persistent and systematic the work of the revolutionary unions becomes in this field, the more quickly will unity of action be attained. Remember, comrades, that only the united and compact front of the proletariat will enable you to resist the attack of the united front of the bourgeoisie.

Long live the united front of the working class against the capitalist offensive.

The Executive Bureau of the RILU.

A. Lozowsky (General Secretary).

The Agenda of the III Congress of the Communist Youth International

The Congress assembles in Moscow on the 20th of November with the following agenda:

1. *Report on the IV. Congress of the Communist International.*
(Speaker: a member of the Executive Committee of the Communist International.)
2. *Report of the Executive Committee of the Communist Youth International.*
(Speaker: Shatzkin.)
3. *The results of the execution of the decisions of the II. Congress of the Communist Youth International.*
(Speaker: Ziegler.)
4. *The economic situation and the struggle of the working youth.*
(Speaker: Schüller.)
5. *The next tasks in the struggle against Militarism and the White Terror.*
(Speaker: Doriot.)
6. *The Program of the Communist Youth International.*
(Speaker: Shatzkin.)
7. *The Socialist Youth Organizations and the United Front of the Working Youth.*
(Speaker: Volny.)

8. *The position of the Working Youth and the Communist Youth Movement in Soviet Russia.*

(Speaker: Zetlin.)

9. *The workers' sport question*

(Speaker: Michalec.)

10. *Section upon the activity of the Communist Children's Groups.*

11. *Section upon the Work in the Colonial Countries.*

Moscow, October 26th, 1922.

The Executive Committee of the Communist Youth International.

THE COLONIES

A Review of the Indian Situation

By M. N. and E. Roy.

General Political Situation.

The six months following the arrest of Mr. Gandhi and the assumption of a determined policy of repression on the part of the Government towards every phase of the Indian movement, have been a period of confusion, rout and a gradual reassembling of forces whose economic and social demands are being put forward for the first time in the shape of distinct political programs. The old motley political organization known as the Indian National Congress, which for the last five years arrogated to itself the right to speak for all the dissatisfied elements in the country, with the exception of the Constitutional Moderates who accepted the Montagu-Chelmsford Reform Scheme of 1918, was a heterogeneous, loosely-knit body which in reality stood for the interests of the petty bourgeoisie.

Of these interests, Mr. Gandhi was the transcendentalized, but none the less conscious spokesman, together with the other leaders thrown up from the movement in its heyday,—notably, the Ali Brothers, Lala Lajpat Rai, C. R. Das, Pundit Malaviya, Mr. Rajagopalacharia, Hakim Ajmal Khan and the rest. Not one of these men voiced the aspirations of the truly revolutionary elements of Indian society, the city proletariat, the landless peasantry and the rapidly-growing class of pauperized intelligentsia, which had been working for the overthrow of British rule through a network of secret terroristic societies since the beginning of this century.

The spirit of revolt, which stringent economic conditions fostered by the war, augmented and caused to burst forth in violent manifestations on the part of the agricultural and industrial proletariat, was seized upon by the National Congress and exploited for its own political purposes. The personality of Mr. Gandhi greatly assisted in prolonging this artificial hold of the Congress over these rebellious social elements. It was not until repeated betrayals of the interests of the Indian workers and peasants by the Congress leaders, culminating in the Bardoli Resolutions of the Congress Working Committee, which renounced all revolutionary mass-action on the part of the people and clearly repudiated their most urgent economic demands, that the true social affiliation and class-aims of the National Congress became clear.

The arrest of Mr. Gandhi shortly after the confirmation of the Bardoli Resolutions by the Congress Committee at Delhi severed the last tie which held the great masses of the Indian people within the folds of the National Congress. The heavy hand of repression exercised by the Government at this juncture prevented the immediate realization of the actual situation. Twenty-five thousand people cast into jail, and the quartering of armed soldiery and police upon all those districts in which martial law was not openly declared, as in the Punjab, prevented the rapid readjustment to new conditions and the crystallization of new forces under different leadership.

This period of intense confusion and groping in the dark lasted throughout the summer months; the National Congress, devoid of adequate leadership, awaited the release of Mr. C. R. Das in August, while the striking city workers and rictous peasantry were too bewildered by the Congress injunctions to refrain from all manifestations of discontent, and too oppressed by the watchful forces of the Government, to take up their economic struggle independently of Congress leading strings. This period of confusion and marking time was punctuated by the futile invocations of the Congress leaders to spin, weave and wear Khadder or homespun as the Alpha and Omega of the struggle for Swaraj,—and by the solemn tour of the Khilafat and Congress Civil Disobedience Committees, who went in

procession throughout the length and breadth of India, to investigate and report if the state of mind of the people in each province would warrant the declaration of Civil Disobedience and Non-payment of taxes. This tour was a hollow farce, the Committees having made up their mind beforehand that the people were unfit and that mass Civil Disobedience would not be declared, but for obvious political reasons, they have deferred publishing their findings, which were held strictly in camera, until the annual session of the National Congress takes place in the third week of December at Gaya.

The Growth of a new Opposition within the Provincial Congress Committees.

While the All-India Congress Committee and the Working Committee represented the quintessence of orthodoxy to the Gandhi ideals and tactics, castigating the slightest deviation from the Bardoli Program as treason to the lost and martyred leader, the Congress Committees of several provinces which had always chafed under the "dictatorship" of the central body, began to evolve new and contrary ideas as to the policy and tactics to be pursued. This opposition found a chance for expression in the various provincial conferences which were held immediately after the arrest of Mr. Gandhi and others, during the months of April, May and June. While, with the exception of Maharashtra, a section of Bombay, the resolutions finally passed in these provincial conferences endorsed the Bardoli Constructive Program of the triple boycott of foreign cloth, government schools and law-courts, and the founding of national schools, arbitration courts and the use of homespun khaddar, there was a noticeable spirit of opposition displayed by a minority in nearly all the discussions.

Maharashtra was the only region to break definitely with the Bardoli decisions and to put forward a new opposition program whose principal feature was the entrance of Non-cooperators in the Reform Councils there to constitute themselves as an opposition to the Government by practising "responsive cooperation". It also pronounced the boycott of law-courts and schools to have failed, advocated the resumption of practice by lawyers and reentry into schools by non-cooperating students, and instead of the use of khaddar, advocated Swadeshi, or mill-made cloth produced in the country. It also pronounced itself in favor of systematic propaganda abroad to put the case of India before the world, a measure resolutely opposed by Mr. Gandhi and his followers. Thus, the Maharashtra opposition, whose members felt so strongly on the points of difference enumerated above as to resign from the All India Congress and Working Committees as well as from the provincial Congress committee offices, constitutes a very definite political tendency at variance with the orthodox Congress creed. It is modern, rationalistic, aggressive, as opposed to the outworn, religious and reactionary ideology of the Congress leaders still in power, but its opposition tends more towards the right than towards the left,—its ultimate destination is reunion with the Constitutional Moderates. It is the opposition of the nationalist lawyers, merchants and manufacturers, not fully satisfied with the amount of reforms granted by the Government, but too practical and realistic to follow the Congress leading-strings any longer through the morass of Charka, Khaddar and a boycott which never succeeded and is already a dead letter so far as observance is concerned.

The opposition in other provincial conferences was less clear and expressed, but along similar lines. Bengal pronounced for the Bardoli Program, but the President, Mrs. C. R. Das, advocated entry in the councils and spoke at length on the necessity of organizing peasant and labour unions for the redress of the economic grievances of the working-classes. Dictatorship exercised by one man, repudiated in principle, and the right and duty of picketing was emphasized as a means to enforce the boycott. A cry for revision of the Congress Program as laid down at Bardoli and Delhi was heard from many districts, notably in Berar and United Provinces, Berar advocating Civil Disobedience and the formation of voters, taxpayer's, agriculturists' and labour unions, and the United Provinces pronouncing in favor of participation in elections to Municipal and District Boards by Non-cooperators. The Punjab Conference confirmed the Bardoli Program as a temporary measure, but called for Civil Disobedience and Non-Payment of Taxes at the earliest possible moment. Gujerat, the homeland of Mr. Gandhi, upheld the Bardoli Program in all its details. Southern India, especially Madras, terrorized by the Moplah Rebellion, emphasized the need for peaceful, constructive measures and the propagation of khaddar. The Provincial Conference of the Central Provinces, held in Nagpur in April, stressed the necessity of practical measures to force the Government's hand and advocated participation, through obstructionist tactics, in the Reform Councils, the establishment

of technical schools for training efficient workers, the giving up of the boycott of law-courts as impractical and the basing of the Congress program and tactics on considerations of expediency and practicality rather than morality or spirituality. It declared: "The aims of the Congress are thoroughly worldly and for worldly happiness and have to be attained by worldly means which should be easily understandable and practicable." Civil Disobedience was advocated.

Thus, the opposition to the Congress Program, though in the first months vague, confused and groping in the dark, reduced itself to a right and a left wing,—the right wing advocating realistic measures such as entry into the Reform Councils; the left wing urging resumption of militant tactics based on mass civil disobedience, conditional upon non-violence, but advocating the use of self-defense in the face of provocation. The right wing opposition signalized its earnestness by resuming practice in the law-courts, preaching the participation in elections through the columns of its press, and resigning from congress committees where the views of its members constituted a minority. Maharashtra is the seat of this opposition.

The Elements of the Left Opposition.

It was the Left Opposition working through the provincial congress committees and expressing its voice in the minority reports of some of the provincial conferences, that made itself felt in the June session of the All-India Congress and Working Committees held in Lucknow, United Province. The All-India Congress Committee, reinforced by the Central Khilafat Committee, sat in camera and discussed the measures to be taken to meet this growing spirit of opposition from right and left. To the right it dealt short shrift,—entry into the councils, the removal of the Triple Boycott, were declared disloyal to the memory of Mr. Gandhi and those who had gone to jail to defend non-violent Non-cooperation. The Maharashtra delegates did not attend this session.

To deal with the left was more difficult, because its voice was more powerful. Demands came strongest from the Punjab, Bengal and the United Provinces, where government repression was the most severe, for the use of retaliatory measures of self-defense and the declaration of mass civil disobedience. The Congress Committee discussed behind closed doors the justification of self-defense, and to postpone making a final decision, appointed the Civil Disobedience Committee whose members would tour the country for two and a half months and after a detailed investigation of the wishes and fitness of the inhabitants, issue its report on September 15th, for the Congress Committee to act upon. A long questionnaire was drawn up, containing minute questions as to the Congress program in the past and the desirability of altering it in the immediate future, and the Committee of seven members started on tour, receiving tremendous ovations at every stopping place. On September 15th, it announced its labours not yet completed, and promised a report of its findings in time for the Gaya Annual Congress, in December. Most of its sittings and interviews with prominent non-cooperators in each province were held in secret, and little publicity has been given except by a few of those interviewed, who published their replies to questions.

The Committee consists of orthodox Gandhites, and will undoubtedly pronounce against the inauguration of mass civil disobedience. It has timed over the most critical period of repression and popular resentment, and will trust to the annual session of the Congress to enforce its findings over the heads of the right and left extremists.

Some kind of a split in the Congress ranks in December seems inevitable. The right wing is heading towards reunion with the Moderates, aided by a slight reciprocal movement towards the left on the part of the latter, as a result of Lloyd George's speech in Parliament on the Civil Service, of which more later. The left wing, representing the revolutionary nationalists behind the scene who advocate the use of violence for the overthrow of foreign rule, sees the failure of the present tactics to achieve results and watches the growing alienation of the masses, whose willingness to resist the government constituted the real strength of the Congress movement, with alarm. The left-wing extremists have a limited political outlook and are full of petty-bourgeois ideas; they are frankly against the class struggle and hesitate to put forward a revolutionary program to capture the allegiance of the masses. But they advocate the use of mass-action to win their own demands, and the organization of the Indian workers and peasants to make this mass action more effective. If the orthodox Congress center sticks to its present program and tactics, this left-wing extremist element will probably break away and a part of them will try for the organization of a new political party of the masses.

The Revival of the Moderates

The Constitutional Moderates who participated in the elections to the new Reform Councils, represented the extreme right of the Nationalist movement, which broke away from the Congress in 1910 when the latter declared for rejection of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms and the adoption of Non-violent Non-cooperation for the attainment of Swara. At first socially frowned down upon by the country, which was overwhelmingly extremist, for their cooperation with the Government, they exercised little hold upon the public mind and were entirely lost sight of during the wave of extremist enthusiasm that swept India between 1919-1922. But representing as they did the most class-conscious and politically minded section of the Indian bourgeoisie, the great landholders, big financial magnates and powerful industrialists, they pursued their course of cooperation with the Government to the extent that reforms were conceded, and soon became a factor to be reckoned with in the political field.

The first decisive act of opposition to the Government on the part of the Moderates in the Reform Councils was the reduction of the annual budget by an all-round five per cent on the majority of items listed for taxation, in order to force reduction on military expenditure and a refusal to accept the proposed enhancement of the cotton excise duties. This act of independence created an enormous sensation both in India and England, where Lancashire interests and Morning Post Imperialists united their voices in crying out against this working of the Reforms. In India, the huge budget deficit of £6,106,000 (now increased to £10,666,000) which the new scheme of taxation was aimed to relieve, stared the Government in the face and called, either for a reversal of the Legislative Assembly's action by the Viceroy's veto, or a drastic reduction in military expenditure, which consumes nearly half of the annual budget. In view of the excited condition of the country, then in the throes of the Non-cooperation campaign, the Government deemed it expedient to accept the action of the Assembly and appointed a Committee on Retrenchment under Lord Inchcape, to investigate possible avenues of economy. It was the first triumph of the Moderates under the Reform Scheme, and they made much of their victory.

The second act of defiance of a really sensational character (we leave aside the non-official participation of the certain moderate elements in the "Round Table Conference" called during the Non-cooperation campaign to find a way out of the existing deadlock between Government and people, and the half-hearted resolutions of censure on Government repression and for the release of the political prisoners, voted down in the Reform Councils early this year) was the spirited debate in the Legislative Assembly and Council of State on Lloyd George's now famous speech in Parliament on the Indian Civil Service, during the latter part of July.

The gradual Indianization of the Civil Service, now manned in the higher posts almost exclusively by Englishmen, has been one of the oldest planks in the Moderate platform, and was incorporated as a part of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reform Scheme. But the slightest attempt at the execution of this clause met with loud howls from the Die-Hards and a determined opposition from the European members of the Indian Civil Service, both active and retired. Bitterness of feeling on this score assumed a racial character, so much so that openly defiant speeches were exchanged between various prominent individuals and groups of the two communities in India, accompanied by dire predictions in the Anglo-Indian and British press as to the future of the Civil Service and British rule in India when control would pass out of the hands of the white race into the keeping of the Indians.

Matters were brought to a head by a circular letter from the Indian Government issued to the Governors of all the Indian provinces, on May 30th, (as the result of a promise made in the Legislative Assembly in February during the debate on the Indianization of the Services) asking the opinion of the local governments on the necessity and speed with which increase of the number of Indians in the Civil Service should be carried out. The news of this circular letter added fuel to the flame of controversy, and Mr. Lloyd George felt it incumbent upon himself to allay the fears of the British members of the Indian Civil Service by a very rhetorical speech in their defense delivered in Parliament in July. His references to the new reforms as an "experiment", and to the I.C.S. as the "steel frame" of British rule in India which could never be eliminated, brought down upon his head the wrath of the entire body of constitutional moderates, and enabled the Non-cooperators to point the moral of governmental insincerity and dishonesty in its promise of self-government. So serious was the crisis, that the Viceroy received a representative deputation of moderates on the day following the telegraphic reports of the Prime Minister's speech, and tried to explain away in soothing language the rash eloquence of Lloyd

George. This explanation, repeated in the Viceregal address to the Legislative Councils on Sept. 5th, did not prevent the moving of two resolutions of censure, one in the Assembly, the other in the Council of State, upon the Prime Minister's speech in Parliament. The original strongly worded resolutions were passed in a slightly modified form, over the heads of the government ministers, who in vain warned the members of the deleterious effect of such resolutions upon the minds of British members of Parliament. This storm in a tea-cup over, a still more decisive and significant act of the moderate members of the Legislative Assembly demonstrated their awakened sense of political power. This was the repeal of the Press Act and the voting down of the Viceroy's injunction to except the native states and ruling princes from the scope of this repeal. The Assembly negated the Government measure for the protection of the ruling princes against attacks in the press by a vote of 45 to 41. Amid the prevailing excitement that followed this bold assumption of power, the Viceroy used his prerogative of veto and presented the measure for approval to the Council of State, where it was perforce approved.

All these straws show which way the wind blows. The Constitutional Moderates have blossomed into full political consciousness overnight, and encouraged by the chaotic débacle of the Non-cooperators, have arrogated to themselves the political leadership of the constitutional nationalists. Their minor triumphs during the last year and a half of experience in the new Councils has given them the taste of future power, and being composed of the most class-conscious and powerful of the native bourgeoisie, they will carry on the fight until their full program, Home Rule or full dominion status within the British Empire, is attained.

At this juncture, when the Moderates, flushed with their first successes, incline towards pressing for the early fulfillment of the Reform Scheme, and the right-wing Non-cooperators look with yearning eyes towards entry into the Councils, a scheme for the reunion of Moderates and Non-cooperators within a common political party has been launched under the auspices of Mrs. Annie Besant and a few of her followers of the Liberal League. A Manifesto was issued in the name of the "1921 Club", appealing for unity of all shades of opinion to carry on the fight within constitutional limits for the attainment of Home Rule. It is too early to judge yet of the extent of the response to this latest political manoeuvre. If there is a split at Gaya in the Congress camp, the prospects of a union of all right elements seem favorable. In such a case, the Congress will be left impotent and insignificant as a factor in national politics, unless, as seems extremely improbable, it adopts a economic program in conformity with the immediate desires and necessities of the masses.

Resurgent Mass Action; the City-Proletariat.

Meanwhile, following the temporary lull that visited the country after the arrest of Mr. Gandhi and enforced by the Government reign of terror during the ensuing months, a new and more vigorous movement is discernible among the city proletariat and the rebellious peasantry. Strikes have ceased to wear a political complexion, and have become purely economic struggles for better wages, improved living conditions and shorter working hours. They are prolonged and obstinate in nature, the men holding out to the last, until their demands are partially won or starvation drives them back to work. The East India Railway strike of three months duration, early in this year, the Calcutta Seamen's strike involving 30,000 men and the strike of ten thousand stevedore coolies, in May and June, and the strike in six of the largest Calcutta jute Mills at the same time,—all being fights for wage increase,—are a few typical examples of the new energy and determination that inspires the Indian workers in their economic struggle. In Bombay, the Tramway strike and the great strike in the Tata Iron and Steel Works now going on, testify to the same fact. The cases cited are but a few of the more conspicuous of the industrial unrest once more sweeping the country,—of lesser strikes involving a few thousand men and lasting from a few days to several weeks, there are more than can be enumerated.

Most of the fights end in compromise,—bad organization, traitorous leadership and lack of funds being the main causes. The spirit of the men is high and they would hold out to the end, were their leaders more revolutionary, and did they have a little financial backing. Most of the strikes which end in struggles for wage-increase, begin because of the unjustified dismissal or ill-treatment of some fellow-workmen, and demands for the reinstatement and compensation of those so ill-used always constitute a part of the stipulations. With such good spirit and instinctive solidarity, much can be expected. The growing talk of calling a general strike for the release of Mr. Miller, the Irish railway guard and organizer of the North Western Railway Union, who

was imprisoned for his activities, led to his early release, and 30,000 workers marched in procession to meet him.

In addition to the strike movement, a general growth and consolidation in the ranks of labour is noticeable. The unions are becoming more definitely class instead of amorphous socio-political bodies. Federation of unions belonging to the same industry, but in different provinces, is taking place, notably, among the miners, the textile workers and the railwaymen. A conference for the federation of the latter industry will be held in November, at about the same time that the All-India Trade Union Congress is scheduled to meet. One of the largest labour organizations is the Bengal Trade Union Federation, which claims to have fourteen unions affiliated, with a membership of 250,000 men.

Together with this growth in organization has come a development of the idea of using labour as a parliamentary political force, much as the British Labour Party is used, by semi-liberal reformists and ambitious place-seekers. Labour leaders are already in the field, of the type of Joseph Baptista, N. M. Joshi who is labour member in the Bombay Legislative Council, W. C. Andrews, a Britisher and Christian missionary, and others, who declare the necessity of "guiding" the Indian labour movement into safe channels and giving it an outlet in some form of parliamentary action. These men are exercising a great control on the young labour bureaucracy, and are called in to mediate with the employers and government in times of prolonged strikes, their decisions being almost invariably obeyed by the Indian workers. Andrews has been elected president of the forthcoming conference of railwayworkers. By their dominant position and reformist ideology, they do much harm, sabotaging strikes, preventing their declaration, and dampening the enthusiasm of the men. In addition to these well-meaning meddlers, there is a great number of spies and provocators, so much so that the unsatisfactory termination of the East India Ry. strike was attributed to the distrust aroused in the men by discovering that some of their leaders were government agents, and they thereupon repudiated all leadership.

A new feature of Indian legislation is the number of bills introduced for the amelioration of the workers' conditions. A factory Act was passed in the last session of the Legislative Assembly, and several social reform measures including a bill on Workmen's Compensation are scheduled for introduction in the present session. Add to this the appointments of Committees on Industrial Unrest in every province, whose reports are just coming in, and the creation of Government Arbitration Boards for the settlement of industrial disputes, and one has a fair idea of the growing importance which Indian labour is playing in the national life. The attention paid to the allaying of industrial unrest by the Government at the present time is far more earnest than that dedicated to suppressing the activities of the Non-cooperators, who are no longer regarded seriously. In both the speech of Lloyd George in Parliament and that of the Viceroy on opening the Legislative Councils, the crisis in the nationalist movement created by the Non-cooperators, is announced to have been safely passed, but the Viceroy elaborated at length on the labour legislation which it was projected to lay before the house, and the prospects of industrial peace for the coming year.

The Peasantry.

The temporary confusion induced in the ranks of the riotous peasantry by the withdrawal at Bardoli of the item of Civil Disobedience and Non-Payment of taxes from the Congress Program, and the injunction to respect the rights of the landlords and of private property, produced a noticeable lull in what had become a country-wide movement against both government and landlords, by the peasants' refusal to pay taxes and rents. In the Government Communique on the Non-Cooperation Movement, issued at the time of Mr. Gandhi's arrest, stress was laid upon the menace to life and property involved in the ever-growing responsiveness of the peasants to the slogans of Non-payment of rent and taxes. The reports of the Commissioners of the various provinces account for the deficit in revenue occasioned by the refusal of the rural population to give the tax-collectors their due. Repression was swiftest and most severe in the Punjab, United Provinces, Bengal and Madras, where the peasant movement was strongest and had broken out into violent manifestations. The land of peasants refusing to pay taxes was seized and auctioned off by the Government to the highest bidder. Punitive police were stationed in those districts where unrest prevailed. Conflicts with the armed forces of the state, ending in many casualties, and wholesale arrests for the slightest breach of peace, with a declaration of martial law in the disturbed areas, brought temporary quiet.

But late in the summer, towards the end of July and the beginning of August, agrarian unrest again manifested itself in Madras, Bengal, Central India and the Punjab. Brief telegraphic

despatches announced the hurrying of armed forces to the disturbed areas. The most determined efforts at revolt were made by the Bhils, an agricultural tribe of Central India, which fought for several weeks before succumbing to superior forces. In Bombay, the passive resistance movement of the Malvas of Mulshi Petha, the Maharratta peasants who were being forced off their land by the great industrial concern of Tata & Co., reached a climax, most of the leaders being sent to jail, and the Government was forced to intervene and effect a compromise.

But the most violent agitation broke out in the Punjab, where the struggle of the Akali Sikhs for control of the Gurdwaras or temples and adjacent lands, broke out with fresh vigor after a temporary lull of some months. The struggle of the Akalis dates back several years, and while heralded as a religious movement for reform of the temples, it is in reality, as the Government lately recognized in its Communique issued in September, an attack on the property rights of the corrupt mahants or guardians of the shrines. While the Akalis practiced passive resistance, they used direct action in seizing the temples and turning out the mahants, until the latter implored government protection, and got it.

An open rupture between the Government and the Akalis took place in August at Guru ka Bagh, a shrine near Amritsar, where the attempt of the Akalis to assert their rights to the land by cutting down trees was met by their arrest, imprisonment and fine on the charge of trespassing and theft. Thousands of Akalis rushed to the spot on the call of their leaders, to continue the fight. Police and soldiers were sent to guard the properties of the temple and turn back the Akali bands, who marched in orderly bands from adjoining villages, the railroads having refused them transportation. At first open force was used,—the Akalis were beaten back by blows and fired upon if obstinate. So tremendous became the excitement, and so great was the response of the Akalis to replace those fallen, that the Government changed its tactics, ordered the arrest of those leading the movement, and threw barbed wire defenses around the property, to keep out the Sikhs, who were arrested if they approached. The affair at Guru ka Bagh is being repeated all over the Punjab, 100,000 Akalis having declared their willingness to die in the cause. Official secrecy veils the progress of the movement, which at first received much publicity. The Indian press is full of accounts of the struggle between the Sikhs and the Government, and a national issue has been made out of it, up to date, ever 4,000 akalis have been arrested and sent to jail.

The undoubted awakening among the peasantry has affected both the Nationalist movement and the policy of the Government. Signs are not wanting that an agrarian party will spring up ere long, just as the growing activity of the peasants has given rise to a strong and class-conscious organization of the landlords. In several provinces such an agrarian party already exists, the existing peasant organizations forming the nuclei. A great movement is noticeable among the nationalists to go "back to the village", the popular cry of the hour, to found schools hospitals, organize the peasants and head their struggle for a better life. In Bengal, a strong section of the middle class intellectuals are voicing a cry for the repeal of the permanent settlement, a land act passed in the early years of British rule, which confers great privileges on the landlords and brings much harm to the peasantry. The Sikh League is the acknowledged political party of the agrarian Sikh community, and though allied with the Congress movement, has an independent program of economic reform. The Government has tried to meet the situation in its own way, partly by repression and partly by compromise and concession. Land legislation is pending in several provinces, and has been passed in others, to meet immediate crying grievances of the peasants, while Commissions of investigation have been set up where unrest is most acute, to investigate the causes and suggest ways and means of meeting the demands of the peasants without outraging the sensibilities of the landlords. Martial law preserves peace in the interim.

Such is the general situation which confronts those seeking to preserve the status quo and those looking for means to upset it. In the peasant and industrial proletariat lie the seed of revolution, if their economic struggle be properly guided and they can be welded into a party with a clear-cut program backed up by direct action. A vague feeling urges the nationalists to keep contact with these elements, and "organize the masses" has become the nation-wide slogan, but nobody knows how or to what end they should be organized, and those who know, shrink from the consequences involved to life and property. A new revolutionary leadership must be evolved which can seize upon the existing unrest and direct it in proper channels.