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The Communist Review

LONDON: THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

16 King Street, Covent Garden, W.C.2

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Review of the Month

Our New Review. THE COMMUNIST REVIEW makes its appearance in response to the new needs arising in the revolutionary movement of Great Britain.

One of the main features of our magazine will be a complete record of what is happening in the Labour and Communist organisations of other countries. We shall also attempt to give a monthly survey of the foreign Communist Press, and in this way help to emphasise the international character of our movement. THE COMMUNIST REVIEW will thus open a new epoch in the history of revolutionary journalism in this country.

We shall not attempt to make THE COMMUNIST REVIEW a magazine containing popular articles for non-Communist readers; its pages will rather appeal to the new Communists who are daily pouring into our ranks, and to those who may feel the need for a journal specially devoted to the discussion of revolutionary problems and tactics, as these present themselves, both at home and abroad. In each issue we intend to give a brief summary of the leading events that happen in Britain. We shall publish a monthly article in which the Communist Party of Great Britain will examine some important phase of the revolutionary movement as it affects the working class in this country. Members of the Party will find that we intend to publish reports from the branches and to summarise the general work of our organisation in its various avenues of activity. We hope, also, to find space to draw attention to any important volumes which may be published, and which, in our opinion, might interest our readers and assist them in their educational and agitational work. In a word, THE COMMUNIST REVIEW

will, we are sure, become an indispensable magazine to every member of our Party.

The Triple Alliance. The criminal betrayal of the miners by the Triple Alliance reveals something more deep-rooted in the modern Labour movement than mere personal cowardice and treachery. The miners' strike has demonstrated that we have reached a new phase in the history of industrial organisation. We are now in the period of mass movements, and whether moderate Labour leaders like it or not, the capitalist class in defending their profits, are quite prepared, if need be, to run the risk of provoking a revolutionary crisis.

The development of the class struggle passes from the sectional to the mass strike. All our modern trade union leaders received their training of leadership in the days when strikes were of a puny and sectional character. Their weakness rests upon the fact that they still employ the strike tactics of the old sectional period. They were accustomed, in the old days, to conduct isolated struggles which were at once local and insignificant. Now, however, they are confronted with a new phase of industrial warfare. The modern mass-strike convulses the nation. The modern mass-strike becomes a challenge to the parliamentary form of government. It tests the stability of capitalist society. This explains why the average trade union leader, trained in the sectional method of conducting local strikes, cannot lead the masses on the modern industrial battlefield.

The events of the past few weeks prove that these leaders cannot, and dare not, direct the mass-strike. The new conditions demand new leaders with a revolutionary policy and with dauntless courage. Such leadership can only come from the Communists who are, at present, so busily at work spreading the doctrines of the Red Trade Union International among the industrial workers of Britain.

Sectionalism or Solidarity? The difference between the Amsterdam, or "Yellow," International of industrial organisations and that represented by the Red Trade Union International is, at bottom, the difference between craft sectionalism and class solidarity. Mr. Thomas, as the leader of the Amsterdam school, believes in sectionalism, which stands for a divided working class organised upon a policy which accepts capitalism and rejects communism. The Red Trade Union International builds its whole case upon mass-solidarity as the weapon of power to smash capitalism and as the constructive instrument of the social revolution.

The one inspiring feature of the miners' strike has been their unwavering solidarity. The mine-owners—by submitting terms which took only a few pence from the Yorkshire miners' wages as compared with the pounds to be taken from their South Wales' comrades—played the traditional part of all ruling classes who seek to rule by dividing their slaves into hostile sections. But not only were the miners solid. Behind them stood the other ranks of Labour. The Electrical Union made a proposal to the Triple Alliance, which would have brought the Government to its knees; the distributive workers' union submitted a plan for feeding the masses, but these were turned down by the Triple Alliance, and the rest. Why? Because the mass-strike is not a passive strike. It must become active if it would succeed. And an active mass-strike would bring into being all the conditions necessary to carry through the workers' revolution. The mass-strike is Labour's only weapon against the dictatorship of capital. But the modern trade union leaders are afraid to use this weapon which history has placed into their hands.

The Heroic Sailors of the Russian Revolution

By LARISSA REISNER

(Member of the Political Board of the Baltic Fleet.)

(Special to THE COMMUNIST REVIEW.)

When, on the eve of the October Revolution, thousands and tens of thousands of workers, with arms and banners, marched beneath the windows of the Liberal Ministries, in the first ranks of those stormy crowds went the sailors. When, in one night, the Winter Palace, surrounded by troops, zealously guarded by cadets of the privileged military Academies, crowded with Ministers and Senators, was stormed and taken, in the first ranks of the advancing proletarians went the sailors. When, round the cradle of the new-born proletarian Republic, there arose a wall of defenders on the heights of Pulkovo which shattered and drove off the hordes of General Krassnoff, amongst the first of the wounded were the sailors, and amongst the conquerors returning to Smolny on the armoured cars of Kerensky there fluttered their black and yellow ribbons.

On the other hand, when the bourgeoisie requires to bespatter with dirt the fair countenance of the revolution, to rob its victories of their glory, to deprive its stern sentences of their high merit, the first to be slandered is the Bolshevik sailor. He it is who kills the defenceless and the conquered, who robs, violates and debauches. He it is who, for German gold, frees Kronstadt from its officers, who had been accomplishing, beside their immediate duties, additional feats of prowess as voluntary spies and unpaid police.

He it is who, for these same German millions, turns the guns of the "Aurora" and of the glorious destroyers of the "Novik" type on to the glittering mirrors of the Winter Palace. It is he, it is he, the unconquerable sailor; and wherever there flames up the threat of revolt before the terrified bourgeoisie, there appears his heroic and martyred shadow.

Shot down in the far north, in the frozen marshes of Murmansk, he rises again from the burning sands of the Caspian shore. Throttled in the prisons of Koltchak or Denikin, he falls, weltering in his blood; and, lo, on the Baltic, again the wind of liberty lifts and caresses his open collar; and Yudenitch, crushed, crawling away from proud proletarian Petrograd, in vain threatens his beloved head. Every line, every page of the Russian Revolution, bears the trace of the sunburned sailor hand; on the brown skin of that hand the anchor and arms of the R.S.F.S.R. is wonderfully interwoven above the wrist, by the tattooing needle—a decoration which costs him dear.

Taken prisoner, whether as soldier or Commissary, he was ruthlessly shot—as was, indeed, everyone who was distinguished by the naive but ineradicable initials of the fleet.

A sailor is an outlaw; a sailor dies without a trial; a sailor is a prized booty for which the titled hunters search without respite. And they are worth all this hatred, the Red sailors. They have done more and better than all the hatred of the bourgeois Press can attribute to them.

The demoralisation of the old Imperial Army could not, of course, but affect the fleet.

As in all parts of the mechanism of the State, in its midst the old element collapsed and fell away in rotting fragments, at first overwhelming in its evil ruins the first symptoms of new creative life. It seemed as if the Fleet had

ceased to exist, and had melted away completely in the flame of the rising revolution. The ships grew empty, abandoned by their crews, the machines rusted, the stores were plundered. Encumbering the Neva with enormous unwanted steel boxes, the ships seemed only the ghosts of the hated machine of oppression. And yet, as it grew stronger and began to beat off its assailants, the great Revolution brought new life to those corpses, and forced them to serve the interests of the exploited classes. I shall never forget the figure of the Volga pilot in lapti and ragged tunic—the figure of a poor Russian peasant—standing on the proud captain's bridge of a destroyer, and directing the fire of its merciless guns on to the White Guard ambush.

Those peasant lapti on a deck where previously one could not even die except in patent leather shoes; that destroyer, the last wonder of bourgeois culture, defending its freedom from the Volga alone amongst the deserted, bare, shell-torn, peasant fields.

Unforgettable days! Ineradicable impressions! But my thoughts seem to be wandering.

Breaking down in the old harbours, dockyards, and bases, the Fleet first of all poured over the whole of revolutionary Russia. There was not a Committee of Defence, a Revolutionary Executive Committee, or a simple detachment of volunteers, into the ranks of which the sailors did not pour like a leaven. And yet the rising of the Czecho-Slovaks in the east, which tore away Siberia and the corn districts from Moscow, put an end to the scattering of the seamen.

They returned to their ships to retake Kazan, already captured by the Whites, and to free from them the Kama and the basin of the Volga.

In a short time, on these rivers, they had created a fleet. Guns were placed on ordinary shallow barges, broad and cumbersome to turn, and on these river turtles the sailors daily went into determined artillery duels. Wrapped in smoke, flame and shrapnel, those floating batteries, weak and completely uncovered, for a whole month daily bombarded Kazan, although faced with the strong artillery and the powerful fleet of the enemy.

How they could fight, those hastily constructed ships! The sharp military command is heard, followed by dead silence. The tackle feebly jerks and creaks, and the heart-beats of the engine are mingled with the sharp, short sounds of the shell being loaded. And, clothed in worn-out variegated rags, with open necks and bare-headed, the sailors bend their smiling eyes to the guns, and choose, and wait.

How many of them perished, amongst those fearless fighters; on the wooden decks, amidst the flame and shrapnel, without bandages or medical help, with eyes darkened by the dews of death and the smoke of powder, through which there fluttered on the masts, the little red flag darkened with age. This was the first period of the civil war—partisan and heroic.

II.

Overcoming the opposition of the engineer specialists, the sailors at length called to the help of their exhausted detachment real naval warships from the Baltic Sea. They arrived one sunny autumn day, the wireless rings trembling at their masts; and in their first campaign an active part was taken by Comrade Trotsky. Three destroyers silently went down by night to Kazan itself, and, under the very nose of the short-sighted shore-batteries, burned and sunk several White ships. Their homeward path fell under enfilade fire, through a hell of exploding shells, under the silver eye of the searchlights.

On the ship where the commander of the Fleet, Raskolnikoff, flew his flag, and where, never lowering his head, observant and cold, stood Trotsky,

the helm broke, and had to be repaired in the midst of the inferno, almost without hope of salvation. But, in spite of all, the destroyer revived, and left the battle without hurt.

That night, one of the cold black-and-lilac nights of September, for the first time welded the former officers together with the revolutionary crews and laid the foundation of a new Red Fleet. In a few days Kazan had fallen, and the sailors, maintaining contact with the armies of the right and left banks, moved down to the lower reaches of the Volga.

This campaign, which spread over many hundreds of miles, was carried out with epic simplicity along the wild shores of the Kama, overgrown with century-old firs. Groups of swans fled from the sound of the guns, and their noisy tract, cutting across the orbit of the conflict, foretold victories, sacrifices, and yet new victories.

Here fell Markin, one of our best sailors and revolutionaries, drawn into an ambush by his savage valour. His death imparted a still more determined character to the war, but set it upon the path of correct strategical organisation. Along the wild expanse of this river, for the first time since the beginning of the civil war, mines now made their appearance. The first Red hydro-aeroplane spread its wings over the silent mountains, hurling down whole hives of white bees, in the form of proclamations, on to the heads of the enemy. Retreating step by step, defending themselves with desperation, the Whites gradually withdrew to the east, burning bridges, sinking hundreds of barges loaded with corn, staining the course of the majestic northern river with blood, and disfiguring its banks with fire.

How often did we come too late! How often, after the battle, did the sailors rush to the liberated wharves, still in the grip of the exultation of victory, still dizzy and intoxicated with their exertions—and still too late!

On the very shore, where the cliffs descend to the strand they would find piled up, on a narrow strip of earth, soldiers' caps, stained with rain during night bivouacs, peasant tunics, peasant lapti, thrown off at the moment of supreme despair; and above them, at the height of a man, a thick purple band of blood and brains. And quivering, not daring to remain lest they should again be too late, the ships went on.

III.

The following year was a year of struggle for the possession of the Caspian Sea. Gradually becoming technically more perfect, organising strong fighting units, educating its sailors and re-educating its old officers, the river flotilla grew into a High Sea Fleet. But under what conditions was that work carried on! One must have known Astrakhan, with its blazing sands, its burning dust, its marsh fevers. Astrakhan, burned in several risings, hanging by the thread of a single railway line, which was daily cut by White bands! Astrakhan in the grip of cholera and malaria, starving, deprived of all the most simple medicines! Astrakhan, blockaded by the British Fleet from the sea, and by Denikin from the direction of Tsaritsyn; and none the less feverishly creative, patiently labouring, persistently serving the revolution. No, general phrases are not sufficient to enable one to understand all the grandeur and all the poverty of that town!

One had to see those stifling barracks, where sailors had their wounds dressed with scraps of old linen: where there was nothing to replace the bandages soaked through and through with blood. In all the beds, on the breasts torn asunder with shrapnel, on the foreheads with their bullet wounds, on the arms, everywhere, there flames our Red, our undying star! And the villages, decimated with disease! And the mothers, offering their last cow, their last horse, for a bottle of castor-oil for their pale, blue, almost trans-

parent children, doomed by dysentery! They did not even dare to pray, for the heavens seemed also against them. Every day there flew over the town British aeroplanes, glittering wonderfully in the sun, to hurl a few poods of dynamite on to our ships, and, still more often, on to the working-class quarters, half buried in dirt, on to the broken roofs and the clay walls. And every day, past the open windows of the hospital filled with groans and delirium, past ruins and destruction, bowing their banners, rejoicing in their proud loneliness and self-sacrifice, great processions went by, escorting to their graves the children, wives, and warriors of the great army of labour. They marched together under the blazing sun, and sang the "International."

None the less, neither by day nor by night, under the glare of the search-lights, did the ship-building wharves cease their work. Scarcely able to raise the enormous hammer with their hands, exhausted by three years' starvation, the workers, none the less, raised it to its true royal height, and brought it down upon the white-hot iron—repairing, arming, and building. And the ships into which there had poured the living energies of the workers of a whole town, the ships which devoured the labour, the will, and the brains of their exhausted builders, one after another went down into the sea, and, borne along by that collective will, dared not perish, dared not be defeated, even one against three, even one against five!

Many of them, flat-bottomed river craft hung round with heavy armour, could be overturned by the first violent storm, and the sailors all knew it, all, from the ship's boy to the commander and the commissary; and not once did these men refuse to carry out their military duty. In place of one ship broken in a gale and lost with all its crew, there immediately appeared another, just as obstinate, just as helpless. That is how the sailors lived.

And not only by steadfastness and courage were these years of civil war proud and glorious, but also by their unaccustomed development of spiritual culture. For, in Astrakhan, during the long winter campaign, men not only fought and built, but also intensively studied. Men condemned to die, and possibly guessing their approaching fate, were particularly earnest in their reading during the last weeks and days before setting out, and eagerly listened to the orchestra of Beethoven, the organ of Bach, the violin of Sarasate. For whole hours, those audiences, almost illiterate, scarcely emerging from social ignorance, holding their breath, would listen to the lecturer, the musician, or the agitator. And, even on the day of departure, many crews could not tear themselves away from their "political section": some professors received permission to accompany their pupils to the very bar itself, to the threshold of battle and torment. Thus, in place of the priest glozing over crime with his defiled cross, the artist and the scientist stepped upon the deck of the Bolshevik warship.

And at length came victory. The White fleet, defeated in several battles, demoralised and deprived of its base, fled from Baku to the Persian harbour of Enzeli. There it hoped to find protection and re-equipment. There it was seized by the Red Caspian Fleet at the head of which, as at the time of its first attacks before Kazan, stood the Communist Raskolnikoff. And, at the moment when Enzeli was being evacuated by the last British soldiers, carrying away on their backs even baths plundered from the houses of the peaceful Persian population, on the masts of the captured fleet there rose the red flag, and the first Soviet placard unfolded, on the trunk of a tropical tree, its audacious, many-hued tints.

Thus the Bolshevik sailor, black with coal-dust, stepped down upon the shore of the rejuvenated Persia.

Ireland and the Social Revolution

Not only the Irish Sea divides the peoples of Ireland and Great Britain. There is a difference of outlook and temperament, due to economic and historical causes, that also separates them. To the average Irishman the typical Briton is a clumsy, blundering, tyrannical fool; just as in British eyes the typical Irishman is a spoilt child, unreasonable, petulant, and totally irresponsible. The difference is intensified by the hatred and suspicion engendered by the bestial war carried on by the British invader. In this atmosphere of complete misunderstanding good people of all parties in England expect to find a way to reconciliation along the lines of what used to be so charmingly termed a "Union of Hearts"—always on the basis of the continued domination of the larger island. That is to say, they miss the two most fundamental features of the problem: the innate passion for national independence on the one hand, and the grim determination of British imperialism to retain full-blooded power anywhere and everywhere, on the other.

If certain Liberals and sentimentalists thus fail to face reality, it is because they know no better. They are wedded to a view of things that sees nothing beyond the capitalist order, with its precariously balanced play of forces, its national boundaries, and its class distinctions. The vague cosmopolitanism which distinguishes some of them has nothing in common with the internationalism which is the very essence of the Communist belief. For this and a thousand other shortcomings they are doomed to everlasting futility. We need waste no further time on them.

The Communist approaches the Irish problem from another direction. If national independence, as such, has no charms for him, he understands well enough the demand of an oppressed people for self-determination. He knows that an independent Ireland on a capitalist basis would solve no working-class problems, nor—by itself—help on the world revolution. And since it is the world revolution alone that concerns him, the appeals of Irish patriotism—again, as such—sound in his ears strangely, like those of any other crude patriotism—including his own British brand.

On the other hand, in the struggle of Irish peasants and workers against English or Irish landlords and capitalists he has a passionate interest—not because they are Irish, but because they are peasants and workers. By the mere fact of the struggle they become linked up with the world movement of the workers; potential recruits to the international army of Communism. Here, he says, is the real fight; the struggle of the dispossessed against the possessors; the only fight that matters. This, alone, is life—

"All other life is living death; a land where none but phantoms dwell:
A breath, a wind, a sound, a voice—the tinkling of a camel bell."

At this point he finds himself brought up with a jerk against the ugly fact of British imperialism.

World capitalism at the moment find its most developed expression in the British Empire. It may well be that that Empire has passed its zenith; even now the signs of decay are manifest. The fact remains that it is still the central point round which capitalism rallies, and it speaks through its rulers in capitalism's most blatant and authoritative voice. The collapse of British capitalist imperialism would let loose at once tremendous forces that would surge forward inevitably towards world revolution. Any weakening of British imperialism, therefore, weakens world capitalism. From this point of view the struggle of the Irish people, however national or patriotic it may be in its immediate aims, is a blow struck for the workers everywhere. It need not be said that Communists, apart from all this, oppose wholeheartedly the savage

repression of the Irish people which has made the name of Great Britain a byword and a shame among the nations of the world.

Within Ireland itself the class struggle is no less a fact than elsewhere. Irish labourers, Sinn Fein though they be, are just as much exploited by Sinn Fein employers as are British miners by British mineowners. But, for the time being, the class struggle is smothered by the urgency of the fight against foreign oppression.

Just as the Great War was a struggle between two imperialisms superimposed upon the struggle of the classes, so is the struggle for Irish independence superimposed upon the Irish class struggle. The national rebellion draws to itself all the revolutionary forces, and, indeed, to a large extent takes upon itself the character of a revolt against capitalism, since the British Government is so obviously the executive committee of the big financial interests. The small capitalists and farmers of Ireland find themselves arrayed against British capitalism much in the same way (although not for the same reasons) as the peasant proprietors of Russia found themselves arrayed against Czarism. And the labourers and wage-earning peasants, swept perforce into the vortex of national struggle, merge their local class antagonisms into one stupendous hate of the enemy over the water. If this analysis be approximately correct it follows that the awakening masses of British workers must find themselves brought more and more into line with their fellow workers in Ireland. For the enemy in both cases is the same. As their own struggle develops it will compel them to draw closer and closer to all the insurrectionary elements fighting against British imperialism, and make common cause with them for its final overthrow. Assuredly, British capitalism stands or falls with British imperialism.

The real problem is to find immediate points of contact between British workers, slowly developing through disillusionment and struggle into revolutionary consciousness, and Irish workers already grimly engaged in a war against extermination. To our everlasting shame we have stood by in cowardly silence while Ireland has been ravaged by fire and sword. In our name, Sir Hamar Greenwood carries on his bloody masquerade. The one great gesture made on this side, when Bromley and his engine drivers made their protest, remained nothing but a gesture because of the lack of response from other workers. That failure was the measure of our own cowardice. If there existed in this country the nucleus only of a strong, determined, and revolutionary working class the position would be infinitely clearer. As it is, that nucleus is but now in the making. But events move rapidly in these days, and the growth of Communism among the organised workers of Britain, together with the difficulties inevitably created within capitalism as it collapses into anarchy, will force both British and Irish workers to join hands in a common struggle against the common enemy. As the mutual ties become closer, so will the combined struggle be lifted on to a higher plane. The differences of national temperament, the racial prejudices deliberately created by the governing class, will be as nothing in face of the ever growing menace of British imperialism to Irish labourer and British worker alike.

The duty of the Communist Party is to assist this development by every means possible. It is no easy task. Quite sincerely we can endeavour to rouse our own countrymen into revolt against the vile deeds of the Government in Ireland. By so doing we do but perform an elementary act of justice, and establish a claim, at least, on the confidence, of the Irish people. To propagate the ideas of world communism among Irish workers is not so simple a matter. This much can be said with certainty. That revolutionary section of Irish workers which understands the nature of the struggle against capitalism is already moving towards Communism and the Third International. Small though it be in numbers, it constitutes a definite link between Ireland and the world

revolution. The maintenance and strengthening of that link is an immediate task which it is clearly our duty to perform. Time, and the progress of the fight against capitalist Britain will bring a consciousness to the mass of the people, which clumsy intervention on our part would only serve to prevent. Let us be content for the moment to know that the struggle of nationalist Ireland against imperial Britain is weakening capitalism at its very centre. The loom of history is weaving a fabric in Ireland in which the warp may be nationalism but in which the woof is decidedly of a class-war nature. The day when the workers of Britain throw off the chains of their masters will be a day of triumph not only for ourselves but for Irish independence also.

Triumph, too, for the cause of Communist Internationalism in both countries.

FREDK. WILLIS.



Georgian Workers and the R.T.U.I.

The Georgian Trade Union alliance has sent the following greeting to the International Council of the Red Trade Unions:—

"The Georgian workers, liberated from the yoke of the bourgeoisie and its tools, the Mensheviks who usurped power in Georgia three years ago, assembled for the first time after those three years in Red Soviet Tiflis, send their warm brotherly greetings to the International Council of Red Trade Unions, the leader of the revolutionary workers of the world."

Violently deprived of contact with the International proletariat, the Georgian workers, remaining true to the principle of International solidarity, repeatedly attempted to stretch out their brotherly hand to their comrades abroad. Our attempts were stifled by volleys of lead and the Georgian gaols.

The ruling class exerted its utmost efforts to lead the Georgian Labour movement away from the path of the class struggle, and commit it to an understanding with the bourgeois. It pushed the Georgian labouring masses into the arms of the Yellow Amsterdam International, representatives of which—Kautsky, Renaudel and Co.—travelled all over Georgia, endeavouring to permeate the healthy organism of the Georgian proletariat with the poison of unprincipled opportunism.

Deprived of organic contact with the Red International of Trade Unions, we were unable to play an active part in that gigantic struggle between labour and capital which was developing all over the world. Perforce we remained passive spectators of the decisive conflict.

Yet all attempts of the enemies of the working class have not sufficed to break down the class solidarity of the Georgian proletariat which has arisen against its oppressors, and with the aid of the valiant workers' and peasants' Red Army has achieved liberation from the yoke of the Mensheviks. The wall separating us from the world proletariat has been broken down.

On this happy day we, the workers of Soviet Georgia engaged in the building of a truly independent Soviet Republic, solemnly announce our entry into the ranks of the Red International of Trade Unions.

For the Georgian Trade Union Alliance,

ARCHVADZE.

DUMBADZE.

FODRIA'.

Rosta. March 17th.

What are the Soviets?

By W. E. HARDING.

(AN OUTLINE SKETCH.)

"The Soviet is probably the most important contribution of the Russian Revolution."—*Lenin.*

I.

Capitalist society, like every other form of human society, is in the long run based upon a definite method of production. Upon the classes into which the particular method of production divides the population, their mutual relations, the mental outlook and habit of thought which their respective occupations produce, is built up all the superstructure of the given state of society; and, first and foremost, the State which is concerned with maintaining the mutual relations of the classes as they are. It is natural, consequently, that we should look for really fundamental changes in the character of the State when the relations between the classes are radically shaken out of their equilibrium, assuming the character of an open struggle; in other words, when production itself comes to an end, either temporarily or permanently.

In capitalist society, such an event implies a general strike or an insurrection. When all the processes of production are brought to a standstill simultaneously—in a general strike—all functions of the State are stopped abruptly, and its entire dependence upon the productive processes is brought out most clearly.

Factories stop working, trams and omnibuses cease running, lighting and heating stops, no papers appear. In each inhabited point, the population is suddenly cut off from the mechanical comforts and aids upon which capitalist civilisation is built up. By the breakdown of rail, road, and telegraphic communication, the Capital is entirely cut off from the districts, and these in turn are thrown upon themselves.

And yet the striking workers must every day eat, move about, receive information, and protect themselves; what organisation is to see to this for them? Obviously, the body which they have entrusted with carrying on the strike as a whole—the Strike Committee. The capitalists temporarily commit their scattered interests to the one concentrated organ of the bourgeois State, of which the workers now realise the true nature. They in their turn have necessarily to hand over all *their* interests to a hastily-constructed organisation, which assumes all the public functions previously carried on by the State they are now fighting.

The workers have thus produced their *own* organ of government.

Outside Russia, such occasions have not been frequent since the war; nor have they, in any one case, covered a whole nation; but each general strike has invariably produced certain characteristic features. At Johannesburg, in Italy, in Luxembourg, at Glasgow, at Belfast, at Limerick, at Winnipeg, at Seattle, a central body representing the workers passed from the strict functions of a Strike Committee to those of a local organ of government—a State administrative organisation, controlled by and in the interests of the working class. And it must be noticed that it is precisely this adoption of State functions that is characteristic of all the organisations in these several cases; it is not this or that method of election, or apportionment of representation, that is common to them all. A Trades Council composed mainly of trade union delegates, a Camera del Lavoro composed of workshop delegates, a Joint Strike Committee of union and workshop representatives, may indifferently be the original form of the new organisation. On the solitary occasion on which a general strike for a political

purpose was threatened in Great Britain—during the Russian crisis of August, 1920—a network of Councils of Action sprang up all over the country, took the lead of the protest movement, and would undoubtedly have acted as the only efficient public authorities, centrally and locally, had matters come to a general strike. And yet these bodies were for the most part hastily constituted amalgamations of indirectly representative trades councils and definitely sectional political parties; not infrequently their nucleus and most active section was formed by an entirely non-representative and self-constituted body—the local Hands-Off Russia Committee.

But here again the acid test was: "Has this body the implicit, loyal confidence of the workers? Will they respond to its appeals, submit to its regulations, accept its discipline? Will it, in return, give them the elementary needs of life from day to day, thereby ensuring their ultimate victory? Will it, in other words, play the part of a State organisation—a State organisation in the midst of a war?"

The logical culmination of this assumption of State duties—the organisation of a defensive force, the seizure of all factories and public buildings, and the proclamation of the workers' dictatorship—has never taken place in this country, and where it has, in Germany and Czecho-Slovakia, partly in Italy, it has so far been crushed. But it is obvious that it is not at such a moment either that the workers' main concern would be with elections. Common-sense teaches us not to change horses in mid-stream. It was neglect of this truth, the frittering away of precious time on elections, that destroyed the Paris Commune—the first attempt by the workers themselves to control their affairs.

This applies no less to the first Russian Soviets—the two Strike Committees in Petrograd and Moscow which, more particularly the former, from September to December, 1905, directed the course of the gigantic general strike of that year, and assumed all the functions of government, with the exception of control of armed force. Yet these bodies were composed partly of self-appointed members of the Social-Democratic Party, and partly (owing to the absence of an organised trade union movement), of delegates direct from some of the more important factories and workshops of the capitals. In neither case did they contain representatives of the provinces. And yet the Petrograd Soviet of 1905 for a time was the real master of Russia:

In 1917, again, in spite of the existence of many more similar bodies throughout the country, it was the Petrograd Soviet alone that in the long run challenged, fought, and defeated the Provisional Government in the contest for state power, and thus became the highest authority in the country. And the Petrograd Soviet itself was not by any means formally representative of all the workers in the city. In return, however, it had an enormous advantage over its opponent—it had the confidence of the industrial working masses, owing to the revolutionary line of action it took up; and by that sign it conquered.

"But would not that qualification make the Communist Party itself eligible for the post of dictator?" one can hear some enquirer asking. Precisely; that is what actually happened, and there is nothing for us to be ashamed of or for the masses to fear. It is the Communist Party (the Bolsheviks in Russia) that stands for Soviet rule against the hostility of the capitalist dictators and the hypocrisy of the "Socialist" parliamentarians; it is the Communist Party, consequently, that will find itself in a majority in the Soviets when the workers realise the latter's purpose at last (August-September, 1917, in Russia); and it is the Communist Party, therefore, with its strict party discipline, that is bound actually to wield the power, through its organised groups in the Soviets, so long as the Soviet regime is in danger (1917-1920 in Russia).

In general terms, therefore, we have arrived at an answer to our question: "What are the Soviets?" In despite of the conviction of many comrades, they are not necessarily "Councils of Workshop Delegates" to give as nearly exact a title as possible. What they are, and what distinguishes them from every other body of men in history—including even "Councils of Workshop Delegates" in non-revolutionary periods—is: *the central fighting organisations of the struggling proletariat during the period of revolution*; first assuming the most elementary, then winning one by one the remaining functions of the State organisation of the capitalist class; and finally emerging from the struggle as *the State organisation of the victorious proletariat during the period of Communist reconstruction.*



The Class War in Germany

Extracts from a Manifesto of the E.C. of the United German Communist Party.

"The Brutes of 'order' triumph. The strike is crushed.

"Hundreds of proletarians are assassinated. Thousands are persecuted.

"The profiteering bourgeoisie triumphs.

"The working class party that is still led by Majority Socialists and Independents is yet at the period of hesitation.

"A year ago the workers banished the partisans of Kapp only to replace them by the Eberts and the Noskes thirsting for proletarian blood. They saved them their places, and what were the results? A provocation of the workers by one of their chiefs, Hoersing, the aim being to crush Red Saxony. The Government desired an argument to justify the Orgesch before the Entente. The Orgesch are the armed police of Capitalist reaction. The Schiedemanns and Hilferdings declared war on the workers, accusing Moscow of provoking massacres. The duty of Communists was to summon the workers to the fight. The moment was favourable.

"The German bourgeoisie is going through a terrible crisis. Instead of profiting from this crisis, the Majority and Independent leaders have stabbed the Proletariat in the back. They have accepted the arguments of the ruling caste as they did during the war. They have lied to the working class. The police have joined in. With individual attempts they have sought to provoke a state of pogrom-rule in exciting the masses against the Communists. The 'Vorwaerts' and the 'Freiheit' have helped. As during the war, the leaders have played a counter-revolutionary rôle.

"After Halle, the Independents have fallen into the arms of the Majorities. *The Communists alone can conquer in the world-revolution. The United Communist Party has proved its will to fight. A million-and-a-half to two million proletarians responded to the call of the Communist Party.*

"They were crushed with honour beneath the weight of the Westarp-Hilferding Coaliton. In spite of their defeat, the Communists are proud of having fought. The workers are trained by the fight. *They will profit from the faults made.* The partisans of the Majorities and the Independents will open their eyes beneath the blows of the reaction. After this lost battle we maintain that the situation calls for new combats."

The appeal is also addressed to the workers adhering to the Social-Democratic and Independent Parties, calling upon them to fight the feeble and the treacherous, and to form a single revolutionary block.

Above extracts, with comments by Charles Rappoport, were reproduced in *l'Humanité*, April 7th, 1921.

Power or Persuasion?

"We believe in revolution by persuasion."

—(J. Ramsay MacDonald at Southport.)

I.

What are the Facts?

During the month of April two Conferences, representing the political opinions of Labour, were held. The one met at Southport and the other one at Manchester. At Southport, where the I.L.P. met, the cry was a demand for the masses to obtain their objective by using *Persuasion*. At Manchester, where the Communists met, a call was made to the workers to urge them to consolidate their political and industrial forces in order to build up their class *Power* and use it to destroy the capitalist system.

Never was the international policy of the Labour movement more clearly symbolised than in the difference of tactics which separates persuasion from power. The Soviet revolution was only possible in Russia, and elsewhere, because the Communists urged the workers to depend upon *Might* as an instrument of revolution. There is no record in history of a ruling class being persuaded to destroy its own economic and political supremacy.

Which section is correct? Is it the I.L.P. with its policy of sweet reasonableness and persuasion, or is it the Communists who rely upon the mass power of the workers? Before we can answer this question we must first ascertain the nature of the capitalist class to which the Labour movement is opposed. We must make this examination because all tactics, political or otherwise, are based not upon what we wish or desire, but based upon the attitude adopted by the enemy.

How, then, does the capitalist class act? Does it believe in the policy of persuasion? Has it ever shown any relaxation in any of its demands when the masses have demonstrated that their case was unanswerable both from the standpoint of logic and social necessity? To answer this question it is not necessary to study any philosophical volumes on the democratic pretensions of the modern propertied interests. They, themselves, have given the reply. And their evidence is of greater importance than any emotional gesture made either by the sentimental Mr. Snowden, or by the righteous Mr. MacDonald—the evidence of the capitalist class is the most valuable of all because it is the weighty evidence of the culprit against himself. What are the facts?

The imperialists of Britain made a startling discovery during the war. They suddenly realised that the maw of war was devouring the very elements in the working class upon whom they had always depended as being safe and reliable upholders of capitalism. Prior to 1914 all the trouble in the industrial world came from the well organised workers in the engineering, mining, transport and railroad unions. But outside of these unions there were great numbers of shop assistants, clerks, commercial travellers, workers in luxury trades, etc. These wage-earners, the black-coated salariat, were not at all rebellious and were always ready to rally to the side of "law and order" against the masses during any industrial upheaval. When the war started, the imperialists would have liked very much to have sent the miners, railwaymen, engineers, and the other disgruntled elements in the working class into the firing line. The technique of war, however, compelled the imperialists to build up their army mainly from the very sections of the workers who were outside of the best organised unions. The war killed or maimed great numbers of the "high-collared" wage-earners who were wont to think of themselves as superior to the black squads who operated the mines, foundries, mills, railroads, etc. Thus, when the war was over, it found the best fighting regiments in the

industrial field better organised than ever; it found a decrease in the number of the black-coated brigade, who had been killed; and it found many of the one-time tame and conservative clerks, etc., turned into disillusioned and rebellious discharged soldiers. Thus the war, which had been waged to consolidate the power of the imperialists, actually created an increase in the number of the workers who were discontented with the conditions of capitalist society. This is one reason why the working class has moved rapidly to the Left during the past three years.

II.

The International Division of Labour.

But the imperialists received a further blow when the Russian masses, refusing to be duped by the Labour-Coalition Government led by Kerensky, rose and established the Soviet Republic. Not only did the Soviet revolution mean the triumph of the Russian working class—it meant that a certain revolutionary tactic had been tested and had proven successful, and that success stood forth as an example and as a provocation to the dissatisfied proletariat in all capitalist countries to follow suit. The Russian Revolution reacted against the propertied interests in another way. They had looked to Russia with its great mineral resources and with its large labouring population—brought up on the lowest standard of subsistence of any country in Europe—as the one great avenue to exploit in order to restore the financial ravages and inroads of the war. If only they could use Russia as they desired, then they would soon tame the restless proletariat in Britain. By exploiting the famous Donetsk coal basin, and by compelling the Russian miners to work for a few kopecks per day, it would be possible to produce coal at such a price that the Russian miners could be used as a lever to lower the wages of the British miners. Here was a subtle attempt to split the international workers against themselves. And why was the Federation of British Industries unable to carry out this project? Did the Russian Soviet Republic persuade it to give up the idea? Not at all! The Russians argued and pleaded without avail. Not until they organised their Red Army—their Power—and smashed every White army brought against them did they succeed in defeating the imperialistic projects of the Federation of British Industries which had looked upon Russia—as their private minute book declares—as “the greatest prize offered to civilisation since the discovery of the Americas.”

Foiled in Russia, the imperialists had to look elsewhere. They then conceived the Versailles Treaty which enslaved the Ruhr miners. No question of persuasion entered here. Naked, brutal force was the instrument used. The entrance of Ruhr Valley coal into the world's market cut into the immediate profits of the British mineowners. But capitalism, in its imperialist period, is prepared to sacrifice some of its present profits if that shall mean *the preservation of the capitalist system*. Finance-capital deliberately creates commercial panics in order to ruin thousands of small capitalists whose doom means augmented financial power to the handful of magnates who are now ruling the world, and who now carry every “democratic” government in the world in their purse. Thus, when the Ruhr Valley coal was placed on the market the first effect in Britain was a fall in the earnings of the miners, who were only able to secure a few hours employment each week. When it is understood that the miners have no union funds worth speaking about, this fact, coupled with the widespread unemployment in the mining industry for several months, shows that they were not in a position to resist any onslaught by the mineowners upon their rate of wages. Here we may observe that the enslavement of the Ruhr Valley miners presents itself in a new and sinister light. The Communists among the Ruhr miners complained that the Ver-

saillies Treaty was a blacklegging policy aimed at the British miners. And they were right.

III.

The Division at Home.

Contrast what happened two years ago. Then the miners in this country were powerful. They had emerged from the war, during which they had been in steady employment, and had been able to accumulate a large fighting fund. Two years ago the mineowners were exploiting the world's coal markets and were receiving fabulous profits. Thus everything tended to make the situation most favourable for the miners to demand an increase in wages. Two years ago they had *power* on their side. The mineowners knew it and the Government feared it. They tricked the miners' leaders into a commission. All the moderate Labour elements congratulated the miners on the ability they displayed in presenting their case. What did the miners receive by their peaceful and persuasive tactics? They were given the Sankey Report, which the Government repudiated! The dead sea fruit of persuasion!

Two years ago the mineowners were afraid of the *power* of the men; that is why they proposed to talk nicely about the point under dispute. To-day, it is the mineowners who are in the powerful position, and they insist upon reducing wages to a level which is at once alarming and degrading. And they follow up their threat by *locking out* the men, thus throwing them into the scrap heap. Behind the cruel demand of the mineowners stands the capitalist State organised as it has never been since 1914. Armies with tanks, and all the mechanism of war, are set in motion against the miners. Sailors of the fleet, with machine guns, are drafted into mining centres. Proclamations, appealing to all loyal citizens able "to bear arms" are placarded all over the country. Speeches delivered by the officers of the State denounce the miners, and the rebel working class, as being "worse than the Huns." And all this because the miners resisted a decrease in the number of the crumbs which they receive from their masters.

IV.

The Test of Reality.

If such powers of organised violence are resorted to by the propertied class to enforce workers to accept a reduction in wages, then, in the name of all that is sacred, to what depths of savage butchery will not these interests sink to defend their social system when the revolutionary masses think the time has arrived to uproot private property?

The events of the past few weeks have stripped capitalism of all its pretentious and specious claims of being a democracy. The "free" Press speaks only for the mineowners. "Free" speech is smothered by Emergency Acts. Capitalism, in its attack upon Labour, has shown us how brutally loathsome it is. But it will become even more cruel and tigerish when organised Labour turns round to attack it. And Labour, in its class interest, *must* attack it.

Sentimental fools may hope to persuade the propertied classes to stand politely aside. But sane people, who test their social theories in the actual realm of concrete experiences, have been taught by the ruling classes themselves that they will respect only one thing—and that is a *power*—and a power more mightily wielded than anything which they possess.

The Communists repeat that *power* is the driving force of the class-struggle. Mr. Macdonald believes in persuasion. The armed force and tanks of the capitalist State is the reply to the emotional gibberish of Southport, and it is the proof of the wisdom of the Communist Party with its cry—

ALL POWER to the Workers!

W. PAUL.

The Practical Problems of World Revolution

The Statistical Section of the Communist International

By F. MAHARADZE.

The statistical, or more correctly, statistico-economic section now being organised at the Communist International puts before itself the object of compiling statistics both of our Labour movement and of the conditions of production on a world scale. The work of the section has a purely practical meaning—to supply to the Communist International the necessary statistical and economic data in order to hasten its victory over the world bourgeois.

But here we have to reckon with the fact that while in the Russian Soviet Federal Social Republic capitalist production has disappeared from the scene, and the firm foundations of the Communist economy have begun to be laid; in all other countries of the world the capitalist method of production, although shaken to its very foundations, still continues to exist.

Hence, it is clear that our principal practical problems in connection with the Labour movement—on the one hand, in Soviet Russia, and on the other, the remaining bourgeois capitalist countries—cannot be the same.

These problems are:—

A. In connection with Soviet Russia:

(1) On the basis of figures to determine the degree of collapse which overtook industry, both town and country, in Russia during the imperialist war (1914 to 1917).

(2) To ascertain the degree of destruction of the whole industrial and commercial apparatus on the one hand, and of the productivity of labour on the other, during the dictatorship of the proletariat and the civil war.

(3) To investigate the process of our reconstruction of the whole of industry, both urban and rural, on new Communist foundations, i.e., to sum up the creative work of construction carried on by workers' and peasants' Russia since the beginning of the rule of the proletariat.

(4) The reckoning of the efforts and practical measures undertaken by the Central Soviet Power, by the Communist Party, and the Trade Unions, in order to increase the productive forces of the country and raise the productivity of labour—the bonus system, compulsory labour, labour armies, etc.

(5) The forms of socialisation of production in the spheres of agriculture (communes, artels, co-operative ploughing, Soviet estates, etc.), and the success achieved by them in figures.

(6) Statistics of "subbotniks" and "voskresniks" Communist Saturdays and Sundays).

(7) The Communist Party, its growth in importance and power.

(8) The Socialist-Revolutionary, Menshevik, Anarchist, and other parties.

(9) Industrial (Productional) unions in Soviet Russia.

(10) The League of Communist Youth.

(11) Congresses and Conferences, Soviets, parties, trade unions, League of Youth, etc.

(12) Non-party conferences.

B. In connection with bourgeois countries:

(1) Changes and alterations produced during the imperialist war in the

sphere of industrial commerce and transport, in the capitalist countries of the world (England, America, France, Italy, Japan, Germany, Sweden, Holland, etc.), with a sub-division of them into three groups, namely:

a. Imperialist powers victorious in the world-war, i.e., England, France, America, Italy, Japan, etc.

b. The Central Powers, headed by Germany, i.e., the defeated States.

c. The so-called "neutral" countries (Spain, Norway, Denmark, Holland, Sweden, etc.).

(2) Symptoms of a rapidly advancing financial collapse in all the capitalist countries (increase of indebtedness) and the increasing fall in the productivity of labour (deficits, etc.).

(3) The latest facts about syndicates, cartels, and trusts, and also about banking (financial) capital.

(4) The fall in the value of money, and the shortage of commodities.

(5) The situation of the working class in the principal countries of Europe, America, Australia, etc., during the imperialist war and after its conclusion, on the foundation of statistical and other data.

(6) The progress of unemployment.

(7) Strikes (their number and the number of strikers).

(8) Data as to the economic condition of the colonies and semi-colonies (China, India, Turkey, Persia).

(9) Political parties of the bourgeoisie and of the working class (the Second, Yellow, International), their rôle and meaning.

(10) The Communist Parties and groups, their origin and growth.

(11) Trade Union movement.

(12) League of Communist Youth.

The section will collect, group, and combine all statistical data which is published by various statistical organs in different countries. It will collect, arrange, and utilise all that already exists, or appears in the future, in the periodical Press of different countries on questions that interest us.

Studying and characterising in this way the Labour Movement in the individual countries, grouping and contrasting to one another the individual countries in this respect, we can cover the whole world revolutionary movement of the proletariat as one indivisible whole, inexorably going forward towards the capture of power by the working class, with the object of bringing about the Communist order.

Izvestia, December 18th, 1920.



An Appeal of the Communist Party of Georgia

The Georgian Communist Party has addressed the following appeal to the Communist Parties of workers of all countries:—

"The repeated insurrections of the Georgian workers and peasants against the bourgeois Government of Menshevik traitors, have at last been crowned with success. During the last days of February the victorious attack of the insurgents, supported by the workers' and peasants' Red Army, overthrew the vile Government of social traitors headed by Jordania and Ramishvile, and inaugurated the Soviet regime in Georgia. The news of this revolution was a thunderbolt for the Anglo-Franco-American bandits, for whom Menshevik Georgia was the principal base for the exploitation of the toiling masses of the near East.

"The victorious robbers of Great Britain, France, and other countries, and behind them their secret agents, the bankrupt chiefs of the Second Inter-

national, set up their usual howl and set all their machinery at work to desecrate the social revolution in Georgia. The Socialist renegades, traitors to the working class, Kautsky, Renaudel, Vandervelde, Macdonald and Co., recently visited Georgian Mensheviks at the request of the Entente imperialists; and those who sanctioned all the sanguinary crimes of the latter against the workers and peasants are to-day doing their utmost to persuade the proletarians of Europe and America that the Georgian revolution was carried out by Muscovite conquerors, and that the little people of Georgia had been violated, and so on. One may ask where were these gentlemen when the Menshevik Government was violating the rights of the workers and peasants of Georgia, and drowning national minorities in blood? Messrs. Kautsky, Renaudel, Vandervelde and Co., were silent when the Georgian Mensheviks, in alliance with the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie and victorious imperialism, were active against workers' and peasants' Russia. They only began to wail on the day when the Menshevik usurpers were overthrown and the people of Georgia at last breathed freely. Why should they see here Muscovite conquerors in place of the workers and peasants and small nationalities of Georgia, who had been oppressed by the Menshevik jingoes?

"Insurrection against the usurpers! What is at the back of all their treacherous and hypocritical insolence? The Red Army came into Georgia at the appeal of the insurgents and of their revolutionary committee. Without it the insurgents would all have been destroyed, and the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie in the shape of the Mensheviks would have been restored. That is what would have delighted Kautsky and Co.

"In the name of the labouring masses of all nationalities that inhabit the Georgian territory, the Communist (Bolshevik) Party of Georgia declares to all the workers of all countries that far from being strangled, the Georgian people has to-day been liberated from the yoke of the Menshevik and bourgeois usurpers.

"The best reply to the calumnies and vile insinuations of all the agents, visible and secret, of the counter-revolutionary capitalist classes of the world, is the fact that the establishment of the Soviet regime and the arrival of the Red Army are everywhere hailed with enthusiasm by the Georgian workers, and by all national minorities.

"No less worthy of attention is the fact that all parties and groups—such as the Socialist Revolutionaries, Left Federalists, Left Syndicalists, Communist Maximalists—denounced the Menshevik usurpers from the very first day; and have now rallied themselves on the side of the Soviet Government.

"In this way the overwhelming majority of the Georgian people, with the Communist Party and all the Left Socialist parties or groups at its head, have been unanimous in rejoicing at the downfall of the Menshevik Government, and at the establishment of the Soviet regime and the dictatorship of the workers and poor peasants in Georgia.

"The Mensheviks impudently deceived the peasants no less than the workers by their policy of jingoism and imperialism. They drove to distraction all the little nationalities settled for centuries upon Georgian territory. Their policy proved completely bankrupt; and that is why the fall of the Menshevik Government was inevitable.

"After that experience, it was only the Soviet regime that could be freely installed in the country.

"Long live the universal proletarian revolution!

"On behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Georgia.

Exploité, March 31st.

"DUMBADZE."

How Lefebvre, Lepitet and Vergeat were Drowned

A REPORT BY FREDERICK STROM.

(The Representative of the Commissariat for Foreign Affairs of the Federal Soviet Republic, Stockholm.)

Dear Comrade,—The party sent by me to Russia to enquire into the cause of the death of Lefebvre, Lepitet, and Vergeat have sent me the following report:

"The reasons for which the three comrades did not take the route through Esthonia on their return were, the lack of French passports, the blockade maintained by the Entente against Russia, and the espionage practised at Reval. In view of this they took the longer route through the Arctic, hoping by this means to travel more securely. They arrived at Murmansk almost without baggage on September 18th.

"The next day, they left for Vaida Guba, to continue by sea as far as Honningsvaag in Norway, fearing to be arrested if they travelled direct to Vardo, where the Allied spies incite the Police against all passengers coming from Russia. At Vaida Guba they found the Czech delegates who had arrived before them and who were also awaiting a ship to return via Norway.

"The ship sent by our comrades at Vardo to meet and bring back the delegates to the Congress could only take the three Czech delegates who had been waiting a week longer than the French. With them the French comrades sent several letters and two or three parcels of books. The French comrades were asked to await the return of the boat and not to set forth at their own risk on their own account.

"But the French comrades were very anxious to leave, in order to be able to be present at the Congress of the C.G.T., and of the French party. Because of this, they returned to Murmansk on September 23rd to try and borrow some money there and hire a steam-boat for Vardo, but they did not wait for the telegraphic reply, and returned to Vaida Guba on September 27th, hoping that the illegal boat which had carried the Czechs would have returned from Honningsvaag. On account of economic difficulties and disquieting warnings, the sailors of the illegal boat had not been able to return to Vaido Guba immediately, and the French comrades were informed through the fishermen that they would have to wait another three or four days.

"After this time the boat would come back for them.

"They were warned of the danger and advised not to leave in a boat, as a warning had been received that a storm was likely to take place in the immediate future. Nevertheless, on September 28th they came to an agreement with a fisherman of Vaida Guba named Storjusso, whom the official pilot of Vaida Guba, Andersson, described as a 'safe and experienced sailor,' with a boat that was very good and strong, but unfortunately not equipped with a motor. The boat was hired by the French comrades. The owner of the boat accompanied them as captain, together with his own son and two other fishermen.

"All these persons have disappeared, and great despair exists in the little fishing huts. They left the Varanger Fiord on September 28th in the evening, or very early in the morning of the 29th. Immediately after their departure there broke forth a storm which lasted four days, and which was the most violent in human memory.

"Since that time nothing has been heard, no trace has been found of the

three Frenchmen and the four Finnish fishermen who were piloting the boat. All the pilots along the coast who have been questioned firmly believe that the sails were torn or the mast broken through the violent storm, and consequently the boat could not manoeuvre and was bound to be shattered by the waves very quickly.

"Investigations have been made all along the Russian, Finnish, and Norwegian coasts, and no inhabited spot has been omitted. Nowhere, however, has the least trace been found either of the boat, of the French comrades, or of the fishermen. The pilots and fishermen explain this phenomena by the fact that the waves and the current were driving towards the open sea, and consequently everything was bound to move before the wind towards the Arctic Ocean or the icy inhabited region of Novaya Zemlia.

"The three French comrades had no objects of art or of value as the bourgeois Press affirms, and, on the contrary, left without any baggage in order to be more easily able to cross the frontiers and return as soon as possible. With the poor fishermen who owned the boat, they fell victims to the violent storm. But above all, they were victims of the criminal blockade inflicted on Russia by the Entente imperialism, and of the Entente's refusal to grant passports to their workers in order to visit their Russian comrades.

"They gave their lives for the cause of the proletariat, and their names are inscribed in the golden book of the heroes and martyrs of humanity.

"For the Soviet Consulate General, fraternally,

"(Signed) FREDK. STROM."

"Stockholm, January 21st."



Peter Kropotkin's Last Letter

The following letter was written by Peter Kropotkin to his friend, De Reijger, the Dutch anarchist, who had invited him to come to stay at Haarlem:

"Moscow, Dmitrooka,

"December 23rd, 1920.

"Dear Comrade De Reijger,—My heartiest thanks for your kind letter of November, which has at last reached me. All three of us, my wife, my daughter, and myself, are profoundly touched by your letter and your invitation. But as perhaps you know already from the letter which I sent to the comrades of the 'Berlin Syndicalist,' our position is not as bad to-day as it was last year. We have the necessities of life, and considering one could not say that everywhere else in Europe, it is a great deal.

"The social revolution has involuntarily taken a Centralist and authoritarian turn in Russia. Still, it presents the possibility of a transition from capitalist society to Socialist society. And this thought will certainly encourage the Socialists of Western Europe in their efforts to reconstruct society on the basis of anti-capitalist equality. In addition, beyond all doubt, the Centralist faults of the Russian Communist revolution will assist the workers of other countries to avoid similar mistakes.

"Fraternal greetings,

"PETER KROPOTKIN.

"P.S.—We live in a little town 60 kils. to the north of Moscow, where we have a little kitchen-garden which my wife works. Unfortunately, I am no longer myself able to carry out physical work, so my wife alone looks after the vegetables we require for the winter. I am at present engaged on a large work, 'Ethics on the Naturalist Basis.'"

Exploité, March 9th.

Communist International

Report of Meeting of the Executive Committee of the Communist International.

Moscow, 9th, 10th, and 14th January, 1920.

Plenary sessions of the Executive Committee of the Communist International took place on the above dates, with Comrade Zinovieff in the chair. The order of business was as follows:

1. The International Congress of Trade Unions.
2. The situation in Austria.
3. The situation in Italy.
4. The Congress of the French Socialist Party at Tours.
5. The Communist movement in Denmark.
6. The United Communist Party of Germany (U.K.P.D.) and the Communist Labour Party of Germany (K.A.P.D.).
7. Report on the situation in Georgia.
8. Organisation.
9. The Eastern question.
10. The economic boycott of Spain.

Comrade Zinovieff, introducing the first question of the order of the day, pointed out that the Congress of the Italian Socialist Party marks the close of a period in which the principal decisions of the Second Congress of the Communist International, with regard to political parties, have been carried out. "At present," said Zinovieff, "we must concentrate our attention on the conquest of the Trade Unions; they are the last bulwark of the opportunists, who are the most dangerous enemies of the working class." A few practical motions introduced by Comrade Zinovieff on this point were adopted after a brief discussion. With reference to the International Council of Trade Unions, the Executive Committee adopted the following suggestions:

(a) The International Council of Trade Unions is to call an international conference at Moscow on May 1st, 1921.

(b) Invitations to participate in the conference should be sent to all the Trade Unions, and similar organisations and branches, which are opposed to the Yellow Amsterdam International, and favour the unity of the revolutionary Trade Unions.

The Agenda proposed for the conference is as follows: (1) Reports; (2) The role of Trade Unions during the transition period; (3) Trade Unions, factory committees, and Councils of Workers' Deputies; (4) Trade socialisation; (5) Trade Unions and the Communist International; (6) Organisation questions: (a) International strike fund; (b) Federalism and centralism in the Labour movement; (c) International federations of separate Unions; (7) Elections.

The discussions brought out with particular emphasis the fact that it is necessary to have all shades of the revolutionary Labour movement represented at the conference.

Comrade Steinhardt, of the Communist Party of Austria, made a report on the situation in that country, referring mainly to the recent Parliamentary elections.

The Communist Party of Austria had been carrying on an agitation in favour of boycotting the elections, and it only abandoned that policy at the very last moment, submitting to the decisions of the Second Congress of the Communist International. As a result of this the Party only received 30,000 votes and did not win a single seat. At the election to the Councils of Workers' Deputies, which took place immediately afterwards, the Party also suffered

considerable losses, receiving only one-twelfth of the total number of seats, as against the one-fifth it had before. One must remember, however, that the Austrian comrades are fighting under unusually difficult conditions against the combined forces of the bourgeoisie and the social traitors. The "Workers' Association of Revolutionary Social-Democrats," with a membership of 4,000 to 6,000 men, has now broken away from the Social-Democratic Party and is preparing to join the ranks of the Communist Party of Austria. It is significant that this breach in the Social-Democratic Party was caused by differences of policy with regard to the Councils of Workers' Deputies.

The discussion following the report was supplemented by interesting information supplied by Comrade N., who had just arrived from abroad. Comrade Varga pointed out the abnormality of the situation in which the relation between the Party and the masses is wholly determined by such a secondary question as that of Parliamentarism. Comrade Bukharin spoke of the phase which Austria is going through to-day as one of decay and disintegration. The process of economic collapse has given rise to despair and panic among all classes of Austrian society, and this mood has to some extent taken hold of our Austrian comrades. The Party must shake off its pessimism and regain its self-confidence. In the midst of general dismay it must instil into the working class a new faith in revolution, and show clearly the happier possibilities of the future.

It was decided to address an appeal to the Austrian proletariat and the Communist Party of Austria, expressing these views as the opinion of the Communist International on the situation in Austria and on the immediate tasks of the Austrian Communist Party.

The report on the situation in Italy was made by Comrade Zinovieff, who said that the Italian Socialist Party, which was to convene its Congress on January 16th, was divided into three main factions. There was the Communist faction headed by Bombacci and Bordiga, the Serrati faction, which in spite of its revolutionary phraseology continually tends to the Right, and is backed by the Reformists, who put all their hopes on Serrati. There is another small faction headed by Graciani, which takes its stand between the pure Communists and the Serrati Centrists. This faction will probably vote with the Communists at the Congress. How the vote will go at the Congress on the question of our policy is rather difficult to judge from afar. It is possible that we shall be in the minority, although Serrati, who calls himself a Communist and writes friendly letters to Moscow, has nevertheless come out on the side of the Reformists, and has spread absurd rumours in his paper, such as that of a quarrel between Radek and Lenin, etc. Recently he has moved more and more down hill. The draft of a letter to the Italian comrades read by Comrade Zinovieff was unanimously adopted.

The session of January 10th opened with a report by Comrade Rosmer on the recent Congress of the French Socialist Party at Tours. Comrade Rosmer stated that he was not yet in possession of any official communications from the party itself. "The majority that we gained at Tours," said Comrade Rosmer, "proved to be even larger than we anticipated from the voting in the various federations. Analysing the situation, we find the following facts of particular interest: first, considerable contingents from the peasant regions of France, whose population the Social-Democratic press declared to be in opposition to Soviet Russia, voted for the Communist International; and second, the industrial regions (the Seine, Pas de Calais) and others voted unanimously for adherence to the Communist International. Thus, the split cleared the Party of all the conservative elements. Longuet passed over to his friends of the Right Wing in spite of all the efforts to get him to side with the Left. As was to be expected, the majority of the Parliamentary faction also went over to the Right

camp. The appearance of Klara Zetkin at the Congress, in defiance of all the precautions of the police, produced a great sensation." The Executive Committee decided to send its greetings to the Communist Party of France, and to express its appreciation of the courageous act of Klara Zetkin at the Congress.

The report on the Communist movement in Denmark was made by Comrade U., of the Communist Party of Denmark, and Comrade E., of the Syndicalist opposition faction in the Danish Trade Unions.

The Danish Communist Party was formed in November, 1919, out of three groups, the Socialist Labour Party, the Independent Social-Democratic Party, and the Socialist League of Youth. The Party has a membership of about 3,000, and publishes a daily paper, "Arbejdet." At the last Parliamentary elections the Party received 5,200 votes. The Trade Union opposition has only seven hundred members, but its paper, "Solidaritets," started in 1911, has a circulation of 7,000 to 8,000 copies. The Syndicalist tendencies formerly predominating in the opposition are gradually disappearing. One of the most prominent leaders of the Syndicalists, Chr. Christensen, recently wrote a series of articles in the "Solidaritets" on the "Twenty-one Points," in which he declared his absolute adherence to the Communist International. At present attempts are being made to bring about a Union, on a federative basis, between the Centrist elements of the Party and the opposition. The gist of the agreement is as follows: Both organisations are to form a "Communist Federation of Denmark" and are to have a common paper, edited in full accord with all the resolutions of the Second World Congress of the Communist International. Both organisations temporarily preserve their platforms; the "Arbejdet" and the "Solidaritets" cease publication. The Trade Union opposition immediately joins the International Council of Revolutionary Trade Unions.

Supplementing the report of the Danish comrades, Comrade Kobetsky informed the session that he is in receipt of a letter from Martin Andersen-Nekse, the famous Danish writer and proletarian poet, sending his hearty greetings to the Executive Committee of the Communist International, and asking the Executive Committee to aid in uniting the Danish comrades on the basis of the agreement drawn up by him.

Following a motion by Comrade Bela Kun, the E.C. elected a commission of three members charged to investigate this question. The Commission reported its findings to the session of January 14th. The Danish comrades participated in the work of the Commission, which accepted unanimously the draft of the agreement, introducing some amendments to it. The most important amendment formulated by the Committee was as follows: temporarily (the federation has a temporary character) all the Communist factions in the Trade Unions, consisting of members of both organisations, join the Trade Union organisation. But the Party members are obliged to abide by the instructions of the Central Committee of the Party.

The next subject for discussion was the question of the Communist Labour Party of Germany (K.A.P.D.). This question was brought up again on account of a letter from the Central Committee of the United Communist Party of Germany, protesting against the acceptance of the K.A.P.D. into the Communist International as a "sympathetic" party. The Central Committee bases its protest on the following considerations: (1) The K.A.P.D. is not a revolutionary party, for where the immediate aim of the struggle of the working class is Communism, every non-Communist party is a non-revolutionary party; (2) The K.A.P.D. is dying out as a party, and is now only being artificially kept alive by the decision of the Executive Committee of the Communist International; (3) The Communists of Germany, being unable to refer to the authority of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, are

thereby deprived of their strongest weapon in the struggle against the erroneous tactics of the Communist Labour Party of Germany.

This protest was the cause of a very lively discussion. Comrade Steinhardt proposed that the Communist Labour Party of Germany be asked not to overstep the bounds of comradely decorum in their controversy with the United Communist Party of Germany. Comrades Marchlevsky and Shablin insisted upon the necessity of examining the Press of the Communist Labour Party of Germany during the period that has elapsed since their admission to the Communist International, before taking any steps in the matter. Comrade Zinovieff was in favour of adhering to the original decision. He regarded the protest of the United Communist Party of Germany as altogether unfounded. In accepting the Communist Labour Party of Germany into the Communist International as a sympathising party, the Executive Committee acted in accordance with the decision of the Second Congress. "While definitely drawing the line at the Right reformist elements," said Zinovieff, "we must exercise the greatest tolerance towards those labour organisations which regard themselves as more radical than we are, and have not yet freed themselves from Anarcho-Syndicalist fallacies. The backbone of the Communist Party of Germany consists of *bona fide* revolutionary workers. That party made a considerable advance along the road towards Communism by excluding from their ranks such men as Laufenberg, Wolheim, and Otto Ruhle. That the Communist Labour Party of Germany criticises our German comrades is not such a bad thing after all. The Communist Party of Germany is far from being faultless. Even during the Kapp uprising, and the last strike of the Berlin electrical workers, their actions showed weakness. In our resolution we said, clearly and definitely, that we regard the United Communist Party of Germany as the only authoritative section of the Communist International, and proposed that the members of the Communist Labour Party of Germany proceed forthwith to join it. We stated that we regarded the tactics of the Communist Labour Party of Germany, particularly in regard to Trade Unions and Parliamentarism, as erroneous. We accepted this Party into our ranks in order to clear the way for its amalgamation with the United Communist Party. Italy to-day confirms the correctness of our tactics with regard to the Left and Right wings. While D'Aragona, whose exclusion from the Party we have always demanded, works on joint commissions to put a brake on the revolutionary movement, the Syndicalist Armando Borge, who was accepted by us into the Communist International, is in prison and the workers are making revolutionary demonstrations at the prison gates."

After the discussion Comrade Zinovieff's motion was accepted by the majority with one vote against and one abstention. This motion provides for a special letter to the United Communist Party re-affirming the original decision as to the K.A.P.D. Comrade Bela Kun's proposal to publish a stenographic report of the sessions of the Executive Committee, November 24th and 28th, dealing with the question of the Communist Labour Party of Germany and its acceptance into the Communist International, was also adopted.

At this point a telegram of greeting from the Estonian Communist Parliamentary faction to the Executive Committee of the Communist International was read. It was unanimously decided to send a hearty reply to the Estonian comrades.

The telegram of the Estonian comrades was as follows:

"Greetings to the Third Communist International.

"After a long and difficult struggle the proletariat of Esthonia has succeeded in getting its representatives elected to the bourgeois Parliament, in order to make the bourgeois prattlers listen to representatives of the working class, and to prepare the working class through Parliament for a conscious class struggle.

On this occasion the Communist faction of the Esthonian Parliament hails the Third Communist International as the only representative of the organised proletariat of the world.

"Reval, January 1st, 1921."

THE REPLY OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

"The Executive Committee of the Communist International sends its fraternal greeting to the revolutionary workers of Esthonia and to its Communist faction in Parliament. Communism has won a great moral victory in your country, which is being ruled by a handful of representatives of the bourgeoisie, backed by the Yellow Social Democrats.

"Long live the Communists of Esthonia.

"The Executive Committee of the Communist International."

At the opening of the session, January 14th, Comrade Skhakaia briefly described the situation in Georgia. This Socialist Republic, of which the leaders of the Second International boast so much, is on the eve of utter economic ruin: there is no production, widespread famine has up till now only just been avoided, thanks to remnants of old crops. At present everything has been eaten up, and hunger is already being experienced in some places. The Government has managed to remain in power only because the Communist Party has not yet got a sufficiently solid apparatus. The Communist Party of Georgia has not yet recovered from the blow caused by its violent separation from the Russian Communist Party, consequent upon the peace treaty between Soviet Russia and Georgia. The Social-Democratic Government is conducting a furious campaign against the Communist movement, arresting and exiling our comrades, closing newspaper offices, and so forth. Nevertheless, the number of our adherents in Georgia is growing every day. Congresses of the Party and of the Printers' Trade Union have recently been held at Tiflis. At the latter, in spite of the police support of the Government, the Mensheviks received a majority of only one vote (263 against 262), and 7 Communists, 6 Mensheviks, and 2 representatives of other parties were elected to the Committee. The Railway Workers' Union, the strongest of all the unions, is likewise "infected" by Bolshevism. Comrade Skhakaia finished his report with an appeal for aid to the Georgian Communists. The Executive, upon Comrade Zinovieff's motion, voted unanimously a resolution of fraternal greetings to the Georgian comrades, branding with shame the Menshevik Government of Georgia and the leaders of the Second International who support it.

The resolution accepted by the Executive of the Communist International reads as follows:

"Having heard the report of Comrade Skhakaia, representing the Communist Party of Georgia, the Executive of the Communist International sends its fraternal greetings to the Georgian comrades languishing by the hundreds in the prisons of the Yellow Georgian Social Democratic Republic. At the head of this republic, which the Social-Democrats laud as a democratic paradise, are the Mensheviks, belonging to the Second International. Behind the Menshevik hangman government there are, apart from the direct agents of the Entente, the most prominent leaders of the Second International, headed by Vandervelde, Renaudel, and Kautsky. The workers of the world must know that there is no crime against the workers and peasants which the adherents of the Second International are not ready to commit in the interests of the bourgeoisie."

Comrade Zinovieff spoke on the second item of the agenda, the organising work of the Executive, and the consolidation of the big Communist parties in Germany, France, and Italy. "A new epoch is beginning," said Comrade

Zinovieff. "Our attention now must be directed to the organisational side of our work. We must see to it that the Executive represents all the parties belonging to the Communist International, that these representatives keep in constant touch with their organisations and furnish the Executive with all the information received by them; that the Small Bureau is in constant communication with the Central Committees of all parties, and does not confine itself to issuing appeals; finally, we must work out in detail separate clauses of our programme in the light of the experience of the growing revolution the world over." Comrade Zinovieff therefore proposed: (1) that all parties be requested to send representatives to the Executive; (2) that the Small Bureau be extended, and its personnel increased to seven members, by electing Comrades Bela Kun and Rosmer on to it, in addition to the four members which it already has; the seventh member to be a delegate from the United Communist Party of Germany; (3) that two committees be elected to elaborate in detail separate clauses of the programme on the Agrarian and National Questions.

The following amendments were made: Comrade Bersin proposed that, instead of or parallel to the Committee on the Agrarian Question, a committee should be elected to investigate the economic conditions of life in the capitalist countries; Comrade Shatskin proposed that the Small Bureau should submit reports of its activity to the Executive.

Comrade Zinovieff's motion, together with both amendments were accepted.

Further, the following letter, received by Comrade Zinovieff from the Bureau of the Amsterdam Trades Union International, was read aloud:—

"Mr. Chairman,—Enclosed please find a copy of the resolutions, in French and German, accepted by the International Trades Union Congress which was held in London on November 22nd to 27th. As you probably will have learned from the newspapers, this resolution was accepted by a great majority: only Italy and Norway voted against it. This resolution establishes our attitude towards your International.

"You will see from the resolution that we do not intend to let your slanders about us go unrefuted; we are still going to represent the interests of nearly thirty million workers, as we have done hitherto, i.e., in the spirit which an independent trade union movement should work; and we are not going to submit to the command of a political party, as does the so-called Trade Union International founded by you.

"Should you, or other leaders of the trade union movement represented by you, be interested in the receipt of more exact information about our movement, thanks to which you may perhaps convince yourself that you are only harming your own cause and the cause of the proletariat by fighting us, we shall always be ready to supply you with such information, on the condition, however, that you will act towards us as we have done towards you, that you will act on the supposition that we, in any position we take up or any of our actions, are honest and are guided only by one common aim—to be of use to the proletariat and help it in its distress. This basis alone can, in our opinion, serve to clear up our common aims, and perhaps also bring about the affiliation of the Russian Trade Unions to our International. We hope that you will bring both our resolution and our letter before the members of the Board of the Third International.

"(Signed) L. JOUHAUX, E. FIMMEN, J. OUDEGEEST."

The following motion with regard to this letter was unanimously accepted:—

"To request Messrs. Jouhaux and the others to obtain the consent of the Governments friendly to them to arrange a number of public meetings of workers in all European centres, in London, Paris, and Amsterdam, for debates between Amsterdam and the Third International."

Comrade Sokolnikoff, speaking of the tasks of the Communist International in the East, first of all pointed out the fact that the sympathy towards Soviet Russia shown by the bourgeois and landed classes of the East is most precarious. It has been evoked by their hatred of the Entente, but this hatred is infinitely less than fear that they have of the toiling masses of their own countries; this explains why our military allies in the East, when occasion occurs, compromise with our military foes—the Allied Powers. Who are the true bearers of the Revolution in the East? We should first of all relinquish the idea that the East is a uniform entity. Capitalism, we know, introduces uniformity in the social relations of various countries; but the East has, as yet, practically not been touched by capitalism. Large scale industry has been developed only in India, where the leaders of the national-democratic revolution will undoubtedly be the proletariat. Regarding the other countries of the Near East, Persia, Bukhara, Afghanistan, etc., we can say in general that here the oppressed social class is the peasantry, and the Revolution must be agrarian. In our activity in the East, we should carefully study all the peculiarities of the social relations of each separate country, and avoid stereotyped forms.

The discussion of Comrade Sokolnikoff's report was postponed until the next meeting of the Executive. Comrade Rosmer made a special announcement on the economic boycott of Spain.

Comrade Rosmer announced that he had received from Spain an appeal issued by the Spanish Confederation of Labour, protesting against the Government Terror directed against the Labour organisations; the Labour Press is being closed down, the Labour Unions are being dissolved, meetings are dispersed, and hundreds and thousands of revolutionaries and rank and file workers arrested, simply because they are members of these organisations. The Confederation of Labour calls upon the workers of all countries, as a sign of protest, to declare Spain under boycott from January 15th, and not to allow any goods to be sent to or from Spain. Comrade Rosmer, in the name of the Executive of the Communist International and the Provisional Bureau of the International Trade Union Council, proposed a motion appealing to the workers of the whole world to carry out this boycott.

The motion was unanimously adopted.



The Third Congress of the Communist International

The Third Congress of the Communist International has been fixed for June 1st. The following is the agenda:—

1. Report of the Executive Committee.
2. The world economic crisis and the new rôle of the Communist International.
3. Tactics of the Communist International during the revolution.
4. The period of transition (partial actions and the final revolutionary struggle).
5. The campaign against the Yellow Trade Union International of Amsterdam.
6. The International Council of Red Trade Unions and the Communist International.
7. The internal structure of the Communist Parties, their methods of action, and the essence of that action.
8. The internal structure of the Communist International—and its relations with the affiliated parties.

9. The Eastern question.
 10. The Italian Socialist Party and the Communist International. (Appeal of the Italian Socialist Party against the decision of the Executive Committee.)
 11. The K.A.P.D. and the Communist International. (Appeal of the U.K.P.D. against the decision of the Executive Committee.)
 12. The women's movement.
 13. The Young Communist movement.
 14. Election of the Executive Committee, and the designation of its place of session.
 15. Miscellaneous.
- Humanité*, March 17th.



A Circular of the Russian Central Committee

The newly elected Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party has made the following appeal to all members of the Party:—

"The Tenth Congress of the Russian Communist Party has subjected to a careful review all the work carried out by the Party during the last twelve months. Those months were rich with extremely important events, teeming with historical lessons. During the last three months the Party occupied itself with a number of questions bound up with the further fate of the Revolution. The Party is seeking for ways and means of uniting the labouring masses. The Party has considered the question of how best of all to attract the industrial unions into the work of developing production. The discussion on this question created great agitation amongst the members of the Party. The Tenth Congress of the R.C.P. put an end to all these differences of opinion. The enemies of our Party and of the Soviet Republic are attempting to utilise our divisions and to represent them as the demoralisation of our Party. The Tenth Congress of the R.C.P. has shown that our Party was and is united, and that iron discipline and fraternal co-operation have united together all the members.

"The course of events has brought before us a number of new problems. The Congress had to revise our food policy and devote particular attention to the mutual relations of the town proletariat and the peasantry. The Congress has had also to consider very important questions of Party work and of the policy of the Communist International. In the discussion of these extremely important questions the complete unanimity of the Party was displayed. Every form of sectional policy was brought to an end.

"Events had shown that we began too soon to speak of the arrival of an epoch of peace in the life of the Soviet Republic. Although the war at the fronts is over, our enemies are still fighting us and adopting new weapons. The war carried on by the Entente agents, the Mensheviks, the Socialist Revolutionaries, and the Cadets, within the country is no less dangerous, since the masses are exhausted and enfeebled by seven years' warfare. This state of things demands of the Party still more unity, steadiness and discipline than in the struggle against Denikin, Koltchak, and Wrangel.

"The working men of Soviet Russia, through the agency of their advance guard, the Communist Party, have made a practical proposal to the peasantry which must lead to a strengthening of the union of the workers and peasants.

Every member of the Party is bound to devote all his energies to work amongst the peasants, explaining to them the complexity of the present situation, and telling them of the decisions of the Party Congress.

"The Tenth Congress of the R.C.P. has shown to the non-party masses that the Communist Party will do its utmost in the defence of the proletarian dictatorship. All members of the Party must remember that the more strong and united is our Party the easier will it be to overcome the difficulties of the situation, and the less hesitation will there be amongst the non-party masses and the semi-proletarians.

"Very important also are the decisions of the Tenth Congress on the subject of party work. The Party is not striving to increase the number of its members, but to raise the general level of every member of the Party. The Congress decided to put an end to bureaucracy and restore to the full the connection between the Party and the great masses.

"All members of our Party must recognise that the Russian Communist Party is the leading party of the Communist International, and should be an example of all the parties who are struggling for the world revolution. The Russian Communist Party must become an example of solidarity and unity to the class-conscious workers of the whole world. For this reason all the members of the Party must fraternally co-operate to work in the spirit of the resolution of the Tenth Party Congress.

"THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE
RUSSIAN COMMUNIST PARTY."

Rosta, March 26th.



A Decision of the Executive of the Communist International

The following telegram has been sent by the Executive Committee of the Communist International to the United Communist Party of Germany (U.K.P.D.) :—

1. The E.C. confirms its resolution in connection with the Italian question, and continues to support the Communist Party of Italy.

2. The E.C. most energetically protests against the support given to the Centrist group of Serrati at Leghorn, and on other occasions by members of the Central Committee of the U.K.P.D.—Paul Levy. The E.C. is convinced that on the Italian question the great majority of the German Party is on the side of the Italian Communists and the E.C., and not on the side of Comrade Paul Levy.

3. The E.C. declares its entire agreement with the resolution adopted by the U.K.P.D. on February 1st, and insists that the Central Committee shall admit of no interpretation of that resolution which would be equivalent to support for the Centrists group of Serrati, and which would, therefore, create difficulties for the Italian Communists.

This resolution was unanimously adopted by the Executive Committee of the Communist International after a careful consideration of the situation.

Comrade Geyer, representative of the U.K.P.D., voted for points 1 and 3, and against point 2.

(Signed) EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST
INTERNATIONAL.

Humanité, March 21st.

The United Communist Party of Germany and the Trade Unions

The International Council of Trade Unions has received a letter from Berlin, giving the following details of the work of the German Communists in the Trade Union Movement:—

The United Communist Party of Germany has appointed a Central Committee of seven members to direct all the work in connection with the conquest of the trade unions. To this Central Committee are subordinated fifteen industrial groups charged with the work of organisation in fifty-nine separate unions. Side by side with the work in the trade unions directed from the centre, in every one of the twenty-three divisions of the Party there are organised local sections for work in the trade unions. The sections are composed of the groups in the separate unions, according to the category of production; which from the point of view of organisation will strengthen our influence in the direction of Communism.

Immediately after the Congress at Halle, in October, the Left Independents and the Communist Party of Germany organised a provisional Trade Union Board which united the work of both the groups (Independents and K.P.D.) within the unions.

This provisional Board summoned, two days before the United Congress, and with the consent of the Central Committee of both Parties, a Conference of Communist Workers in Trade Unions. There were present at this Conference:—

Industrial and Commercial Employees ...				8 Representatives—8 districts.		
Building Workers	...	...	8	"	8	"
Wood Workers	...	...	10	"	7	"
Metal Workers	...	...	42	"	30	"
Municipal Employees	...	...	5	"	3	"
Transport Workers	...	...	3	"	3	"
Factory Workers	...	...	3	"	3	"
Miners	...	...	3	"	3	"
United Mine Workers	...	...	3	"		
Glass Workers	...	...	1	"		
Printers	...	...	3	"	2	"
Railwaymen	...	...	7	"	7	"
Textile Workers	...	...	2	"	2	"
Carpenters	...	...	3	"	3	"
Paper Hangers, Stenographers, Liberal						

Professions, Binders, Engineers, etc 1 Representative each.

At this Conference there were discussed questions as to organisation and tactics of the Communists in the trade unions. The results of this discussion were to be put before the Congress. The Central Board decided to close the papers, "Arbeiterrat" and "Kommunistische Ratekorrespondenz," and instead of them to publish the weekly paper "Der Kommunistische Gewerkschafter." In addition, the Central Board has published four leaflets. These include one general leaflet addressed to all workers, in two million copies, one leaflet for railwaymen, and a special leaflet in connection with the struggle of the Berlin Metal Workers for Local Offices.

Izvestia, January 30th.

Summary of the Resolution adopted by the United Communist Party of Germany after hearing the Report of its Delegates to the Italian Socialists' Congress at Leghorn

1. The U.K.P.D. supports the decision of the Second Congress of the Communist International declaring the necessity for Communist Parties to clear themselves of their reformist elements, which are a dead weight in the struggle of the proletariat for the Socialist revolution.

2. When it demanded of the Italian Socialist Party that Reformists' elements should be expelled, the Executive of the Communist International was acting, not only in accordance with the decisions of the Second Congress, but also in harmony with all the affiliated Communist Parties and as much in the interests of the Italian Labour movement as in those of the International Labour movement.

3. The majority of the Italian Socialist Party, under the leadership of Serrati, accepted the twenty-one conditions of Moscow, demanding, however, the right to discuss with the Executive the measures to be taken with a view of expelling the reformists. Several months have gone by since the Moscow Congress, but the Serrati group has made no practical proposal as to the measures for such expulsion. On the contrary, Serrati has denied the existence of a Reformist element in the Italian Party. That is why it was necessary to face him with a choice between the Reformists and the Communist International.

4. The Serrati group has perverted a section of the party and caused a break with the Communist International. It proved thereby that it was not yet a strongly unified Communist Party, and that it contains centre elements which stand between the Reformists and the Communists. The U.K.P.D. recognises, however, that a considerable portion of the Serrati group is animated by an obvious desire to take its stand on the principles of the Communist International. The Italian Communist Party (Bordiga-Bombacci group) had shown itself consistent in taking up its stand on those principles. It must consequently be recognised by the Communist Parties of other countries as the only Communist Party in Italy; and it must be supported as such.

5. The U.K.P.D. considers possible a union between the Communist Party of Italy and that section of the Serrati group which is firmly resolved upon forming an active fighting group of the Communist International, providing that it definitely breaks away from all the centre elements. The U.K.P.D. consequently expects that the Executive Committee of the Communist International will attempt to create an understanding and a union between the two groups, with the preliminary condition of the execution of the decisions of the Second Congress.

6. The U.K.P.D. refutes the demagogic campaign of calumny carried on by the Independent Press against the Communist International and its Executive Committee on the occasion of the split in the Italian Party. It declares that there was no question of a split provoked by a decree from Moscow, but of executing an International decision at the taking of which the Italian comrades had the opportunity and the duty of assisting. When they represent the execution of an International decision as a decree of the Moscow Executive, and the expulsion of the Reformists as an attack on the Labour movement, the German Independents show that they are agitating in favour of a so-called International in which opportunist elements would have a free hand, and that they consider necessary unity with men of the type of Scheidemann.

Exploité, February 16th.

France

PROPAGANDA BY WORD.

(From a sketch of the work of the Propaganda Committee of the French Socialist Party.)

Since Tours, in the midst of unheard of difficulties, the Party has been reorganising for action. The propaganda committee have now a definite task to fulfil. Delegations to the districts are coming to light. The Parliamentary group, placed under the immediate control of the Executive Committee, sees fixed with precision and severity its programme of propaganda. On a fixed date it must devote itself entirely to visiting for two days this or that federation. All demands for speakers are centralised at the Head Office. But it is not only sufficient to have delegates. If the danger of reformist pseudo-realism has to be averted, we shall have to beware of revolutionary verbalism, i.e., mere criticisms of the regime. But after the evil comes the remedy. We want explanations of practical Communist solutions. It must be understood once for all that to make propagandists, eloquence is not indispensable. What is indispensable is acquaintance with facts. Many comrades, relegated to the rear by professional talkers, are going to be able to make their voices heard. We have need of them. In our general plan of action there is room for all kinds of activities.

"Voix Paysanne" (voice of the peasant) has been reorganised. Six pamphlets have been drawn up by members of the Executive Committee, and tens of thousands of copies placed at the disposal of the Federation. Fifteen thousand posters have been printed, bearing the emblem of the Communist International, with appeals to the workers. The Party has had drawn up a library catalogue containing a list, and the wholesale prices, of the essential pamphlets which the Federations will receive, to be sold at every meeting. Twelve pamphlets on "Communist Popularisation" have been ordered from qualified comrades to be written within the month and printed in thousands of copies. The price of these will vary from 2d. to 6d. The *Party Information Bulletin*, drawn up at the Head Office and containing an original leader, the facts of the week, International news, lecture announcements, reviews of books, and the announcements of the Party Secretariat, will appear on the 25th of this month. It will be sent to the Federations and the provincial papers, which will find in it documents at first hand to fill their columns.

Communist groups must meet only to work. Every meeting must arrange a lecture on Socialism, on international events, or on the local economic situation. If there is no comrade capable of lecturing, one will always be found able to read a pamphlet and make comments on it.

Every Communist has an example to set. The point of view of individual moral perfection preached by the anarchists has its good side. The Communist group must be unassailable, and must beware of drunkards and men of doubtful morality. Generally speaking, people drink too much in our provinces. When comrades meet in a café let them offer a contribution to our propaganda. This will mean that they will not drink and that the coppers may thus fall into the treasury of the Party, instead of going to the publican whom capitalism maintains, as it were, in ambush at the corner of every street.

P. VAILLANT-COUTURIER.

Humanité, February 25th.

The Communist Review

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Review of the Month

To Our
Readers.

This month's number of the REVIEW appears very late. The delay has been unavoidable. In apologising to our readers we beg them to remember the difficulties caused by the raid; the subsequent police proceedings; and the complications which ensued in connection with the printing of the REVIEW. Our next number will in consequence also be late, but not so late as the present one, and we shall return to the normal date of publication as soon as possible. Thanks.

E.P.A. If Trade Union officials, I.L.P. members, or any persons
At Work connected with the organised working-class movement
 in any way whatever, are not yet fully awakened to the danger of E.P.A. it is as well that they slept for ever. E.P.A. is the definite legal proof of the existence of the class war. It is the open and undisguised proclamation of the White Terror. Any person obnoxious to the governing class can be taken up at any moment on any pretext, without warrant, and even without cause. Under one clause he can be punished for opening his mouth; under another for keeping it shut. For E.P.A. is inclusive, all-embracing, and magnificently complete. That Communists should suffer under its provisions is not surprising; that miners on strike should be drawn into the net is to be expected (Major Watts Morgan, M.P., speaking apparently with inside knowledge anticipates 800 actions by the Government in the near future); but it is equally certain that the mildest trade union and Labour activity will not be immune from the attentions of Sir Basil and his department directly it becomes effective, and therefore dangerous. The 61 arrests of Communists are but the prelude to more desperate things. The advance guard of an army naturally suffers the greatest casualties at the commencement of an action. But the main body must not expect to remain unscathed when the battle commences in earnest. All the more reason for vigilance now.

Toward There was a time when it could be truly said that
The Abyss It is good-bye for ever to British commercial supremacy.
 Britannia ruled the seas, as she certainly dominated the markets. Now like an old barque, rudderless and derelict, with broken spars and gaping sides she rolls lumbering along to Heaven alone knows what forlorn doom. Imports and exports are down to zero. The country is rent by class struggles more desperate and vindictive than any within human memory. The capitalists are savagely determined to hold their own; the workers sullenly resentful against the obvious attempts to drive them into semi-starvation and a worse slavery than even they have yet experienced. The very existence of millions is at stake. Sir L. Choizza Money who, at least knows something about figures, estimated before the coal lock-out, that the present industrial production of Great Britain is only sufficient to provide subsistence for 30 million people, whereas the population is round about 40 million. Inside capitalism, therefore, there is hope for none of our people, and certain starvation for perhaps a quarter of them. What a prospect! **And** what an incentive to rally to the call of those who seek to perpetuate this state of things for ever. Steadily and persistently the truth must

be forced home on British workers that there is not even the shadow of hope for them while capitalism still befouls the land. To hold even a minor place in the great game of competing for the markets of the world may be glory for British capitalists; it is death to British workers. There is a greater game to play and a more glorious prize to be won, and we Communists point the way.

The Miners' Fight. When, in the fulness of time, the history of the class struggle comes to be written this fight of theirs against embattled capitalism will mark an epoch. It is a soldiers' battle. All the vigour, the initiative, the determination is in the rank and file; the weakness and vacillation, where it exists, comes from above. Surely the possessing class must be filled with strange forebodings when such a fight can be put up by men (and women) who dare starvation day by day rather than yield an inch to the enemy. A victory for mineowners and government under these circumstances is no good thing for them in the long run. They relied upon hunger and famine to do their dirty work, and they have been disappointed. The iron will of the working miners has broken their efforts. The same iron will will yet be set upon greater objects than a national pool, and all the more so because of the resistance of the vested interests now. Clearly the miners have nothing to hope for in the continuance of capitalism; clearly the best of them will be won over to work for its destruction; and the same dogged fighting spirit that is so manifest in these days of small things will be no less evident in the greater days to come. Nor has the struggle been without its effect upon the rest of the workers. Shamefully betrayed in the hour of trial they held back from assisting the miners at the critical moment. They will pay—are paying—for their fatal weakness. But if capitalism is depending upon their momentary weakness for its own support it is relying upon a broken reed. Let Mr. Lloyd George and the mineowners rejoice as they will at their triumph. They have gained no victory yet; they have only earned a respite.

Our Imperial Responsibilities

The Communist movement of this country has before it heavier responsibilities than the movement of any other country except, perhaps, the United States. It has got to fight, not only the industrial magnates at home, but a tremendous imperial system which holds within its direct rule one quarter of the human race (as well as a good portion of the remainder within its economic grip) and for which Great Britain is the central citadel and arsenal. This is what makes our position and our problem entirely different from any other movement. We have to fight in the citadel of capitalism, and the weakness of our movement is simply a measure of the greatness of our task.

It is not easy for a young movement, fighting desperately for its existence, to spend time looking afield. Yet unless we grasp the imperial character of our struggle, as something more than a subject for perorations, **we shall meet with unexpected difficulties both at present and in the future, and we shall run the risk of tripping over the same obstacle that has stood in the way of socialist development in this country from the beginning.**

That obstacle is the British Empire. The British Empire is the knot which socialism in this country will have to unravel if it is to succeed. To explain this it will be best to begin with a different question.

Why is it that this country, which has a longer capitalist history than any other country in Europe or the world, which is more completely industrialised, urbanised and proletarianised than any other country, which alone has an industrial proletariat that is a majority of the population and whose agricultural workers even are on a proletarian basis, why is it that this country, which by all seeming should be the first and most socialistic in character of the whole working class movement is actually weaker in its socialist movement than any other important country in Europe? Whoever can answer this question aright will have the key to real progress in the socialist development of this country.

The common answer is to ascribe the difference to national psychology, and to tell us that the temperament of the British worker is not revolutionary. But experience has taught us to distrust these facile generalisations about national psychology (we remember the tales about the pious Russian moujik, devoted to his "little Father" the Tsar). They have been proved wrong in the past, and will be proved wrong again. These over easy "explanations" explain the facts by telling them over again in terms of an adjective. They tell us that opium puts people to sleep because of its "soporific" qualities and that there has not been a working class revolution in Great Britain because the British working class is "not revolutionary."

As a matter of fact, the British working class has been revolutionary in the past, as it will be revolutionary again in the future now that the corresponding conditions have arisen. It was in the revolutionary vanguard at the time of Chartism. The change has, then, taken place since that time, and there must be some corresponding change in conditions to account for it. What has been the great change in conditions since that time? The great dominant change has been the change summed up under the term Imperialism.

It is not only that the greatest and most rapid development in extent of the British Empire has taken place during the last half

century; it is that the whole character of the British Empire has changed, and for the first time the British Empire has become the dominant fact about Great Britain. The old imperialism was a movement of colonists and traders; and barely half a century ago the British Parliament could cheerfully pass a resolution in favour of cutting the connection. The colonies were *our* annexe. The new imperialism is a movement for commissionaires for essential raw materials; and the sources of supply thus obtained is the life-line of the present economic condition of the country. A century ago Britain was establishing herself as the workshop of the world. But she was yet to make the world her storehouse.

Now the workers under capitalism are tied up with capitalism. At the present day the livelihood of the workers of this country is bound up in that economic system known as the British Empire. If you destroy the British Empire, and are not able to replace it by some equally effective international economic system, the livelihood of millions will be taken away from them. That is the basic fact behind the "non-revolutionary" character of the workers of this country.

How does the argument apply, since very few will put it to themselves in this form? The answer comes in the answer to our original question. The answer why the proletariat of this country has not yet shown in a full degree the desires and instincts natural to men placed in a proletarian condition is that it is not, strictly speaking, a proletariat in the full sense. It is not without a share, however small, in the capitalist world. It is an imperial proletariat. To put this in concrete terms, a badly off worker in Britain is better off than a comparatively well-paid worker in India. The droppings of the spoil are allowed to fall on the workers of this country.

"European imperialism will not hesitate to go to the extent of sacrificing the entire surplus value in the home country so long as it continues to gain its huge super profits in the colonies."

The reason of this may not be clear to the ordinary worker; but the fact is. Looking round, he may observe that, however much he may have to complain of, he is appreciably better off than the workers in other countries in Europe, and not least in revolutionary countries. He may ascribe this, under the suggestion of his superiors, to his instinct for steady progress, moderation and common sense, without knowing that all this "steady progress" and "moderation" is journalistic bunkum for imperial profiteering. But the fact at any rate is clear to him. He feels that he has something to lose. He regards revolution as a hazardous experiment. And so, while ready to push to the utmost to better his share against the master class, he is not willing as yet to endanger the whole system.

What is going to change this position? Not sentimental denunciations of the bloodstained Empire. Denunciations of other people's wrongs never carry very far (witness the case of Ireland and the apathy of British opinion) because people have too many troubles of their own to attend to. Nor will the advocacy of "Home Rule" and "Self-Government within the Empire" make any difference to the economic realities of capitalistic domination which is the real fabric of the Empire.

Propaganda can never precede experience: it can only elicit the lessons of experience. It is experience, and again experience that will shatter, as it is already shattering, the roseate myths of Imperialism. The war has torn aside the veil for millions to reveal the ghastly realities of the system under which they lived. If that lesson is not enough, war

will return, as it is already preparing, on a more terrific scale, until the lesson is learnt. For it is the nature of Imperialism that it is cumulative in its effects. It may begin in seeming prosperity. It ends in an Inferno. To drive home that lesson before the devastating consequences of the present policy reach such a point (as in Germany) that the forces of the proletariat become inadequate for the task before them, is the first necessity of Communist propaganda.

But it is only the first necessity. "Exposing" Imperialism is easy game. It is the fatal weakness of the old-fashioned socialist schools of this country that they are very eloquent in denouncing Imperialism, and there they stop. They have no actual policy. If they conjure up some ghost of a policy, it is sure to consist of shadowy schemes of "federal devolution" and "progressive self-government," just as if they had never left the Liberal Party. Alternatively, they leave out the whole question, and discuss schemes of industrial change in this country, as if this island were a self-contained entity. The Communists must break away from this fatal policy of barrenness, and point the way to tackling this problem of an imperial system in a positive manner.

Now for this purpose our calculation must be based on existing facts. It is the first test of real Communism to be rid of the vulgar notion that Communism stands for a purist and doctrinaire sect. As the Communist manifesto long ago insisted, the Communists are not a special party set over against other parties; they are simply the unhesitating expression of the interests of the working class. From this follows at once their uncompromising opposition to any capitalist or semi-capitalist elements in working class leadership, and at the same time their ability in the practical field to adapt themselves to whatever policy will extract most gain for the working class from the existing play of forces.

This consideration applies strongly with regard to the problem of the British Empire. The initial fact that must never be lost sight of is that the proletariat proper, and still more the organised proletariat, constitute only a small minority of the total numbers of the Empire. It is true they hold the strategic position by their command of the industries of this country, provided always that there can be added thereto a command of the essential shipping services, ports, and coaling stations. But a strategic position is only strategic in relation to other factors, and it is these other factors that the industrial proletariat must bring into play in order to ensure its own victory.

The masses that are subject to the British Empire are not yet fully proletarian in character, or capable of large scale proletarian organisation and the Communist struggle. But, however primitive their internal economic structure, they are subjected to the fullest degree of exploitation by the financial forces of the Empire, and their consciousness of economic misery is supplemented by their consciousness of national or racial subjugation. These are the elements which, if they could be welded into a united combination under the leadership of the industrial proletariat, could in a moment overthrow the domination of the handful that sits upon their backs. It is doubtful whether either side can win without the co-operation of the other.

Since co-operation will mean long and patient labour in the removal of existing prejudices: prejudices on their side against all British movements, whether so-called socialist or other, as fundamentally insular and national in their outlook; prejudices here against non-Communist and nationalistic tendencies. It will mean co-operation, not only with semi-proletarian elements, but with definitely non-proletarian and non-

Communist elements, provided they are revolutionary in character and may thus form useful parts of a revolutionary combination. The original draft of the Thesis on National and Colonial Questions spoke of co-operation with "bourgeois democratic nationalist movements." This was amended at the Congress to "revolutionary nationalist movements." It is thus made clear that, for the purposes of the tactical struggle against imperialism, the point at issue is not between bourgeois and proletarian movements, but between revolutionary and non-revolutionary movements. This should be the determining factor in our attitude to Sinn Fein. The principle here laid down concerns solely the tactics of the struggle against world imperialism: it has nothing to do with the development of Communism in the country concerned, which should be treated as an entirely separate question.

The interests, the classes and the races, which are subjected and thwarted by the imperial system are myriad in number and form; the apex of the whole structure constitutes a tiny ruling minority of finance with its military and bureaucratic appendages. But the myriad interests of the subjected hundreds of millions are shattered and helpless unless they can be welded together by some cohesive force. There is a passage of Lenin in which he speaks of the function of the industrial proletariat—"the only class revolutionary to the finish"—in uniting all the oppressed and exploited strata against the capitalist class.. Only the proletariat—on account of its economic rôle in production on a large scale—is capable of leading *all* the toiling and exploited masses, who are exploited, oppressed, crushed by the capitalists often more, not less, than the town proletariat, but who are incapable of carrying on the struggle for freedom unaided." That is the rôle of the British working class in relation to the British Empire.

This does not apply to the present building up of forces. It applies still more strongly to the struggle in the immediate future. It was said above that some kind of international economic system in substitution of the present system of the empire would have to be built up, not merely in the ultimate ideal world, but immediately in the period of revolutionary transition, if the industrial existence of the population of this country was to continue. But this will not come about of itself, if we do not know beforehand our friends and the forces on which we can rely.

Imagine a revolutionary development in this country and its effects upon the empire. Imagine the effects of this dissolution of the central authority upon the furthest confines of this vast system. Of the colonies, Canada and South Africa perhaps falling under a more rigid White dictatorship than ever (South Africa, however, torn by racial, class and colour conflicts). Australia and New Zealand at such an equilibrium of the class struggle as to be neutral. India a battlefield, in which the stoppage of reinforcements and supplies would probably mean the victory of the Nationalists, itself a prelude to internal class struggle. The various colonial governors with their garrisons holding out like ancient Roman proconsuls after the fall of the Imperial city. In all this wreck what will be the cohesive force that can build up afresh rapidly among the desperate elements outside the White areas some hasty attempt at renewing the links of economic interchange and life? Only a full and vigorous proletarian dictatorship in this country acting in concert with known elements throughout the system.

If the contacts do not exist beforehand, the revolution will be endangered.

There are here a host of practical questions to be explored and prepared. It is quite true you cannot construct a "programme" for the revolution. But you can reconnoitre the ground and get a grasp of the main factors with which you will have to deal when the time comes. The *ultimate* success or failure of a revolution depends on factors largely beyond our control, the ripeness of the class-situation, the economic conditions of production, and the international situation. But the *immediate* success or failure depends on the technical efficiency and accuracy of the preparations.

JOHN LANGLAND.

Russian Biographies in Little

On May 17th, 1920, a Committee to collect information on Russia was appointed by the Government. It was constituted as follows:—

The Rt. Hon. the Lord Emmott, G.C.M.G., G.B.E. (*chairman*).

Sir Ellis Hume Williams, K.B.E., K.C., M.P.; Sir Wm. Ryland Dent Adkins, K.C., M.P.; the Rt. Hon. Wm. Brace, M.P. (*Members*).

Mr. H. E. Garle, Barrister-at-Law (*Secretary*).

On the 23rd July, 1920, the Rt. Hon. Wm. Brace, M.P., resigned owing to the pressure of other public duties, and Major Watts Morgan, C.B.E., D.S.O., M.P., was appointed in his place.

A report (Russia No. 1, 1921) is now issued by His Majesty's Stationery Office, price 2s. net.

It contains a mass of useful information concerning Soviet Russia as seen through British official eyes, from which we extract the following biographical notes.

We do not vouch for their accuracy, but they are interesting as showing what is probably the worst that can be said against those of our comrades who are at present building up the Workers' Socialist Republic in Soviet Russia.

The Presidium of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee

The All-Russian Central Executive Committee elects from among its members a Presidium. The Presidium and other members of the 7th All-Russian Central Executive Committee, which was in office during 1920, were replaced by the Presidium and members of the 8th All-Russian Central Executive Committee who were elected at the meeting of the 8th Congress of Soviets which assembled at Moscow on the 20th December, 1920. The lists of the Presidium of the 7th and 8th All-Russian Central Executive Committee are given side by side below. In view of their importance some information regarding individual members of them follows. The lists have been divided into Right (R), Centre (C) and Left (L), according to their political orientation in the Communist Party.

Seventh Presidium, 1920.

1. Kalinin, M. I. (C).
2. Kamenev, L. B. (C).
3. Enukidze, A. S. (R).
4. Lutovinov, Y. (C).
5. Rykov, A. I. (R).
6. Muralov, A. I. (C).
7. Nevsky, V. I. (C).

Eighth Presidium, 1921.

1. Kalinin, M. I. (C).
2. Kamenev, L. B. (C).
3. Enukidze, A. S. (R).
4. Lutovinov, Y. (C).
5. Rykov, A. I. (R).
6. Stalin, I. V. (C).
7. Vladimirsky, M. F. (C).

- | | |
|--------------------------|---------------------------|
| 8. Saprnov, B. P. (R). | 8. Saprnov, B. P. (R). |
| 9. Badaev, A. E. (C). | 9. Kutuzov, I. I. (R). |
| 10. Kisilev, A. S. (R). | 10. Tomsy, M. P. (R). |
| 11. Bukharin, N. I. (L). | 11. Petrovsky, G. I. (L). |
| 12. Rakovsky, K. G. (C). | 12. Zalutsky, P. (L). |
| | 13. Smidovich, P. G. (L). |

In view of the importance of the Presidium the following biographical notes regarding its members are given:—

(1) *M. I. Kalinin*.—Kalinin was born in 1875 and is a peasant from the Tver Province. He was formerly employed upon the Municipal Railways in the city of Tver. He has been for many years associated with the Bolshevik group of the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party and was formerly engaged in reorganising branches of the party which had been destroyed as the result of the repressive measures undertaken by the Russian police against the Socialist parties. After the death of Sverdlov in 1919, he was elected president of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee. He is said to be a man of colourless personality, and it is suggested that he was for this reason proposed as a candidate for the Presidency, it being thought likely that he would not exercise a disturbing influence on the political situation. He takes great interest in the activities of the department for propaganda among the peasantry which has been established under the auspices of the Central Committee Committee, and is constantly making tours throughout Russia for the purpose of addressing meetings of peasants.

(2) *L. B. Kamenev*.—Kamenev was born at Tiflis on the 22nd July, 1883, and from 1904 onwards was actively engaged on political work in the Moscow group of the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party. In 1905 and 1907 he took part in the conferences of the party in London, and in 1908 attended the conference of the party held in Paris. From 1910 onwards he lectured at the propaganda school established by the Lenin group of the party at Lonjumeau, near Paris, taking as his subject "The History of the *Bourgeoisie* in Russia." During this period he was busy preparing a brochure in reply to a pamphlet which had been published by Martov, the Menshevik leader, against the Bolsheviks. Martov's pamphlet was entitled "Saviours or Destroyers," and Chapter IV., which devoted special attention to Bolshevik practices, was entitled "An Orgy of Trickery." In 1912, Kamenev attended the so-called "General Conference of the Party" convoked by Lenin at Prague in January of that year. With the exception of two Menshevik representatives the eighteen members of the conference were Bolsheviks (see Appendix). On the outbreak of war in 1914, Kamenev made an anti-war speech before a conference in Finland which was attended by four Bolshevik members of the Duma, Petrovsky, Badaev (who have been mentioned above) Samoilov and Muranov. In this speech he pointed out that the only true policy for Marxist was "War against War." He, together with others who attended the conference, were subsequently arrested on a charge of defeatist activities and condemned to exile. After the outbreak of the Russian revolution in the spring of 1917, Kamenev became a member of the Petrograd Soviet, and later, after the Bolshevik revolution in the autumn of that year he became a member of the Moscow Soviet, of which he was ultimately appointed President, and also member of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee. In July, 1920, he was appointed to

proceed to England as head of a Soviet Peace Delegation, and the circumstances of his departure from England in August in connection with revelations as to Bolshevik propaganda are well known. Kamenev in January, 1921, was appointed President of the Emergency Commission for the supply of the capitals, established by the Council of Labour and Defence to take special measures in regard to the serious fuel crisis which had become extremely acute during the last few months. He is said to have married Trotsky's sister.

(3). *A. S. Enukidze*, is a Georgian and is one of the most attractive personalities in the Bolshevik party according to information we have received from more than one source. He has long been associated with the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party, is regarded as an honest and upright man and as belonging to the Right wing of the Bolshevik Party. He is a friend of Chertkov, who was the secretary of Tolstoy. He is said to have been instrumental in saving the lives of a number of innocent persons who were condemned to death by the Extraordinary Commission during the revolution. In February, 1921, Chicherin offered the mediation of the Soviet Government in the hostilities which had arisen between Georgia and Armenia, and proposed that Enukidze should proceed to Georgia as mediator.

(4). *Lutovtsov, Y. K.*—Lutovinov is a member of the Collegium of the All-Russian Central Soviet of Trade Unions and one of the secretaries of Kalinin, the president of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee.

(5). *Rykov, A. I.*—Rykov is said to have been born in Saratov of peasant parents in 1881 and to have become a clerk and a translator into foreign languages. He was for many years one of the right-hand men of Lenin in organising the Bolshevik group of the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party. He has always been a moderate Communist and was anxious to compose the differences between the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks in former days. He is President of the Supreme Council of People's Economy in Moscow at the present time.

(6). *Muralov, A. I.*—Muralov is a young and energetic Communist who was the first Commandant of the Moscow Military District after the Bolshevik revolution of October, 1917. He is an agricultural expert and rumours were circulating in Moscow during the summer of 1920, that there were possibilities that he would replace Sereda as People's Commissary for Labour. These suggestions have, however, so far received no justification in fact. A manifesto by Muralov prescribing certain means of fighting against the failure of the harvest this year will be found in the "Derevenskaya Bednota," (The Village Poor) for the 14th August, 1920. Muralov was a member of the Seventh All-Russian Central Executive Committee (1920).

(7). *Nevsky, V. I.*—He is a member of the Editorial Collegium of the Publishing Department of the Soviet Government, and is also associated with the work of the Agitation-Propagandist Section and of the Distributing Section of the Department. Nevsky is also Director of the Section for propaganda work in rural districts and of the peasants' section under the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party.

(8). *Sapronov, B. P.*—Sapronov has been for many years a well known Trade Union worker and a member of the Bolshevik Section of the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party. It will be seen that he is mentioned in paragraph 189 as one of those moderate Communists

who have begun to protest against the autocratic action of the Council of People's Commissaries.

(9). *Badaev, N. E.*—Badaev is an old party worker of the Bolshevik Section of the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party. He was a member of the Fourth Duma, 1912-1917, and in 1914 was arrested for participating in a conference of the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party in Finland (September 30th to October 1st) where Kamenev delivered an important speech against the European war. Badaev was subsequently exiled. Soon after the revolution of February, 1917, Badaev became a member of the Petrograd Soviet, and, after the Bolshevik *coup d'Etat* of October, 1917, he became a member of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee and later of its Presidium. He used to take a prominent part in the administration of Petrograd and was until recently president of the Petro-Kommuna, or Petrograd Food Administration. It is said that he then fell under a temporary cloud owing to charges of speculation, which were preferred against him, and even that he was summoned to Moscow and imprisoned in the Butirky gaol. The latest information shows that, if he was in prison, he was speedily released, and is now said to be a prominent official in the People's Commissariat for Food, at Moscow.

(10). *Kisilev, A. S.*—Was a member of the Seventh All-Russian Central Executive Committee and a member of the Presidium of that Committee. He was president of the Soviet of the industrial area of Ivanovo-Voznesensk in the Government of Vladimir, not far from Moscow, and is president of the All-Russian Miners' Union.

(11). *Bukharin, N. I.*—Bukharin was the son of a Councillor of the Russian Court, and born in 1879. He belonged to the Orthodox Church and was a student of Moscow University. He early became associated with the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party and was arrested in 1902 as a member and organiser of a committee of the party in the Zamoskvorietsky District of Moscow, and was exiled to the Archangel Province. Shortly after the outbreak of the Russian revolution in February, 1917, Bukharin became a member of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee and a member of the Presidium of that Committee. He is a member of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party. On the 27th January, 1918, he was appointed by a Decree of the Commissaries of the People, a member of the Governing Body of the People's State Bank. He is also a member of the Editorial Collegium of the Publishing Department of the Soviet Government. Bukharin is one of the most prominent Communist theorists and may be regarded as the leader of the Communists of the Left. He was immediately elected a member of the Executive Committee of the Communist International on its foundation, in March, 1919, at a time when the more moderate Communist leaders, including Lenin himself, were elected not as members, but only as candidates to the Executive Committee. Bukharin's literary activities are varied, and he frequently contributes to the various Soviet newspapers, especially in Petrograd, where he lives. As far as Western Europe is concerned, the most interesting of his works is his "Communist Programme," which was first published in 1918, again in 1919, and a third edition which is understood to have been published in 1920. The following is an extract from Chapter XIX of the "Communist Programme":—

"The International Republic of Soviets will liberate from oppression hundreds of millions of those who live in the Colonies. The 'Civilised Robber Powers' have tortured and torn the population of the Colonial countries by a bloody régime. European civilisation has been supported on the blood of ruthlessly exploited peoples in distant countries overseas. The Dictatorship of the Proletariat—and only it—will free them."

The best known, however, of his latest works in Russia are "Economics of the Transitory Period," and "Political Economy," both published during 1919-1920. With regard to policy, he has always been opposed to the suggested granting of concessions in Russia to foreign capitalists and has recently been actively engaged with some success in influencing the rank and file of the Communist Party, who have shown signs of opposing the Concessions Policy as a departure from Communist principles.

(12). *Rakovsky, K. G.*—Was intimately associated before the war in the Socialist politics of Roumania, but also maintained relations with the Bolshevik Group of the Russian Socialist Democratic Labour Party. After the outbreak of the war he took part with Lenin in various meetings of Socialists. In February, 1916, he made a speech before Socialists at Berne in which he declared that the Third International was already founded and that its aim should be to take vengeance for the war in the struggle for the social revolution. In the Soviet Government Rakovsky occupies a prominent position. He is a member of the Committee of the Russian Communist Party and president of the Council of People's Commissaries for the Ukraine. After the conclusion of the Peace of Brest-Litovsk between Soviet Russia and Germany in 1918 Rakovsky was appointed a member of the delegation of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee to proceed to Berlin for the purpose of attending meetings of German Trade Unionists and Socialists. The delegation was, however, prevented from entering Germany by the authorities.

(13). *Stalin, I. V.* (Dzhugashvili).—Is undoubtedly the ablest of the many Georgians who are working under the Soviet Government, and there is reason to believe that, as an organiser and a man of action Stalin is second only to Trotsky. He was formerly one of the principal organisers of the Bolshevik Section of the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party and a close collaborator with Lenin. He was twice exiled to the Vologda Province and once to Siberia. After the outbreak of the Russian revolution of February, 1917, he became a member of the Petrograd Soviet and after the Bolshevik *coup d'Etat* of October, 1917, he became People's Commissary for State Control and People's Commissary for Nationalities, *i.e.*, dealing with the affairs of the non-Russian nationalities of Russia of which he is a representative himself. In this latter capacity he was associated with the endeavours of the Soviet Government to set on foot a subversive propaganda in the East. He was also for some time Military Commissar of the South-Western Russian Front during 1918-1919. In August, 1920, he attended the Muhammadan Communist Congress at Baku, and thence proceeded to Erivan, in Armenia and Angora, the headquarters of Mustapha Kemal Pasha in connection with the negotiations proceeding between the latter and the Soviet Government. He has a reputation for remarkable force of character and considerable ability.

(14). *Vladimírsky, M. F.*—Assistant People's Commissar for Internal Affairs. Was a candidate for the Presidium of the Seventh All-Russian Central Executive Committee, that is to say he was one of those elected to take the place of the actual members in case of their inability to be present at a meeting owing to illness, death or other reasons.

(15). *Petrovsky, G. I.*—Born in the Province of Kharkov, and represents the workers of the Ekaterinoslav Province in the Second and Fourth Dumas. Petrovsky was a prominent member of the Russian Social Democratic Party before the war. In December, 1912, he was one of those who took part in the sessions of the Central Committee of the party at Cracow in Poland, where Lenin, Zinoviev, Stalin and Malinovsky, the spy, were present. He was one of the so-called Bolshevik "Shestiorka" or "Six" in the Fourth Duma. He declined to attend a propaganda school which Lenin proposed to set up abroad in 1913. He attended the Conference of the Members of the Central Committee of the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party held in Galicia in September, 1913, where Lenin, Zinoviev, Kamenev and Badaev were also present, and was appointed by the conference to proceed to Kiev to collect funds for the party. When the war broke out, Petrovsky attended a meeting of the members of the Bolshevik section of the party in Finland, on which occasion Kamenev was present and made a speech condemning the war. As a result of this meeting, Petrovsky and others who took part in it were arrested and exiled. After the outbreak of the revolution of February, 1917, Petrovsky returned from exile and became a member of the Petrograd Soviet. After the Bolshevik revolution of 1917 he occupied the post of People's Commissary for Agriculture and later People's Commissary for Finance. He was a member of the Seventh All-Russian Central Executive Committee during 1920. In January, 1921, he was elected president of the Central Executive Committee of the Ukraine Soviet Government.

(16). *Kutuzov, I. I.*—A candidate of the Seventh All-Russian Central Executive Committee of the Textile Workers' Union.

(17). *Tomsky, M. P.*—President of the All-Russian Central Soviet of Trade Unions. Also a candidate of the Presidium of the Seventh All-Russian Central Executive Committee.

(18). *Zalutsky, Peter.*—A Left member of the Petrograd Soviet.

(19). *Smidovich, P. G.*—A Left member of the Moscow Soviet, and a member of the Seventh All-Russian Central Executive Committee which has just gone out of office. He is a member of the Collegium of the Moscow Soviet of People's Economy.

What are the Soviets?

By W. E. HARDING.

(AN OUTLINE SKETCH).

II.

"The Soviets are the organisation of the proletarian revolution, and serve both as an organ of the struggle for power and as the apparatus of power of the working class."—*Trotsky*

The proletariat can conquer power only through some central fighting organisation that will take over one by one all the public functions hitherto exercised by some capitalist State. The regular and adequate supply of food and clothing, the preservation of public order, the education of children and the enlightenment of adults, the preservation of the revolution against its enemies—these functions involve a development of the fighting organisation (the Council of Action or the Strike Committee) into a Workers' Government. If we approach the subject practically and realistically, and not as formalists, it will not be difficult to grasp that the question of elections at such a moment is not an important one. The best illustration of this so far has been given us in John Reed's *"Ten Days that Shook the World."*

Logically, therefore, the question of the Soviet Constitution should come after the complete victory of the revolution. But this is only partially true in reality. The working class is not a blind unorganised mass; it has passed through a long period of organisation and education. That period has not been as long as the Communists would like, probably (though they are more easily satisfied than the I.L.P. school): but at any rate the workers have had bitter experience of the danger of allowing leaders to act uncontrolled. To check this danger, they have evolved a rank and file movement, of which the type has been the Workers' Committee or the Workers' Council, composed of delegates drawn from all shops, factories, and other places where the workers are gathered together for the purpose of production.

Hence, although the very act of revolution—the seizure of power (which might cover a period of several days or weeks)—might very well conceivably be the work of a Council of Action or Strike Committee chosen arbitrarily and haphazard, we must expect that the progress of the revolution will drive the workers first to supplement, and finally to replace, the original body by an assembly of delegates elected on the "job," and revocable at any time. This is inevitable in order to introduce the necessary element of working class control over the local or central executive authority. Such control is desirable from the point of view both of the masses and of the Communist Party which must wield that authority. It has also a deeper significance. It is important because it is a step towards the disappearance of a special authority, as such, altogether; by drawing more and more rank-and-file workers into the public work, it brings about the disappearance of the State. We shall return to this later.

In the case of Russia, fortunately, we have a practical example of how infinitely more democratic and all-embracing the Soviets are than the system of government which they replace. Despite the blockade and the civil war, which, as has been pointed out, leave little time for

discussion of elections and constitutions, the very requirements of the proletarian revolution have brought in their train the germs of complete self-government by the workers. In a proletarian revolution—as distinct from all others—the masses of the workers themselves are brought face to face with the problem of active participation in public administration if they wish life and civilisation to remain on the earth. Not all their backwardness, lack of education, absence of trade union and parliamentary experience have been able to prevent the Russian workers from realising this problem, grappling with it, and (more and more successfully) solving it. And it is characteristic that the three brief intervals, during the past three years, during which the Russian proletariat has been able to put aside its arms and devote itself to reconstruction, have been marked by a series of constitutional enactments, by which the practice of real life was systematised, regulated, and extended to all the Soviets in Russia, village and town. April-August, 1918: the Soviet Constitution; November, 1919—March, 1920: the regulation of the functions of the Central Executive Committee, the village Soviets and the local congresses; November, 1920, onwards: the provision of regulations for the presidium of the Central Executive Committee, the provincial Congresses, and the town Soviets.

The present position is as follows. In every inhabited area in Russia there is a Workers' Council (Soviet), elected by all the workers in the place, whether it be town or country, and meeting weekly or fortnightly. For day to day purposes it elects an executive; it also breaks up its members into a number of sub-committees for special work on one or another branch of public administration. Village Councils send delegates, approximately once every three months, to a Rural District (Volost) Congress, which, having concluded its work, appoints an interim executive. The Village Council send delegates, approximately once every six months, to a County (Uyezd) Congress, which again, having transacted its business, appoints an interim executive. In the County Congresses there participate representatives of the smaller towns. In the Provincial (Gubernia) Congresses, delegates are sent from the Rural District Congresses and the town Soviets; while the County Congresses and the Soviets of the larger towns send delegates to the annual All-Russian Congress, at which the Central Executive Committee and Council of People's Commissaries (or Cabinet) are appointed.

Historically, the foundations of the Soviet system are the town Soviets, which were constituted out of factory delegates at the very beginning of the revolution, with the overthrow of Tsardom (February, 1917). For at least a year their principal work was to extend the revolution into the countryside, helping the peasants to form Soviets of their own, and binding together the shapeless and incoherent masses of the countryside around the county and provincial towns—the proletarian core. This period culminated in the drawing up of the Soviet Constitution (July, 1918). It is owing to the historical process outlined above that the Constitution shows the towns occupying a more prominent position in the Soviet Congresses than the villages, which as we have seen, are grouped together for election to the higher congresses.

For the same reason we find the towns electing delegates to congresses on the basis of 1 per 25,000 or 1 per 2,000 of the *electorate*, while in the country the basis is 1 per 125,000 or 1 per 10,000 of the

population. There is no Machiavellian cunning in this; it is simply the natural expression of the fact that the town Soviets, which sprang up first, are composed mainly of delegates direct from the factories, etc., i.e., direct from the *electors*; while in the country the electors (the working men and women) are not so conveniently grouped together, owing to the agricultural conditions, and from the very first (months before the Bolshevik revolution) it was considered more convenient for the peasants to elect their delegates on the basis of population. Allowing for an average family of 5, 1 per 125,000 inhabitants in the country is a ratio roughly approximating to 1 per 25,000 electors in the towns.

It has been alleged that the local Congresses have not been allowed to meet; and that when they have, the Communists have imposed their own candidates upon the electors. This leaves out of consideration one important fact, which the historical outline above reveals: that throughout the length and breadth of Russia there is scarcely a county or even a rural district, where an industrial workman or a sailor did not penetrate during the first year of the revolution, bringing its message with him and acting as the chief organiser of the local Soviets. In nine cases out of ten he was and is a Communist; and this is the explanation of the predominance of the Communists in the rural Congresses, despite the small size of the Party numerically. Still more so, of course, does this apply to the County Executive Committees, in which administrative ability is an essential.

Nevertheless, this Communist predominance is far from being a ruthless dictatorship. During 1920, up to October 1, details had been received of 151 county congresses, at which 22,442 workers and peasants were delegates with decisive votes. Of these, 8,907 were Communists or sympathisers, 247 belonged to other parties, and 12,263 were independents, i.e., just ordinary peasants interested in the efficient carrying on of public affairs. 1,460 gave no information. The same lesson is conveyed by the figures showing the profession of the delegates: 11,996 peasants, 2,838 workers, 1,779 clerical workers, shop assistants, etc., 744 doctors, teachers, etc., and 4,979 not indicated. Where the overwhelming majority of the delegates were peasants, it is idle to talk of a dictatorship. Again, a study of the constituencies represented once more reveals that, out of the 22,000 delegates, over 15,000 were elected by village Soviets and rural district congresses, and only 3,600 by town Soviets, factory settlements, trade unions, etc. (other electing bodies being the Red Army, various parties, and miscellaneous public bodies).

The lesson of these figures is (1) the peasants have been as a rule allowed freely to elect non-Communist delegates (2) despite the alleged inequalities in the franchise, the village delegates have been in an overwhelming majority, and (3) the large proportion of Communists is due to the scattering of the town workers amongst the villages (3,300 of whose delegates were not peasants).

The proportion of independents (i.e., non-party) candidates and delegates amongst the peasantry has undoubtedly been steadily growing, thanks to the deliberate policy of the Communist Party. This, perhaps, is best shown by figures covering 103,201 delegates to 1,145 county

congresses between 1917 and 1920, compiled by the Russian Local Government Board:—

	Communists		Independents.		Other Parties
January—June, 1918 ...	42%	...	38%	...	20%
July—Dec., 1918 ...	67%	...	19%	...	14%
January—June, 1919 ...	61%	...	33%	...	6%
July—Dec., 1919 ...	49%	...	45%	...	6%

The non-party delegates during the first nine months of 1920; as we have already seen, markedly outnumbered the Communists.

If this process of democratisation of the local government institutions has been going on despite the war, which is not an influence favourable to development of public control, still more must we expect to find it advanced in the towns, where the proletariat has been class-conscious from the first, insisting upon direct control of and interference in all public affairs. It is in the towns, and in the large cities in particular, that the extraordinarily elastic and living character of the Soviet has been exemplified. Based on the principle that, wherever 200 or more workers acquire sufficient class-consciousness to gather together in the name of proletarian control, they can elect a deputy to the Soviet, that organ has of necessity grown stronger, expanded, and developed, as the working class itself has grown stronger, expanded and developed. At first the workers and soldiers who effected the revolution alone sent their delegates; then, as the new régime was consolidated, clerical workers and shop assistants began to assemble in ward meetings to elect representatives; later it was the turn of the educated classes—the doctors, teachers, engineers, professors—as they grew more and more reconciled to the idea of political and social equality with the industrial proletariat; most recently attention has been turned to the domestic workers—the working-class housewives—who have been kept throughout all the ages in ignorance and apathy, and whom only the Soviet system awakens to life, by asking them to take control of the affairs that interest them. At Petrograd, for example, there were in:—

July, 1919 ...	...	...	...	330,000 electors
Jan., 1920 ...	...	...	...	501,000 „
June, 1920 ...	...	...	...	562,000 „

The latter figure, taking into account the children, covered practically the entire population; and at least 400,000 of the electors actually went to the poll. It must be noted, too, that all this time the population was decreasing.

The Petrograd elections of June, 1920, also exemplified another striking feature of the Soviet, which it cannot share with any other body based upon a system of class oppression: the percentage of new deputies elected—about 50 per cent. In three years about 20,000 working men and women passed through the ranks of the Petrograd Soviet alone; workers to whom, before the revolution, public affairs had been a sealed book. The system of revocability of delegates—practicable only in a body elected upon a workshop basis—plays not an inconsiderable part in achieving this. In Moscow, for example, out of a total Soviet membership of 1,500—1,800, 423 deputies were directly recalled and replaced by their electors in 1918, and 411 in 1919—about 20 to 25 per cent.

What has been the result? The result has been to introduce into the high places of authority tens of thousands of workers up and down the country. Beginning as individual deputies with powers of voting and control in a huge town council (frequently of several hundred, often over a thousand), they pass on into more specialised work in the "sections" or committees of the Soviet, familiarising themselves with the conduct and principles of one or more of the branches of public administration. Later they have been more and more taking part in the actual work of local government itself—as housing, food, factory, health, and other inspectors and officials. All this time they have been constantly moving in and out of the factory, the mine, the premises, in which they work, making periodical reports to their electors, and every now and then yielding place to and refreshing their ranks with other comrades from their place of work.

In the words of Zinoviev, "the Petrograd Soviet has become a gigantic political laboratory, in which the best organisers of the Soviet power are created, in which the best working class leaders are brought forward. Through the Petrograd Soviet we attract thousands and tens of thousands of working men and women into mass participation in the daily work of the Soviet. . . . In Petrograd now for the fourth time, at the exact time fixed by the constitution, day for day and hour for hour, we are re-electing our Soviet—and organising the elections in such a way that every worker can see that he elects the man he wants."

This, therefore, is the function of the Soviets as organs of government even in a country in which the workers are the most uneducated and unaccustomed to organisation in Europe. They have for the first time been introducing the principle of true democracy into government.

The Soviets, the organ of the class dictatorship of the workers, are by that very fact the most democratic bodies in history.

Art and The Worker

True Proletarian Culture cannot develop freely in capitalist society. While the capitalists are in possession of the printing presses, and the Colleges, and have the power to hand out degrees (honorary for Labour Leaders and others, and real for students who study according to instructions) it will be impossible for the working class point of view to have adequate expression. We have our Labour Colleges, our classes, and our Plebs League, but all these bodies have so far only been able to give their attention to the teaching of Marxian Economics and the Working Class Interpretation of History. Probably, since first things must come first, it is necessary that primary attention shall be given to these subjects, but man does not live by bread alone, and though his economic position determines all else, he usually prefers to think about anything but that position. We will not be able to have our Proletarian Culture until we have the Proletarian State, but we can experiment therewith and prepare the ground.

Every age has a culture peculiar to itself. The Greeks had their profound philosophies—and their slavery. The Middle Ages had their Latin, their Knights of the Round Table chivalry, their superfine code of honour towards *some* damsels in distress—and their contempt for the serf and the churl. Capitalism has given us a culture that includes Popular Science, Free Libraries, Art Galleries, Technical Schools—and the "Daily Mail (million and a quarter circulation), "Thy Servant Alfred," "John Bull," Revues, crowded Divorce Courts, and a Royal Commission on Venereal Disease. The Proletarian State will give us learning and culture from the working class point of view.

It has been argued that there is no such thing as a working class view of things apart from the economic. "Art," it is said, "is art-pure and undefiled." "Science," it is said, "is honest and works regardless of classes or private interest." "Truth," it is said, "is truth eternal and unchanging." But this is not so. Everything is relative, everything must be judged by the uses to which it is put, by the ends it serves, or in relation to some other thing.

When we enter into an argumentative combat with a defender of capitalist society we find at once that the subject under discussion is being approached from view-points that are poles apart. The discussion cannot proceed upon the ordinary logical lines, because we are not agreed as to the truth of the premises laid down. It is as if one side appears to be distorting logical reasoning as much as would be the case if he said:—

All round things are cheeses,
The moon is round,
Therefore the moon is a cheese.

There is nothing wrong with this statement if we accept the first premise, but of course we cannot do that. Similarly with the opposing proletarian and capitalist point of view. The Capitalist lays it down:—

Capital is the result of saving,
I am a Capitalist,
Therefore I am a thrifty man.

The proletarian declares:—

Capital is the unpaid labour of the working class,
You are a Capitalist,
Therefore you are a thief.

So, we have our proletarian logic applied to economic analyses.

Similarly when we look into historical data we find it essential to get behind the romantic glamour of the historical text book and find out how the people fared down the ages. The fact that Raleigh placed his coat in the mud to protect the dainty feet of the Virgin Queen has no interest for us, but the fact that the same Queen had a little investment in Drake's spectacular wanderings round the globe—and received a respectable return on her capital—is of some importance.

So we approach history with a partiality for those things that may help us to destroy the view that all the Caesars and all their wives were or are above suspicion.

But there is a working class view of other things in addition to the economic and historical. There *is* such a thing as proletarian art,

expressing itself in song, music, play, painting, literature, and so on. The workers have no use for the songs that have been written to glorify generals and kings or to commemorate battles in which thousands of our people were slain; no use for plays that instead of "holding up the mirror to nature" do nothing but portray middle class life in all its feeble inanity; no use for the works of artists who can paint a soap boiler's portrait or a scene of bestial brutality such as a cavalry charge. The workers of the future will scrap all these things because they are not artistic from the working class standpoint.

In Russia, the Central Committee for Proletarian Culture (President Lunarcharsky, secretary W. Paliansky) is endeavouring to sort out from the works of past artists and writers, that which is likely to be of value to the workers in their struggle towards the new society. The guiding principle is, that only those things are useful that will inspire hopefulness for the future, and will fill the hearts and minds of our class with courage and determination to press on in the struggle. All else will, and should be neglected.

There is no room in the proletarian library for the introspective heart searchings of despairing neurotics, obsessed with the idea that what they feel and think is vital to the community. There is no room for the works of the playwright who panders to nationalist sentiment, or seeks to place the individual before the mass. There is no room for the music that stirs the martial feelings and makes the peace-loving individual long to march to battle—unless it be to battle against the right enemy..

Our new Proletarian Culture movement can find its feet if we set to work to bring out the talent in our own ranks and see that proletarian writers, artists, and composers are given the fullest possible scope. The writers must provide us with the materials to inspire our class on to great deeds; they must write of our aspirations, our hopes, our future society. Our artists must paint the world as seen by the worker and not describe scenes that can only be appreciated by the Lotus-eating idlers. They must paint Labour at its task in the field, the forge, the factory. They must use their imaginative genius to glorify the beauty of honest toil. Our poets and our songsters must provide songs for the common people to sing—songs, not so much for the individual as for the massed voices of choirs, for the co-operative effort needed to learn and render such works is no small lesson in communal discipline. Our playwrights must prepare proletarian dramas that illustrate the class struggle, and end, not in virtue rewarded but in international concord and working class triumph.

It is a great work that the Proletarian Culture movement has before it. It is nothing less than a working class purge of the snobbish sycophancy of the art, the literature, the music, the drama of the ages, and the preparation of a culture that will represent the needs of the toiling masses. The work can only be done by our class because the middle class thinkers and writers know just as much about what we desire as we know of the home lives of the Royal and Imperial peacocks that strut about the world trying to look important.

Only those who have *lived* the working class life can understand it.

W. MCLAINE.

One Step Back, Two Steps Forward

THE ECONOMIC POSITION IN RUSSIA—L. PETROVSKY.

"What is happening in Russia? Are they giving up Communism?"

If such questions are asked by readers of the COMMUNIST REVIEW, who have had an opportunity of seeing Lenin's speeches on the subject of the new food tax, one may be a little surprised. But it is not always easy to work up for oneself, out of the scattered material in the press, a reasoned explanation to give the workers when they ask questions like these. This article is an attempt to reduce the facts of the case to some order.

* * *

I. Russia is an enormous agricultural country, with little centres of industry dotted here and there, particularly round the two capitals—Petrograd and Moscow. The agriculture is so backward, however, and is so little advanced from the primitive form, that the peasants, though in numbers the enormous majority, are in politics quite unable to think and act together as a class. No political party produced by the peasantry has ever yet emerged out of the Revolution; the Socialist-Revolutionaries, who for a few months voiced the peasants aims, drifted away from them as soon as their land hunger had been appeased. The town workers, on the other hand, have been concentrated for years in the most up-to-date large-scale factories, at the same time under the most appalling physical and spiritual conditions. They have developed a clear-sighted, disciplined, and resolute class-consciousness that is far and away superior to anything else of its kind in the world.

Under these conditions in October, 1917, the town workers seized power, handing over all authority to the Soviets and proclaiming a Soviet Republic. The Communist Party, which from the very first advocated this step, was entrusted at the Second Soviet Congress, which consisted overwhelmingly of town representatives, with the work of forming and carrying on a Government. Thanks to this, the revolution was carried into the villages in an organised fashion, and the peasants were helped to divide up the land amongst themselves on a basis of equality. Throughout, the Communist Party, and through them the town workers, have retained unshaken control of the revolution.

Consequently, it is ridiculous to suggest, as some journalists do, that the Revolution is a peasant rising of which the Communists made use for their own ends. Such a suggestion is an absolute travesty of historical facts. *So long as the workers' Soviets control the towns and large scale factories, the backbone of the Revolution is unbroken.* Relations with the peasants can change and be modified, as circumstances require; but this does not affect the main purport of the Revolution.

* * *

II. During the three years' existence of the Soviet Republic, relations between the active towns and the passive peasantry underwent a series of alterations. From the first (see Lenin's "Chief task of our Times") the problem before the government was twofold:

- (a) Immediate—to feed the towns.
- (b) Ultimate—to introduce Socialist large-scale agriculture into the country (which was becoming a mass of small-scale farms).

In the case of the second, the adverse factors very soon grew to such dimensions—in the shape of Allied intervention and the three years' revolutionary war—that all thought of the solution had to be postponed until peace was finally re-established. The question did not come up again until the Eighth Soviet Congress, in December, 1920; when it was made quite clear that the way out lay through a widespread system of electrification, the completion of which would probably take some ten years.

The first problem, however, required some immediate solution. The ideal solution was the exchange of town manufactures for country food products, through Government channels, by voluntary methods; but the exigencies of the situation rapidly imposed recourse to purely military methods. In 1918—the year of terror—when the Soviet Republic was reduced by Allied intervention and subsidised counter-revolutionary risings to an area of one-quarter its normal size, completely surrounded by enemies, there could be no talk of industrial production on a large scale. Consequently there could be no normal exchange with the villages. When the peasants refused to give up their surplus corn, or attempted to smuggle it into the towns to sell at speculative prices, the only thing left was to take it.

In 1918, the first year, this took the form of sending special factory detachments out into the country, and organising "committees of poverty" amongst the poorest, landless peasants, with the object of giving them control over their wealthier fellow-villagers.

These haphazard methods could not continue, however, when the war brought the creation of an organised Red Army, which required to be well fed, and that war industries should be well fed; particularly when approximately 80 per cent. of the army consisted of peasants. 1919 and 1920, therefore, witnessed the reduction of the corn requisitions into a system of corn "levies" or "programmes," in which the amounts of corn to be collected out of the peasants' surplus stock were apportioned amongst the different provinces with fair justice; while all surplus manufactured goods were turned over into a State fund for exchange with the peasants through the local Food Committees. At the same time, a gigantic propaganda was carried on. Thanks to these measures, the amounts collected steadily grew as the organisation became perfected: 1918, 30 million poods; 1919, 110 millions; 1920, 260 millions.

The levies remained requisitions, however, from the point of view of the peasant; and by 1920 he began to grow tired of giving up his corn in exchange for a small quantity of manufactured articles and a very large quantity of paper. In 1920, a perceptible decrease in the area cultivated—amounting in many districts to 40 or 50 per cent.—was observed. It so happened that this year was one of unprecedented drought in the central, most fertile provinces. By the end of the year it became clear that, despite better organisation than ever, probably not more than 300 million poods would be collected by August, 1921. At the same time the cultivated area was falling. Something had to be done; always remembering that the backbone of the revolution was the

maintenance of the towns as centres of Communism, i.e., the development of large-scale industry under working-class control.

* * *

III. At the end of 1920 and the beginning of 1921, the following factors faced the Soviet Government in the economic sphere:—

(a) The town workers needed a regular supply of food (this was sharply emphasised by a temporary dislocation of the provisioning arrangements in 1921, owing to extravagance in fuel consumption and a consequent standstill on the railways).

(b) On the other hand, the town workers had already shown that they could greatly increase production now that peace had at last been attained.

(c) The supply of fuel, and in certain respects, of raw materials, however, was not adequate, nor did the prospect of the re-establishment of normal relations with the peasantry hold out satisfactory hope that these requirements of industry would be forthcoming in sufficient volume for several months; corn would have to be brought into the towns first.

(d) On the other hand, the opening up of trade relations with a number of western capitalist countries provided the possibility of tiding over this difficulty for the few months in question.

(e) The peasants were tired of requisitioning without adequate return, and their weariness had expressed itself in an alarming decrease of the area cultivated (corn, flax, cotton, and other raw materials). Their outspoken ideal was the restoration of unrestricted private trading. A "sowing campaign," with the object of increasing the acreage cultivated, initiated after the Eighth Soviet Congress in December, was so far only moderately successful.

(f) While the peasants could see that it was absolutely essential to feed the Red Army at the fronts, even at the cost of privation to themselves, during wartime, they felt that peace completely altered circumstances—particularly when their own sons and brothers began returning to the villages in larger and larger numbers as demobilisation progressed. There was thus a psychological factor to be reckoned with; and it made itself felt in not merely the economic but also the political sphere, taking flesh-and-blood shape in sporadic peasant revolts—true, isolated and not dangerous, but still a perpetual stumbling block to the reconstruction of peaceful economic life.

(g) The universal co-operative societies, into which by a decree early in 1920 all the population was bound to enter for purposes of consumption, had not reached the dimensions or the level of activity intended because of the reasons already set forth. They were strongest in the large towns, particularly Moscow and Petrograd; but were greatly hampered by the most primitive of reasons—the lack of food to distribute. In the country, it was the still more lamentable lack of articles of primary necessity—textiles, kerosine, salt—that had withered the co-operative movement at its root; the improvement of transport facilities during 1920 had not had time radically to alter their condition.

Summing up all these conditions, the problem before the Soviet Government (i.e., the Russian Communist Party) was to find a way out which would (a) feed the town workers, preferably through their own associations to such an extent that mass production could go forward

steadily, instead of in jerks as hitherto; and which (b) while taking an inevitable minimum of agricultural products from the peasantry, would once and for all abandon the requisitioning policy, and would thereby induce them to increase production.

* * *

IV. The Soviet Government has embodied its attempt to solve its economic problem in the following measures:—

A tax in kind has been substituted for the requisition policy, and, to make the difference apparent in concrete terms to the peasants, the amounts demanded of them have been considerably reduced. Thus:

Product			Requisition 1920-1921	Tax 1921-1922
Corn	...	...	423 million poods	240 million poods
Eggs	...	...	682 millions	400 millions
Flax	...	...	5,100,000 poods	340,000 poods
Hemp	...	...	3,500,000 „	400,000 „
Wool	...	...	1,275,000 „	650,000 „
Milk products	...	...	3,441,000 „	2,200,000 „
Oil Seeds	...	...	24 million „	12 million poods
Potatoes	...	...	120 „ „	60 „ „

The decrees introducing the new policy make it clear to the peasants that no further demands will be made at any time upon their surplus stocks.

This means—assuming that the tax is collected in full—that the minimum demands of the town workers, the Red Army, and the population of the non-producing provinces will be satisfied; but to go beyond this minimum—and the workers, after seven years of warfare, *must* be given more than the bare minimum—it will be necessary to depend upon free exchange with the peasantry, i.e., upon the productivity of industry. As the problem is a pressing one, and the workers cannot wait until the new policy begins to bear its solid fruits some three or four months' hence, steps have been taken to supply the workers' needs from abroad for the time being.

Ten millions of gold roubles have been handed to a special non-party commission of trade unionists, to buy food abroad for the workers in the capitals. Five milliard roubles have been voted by the Central Executive Committee to purchase food, abroad and from the peasantry, for communal kitchens, in those necessitous districts where such have not been already established. Ten milliard roubles have been granted to the Central Union of Co-operative Societies (Centrosoyuz) with the object of enabling it to accumulate an initial "fund" of manufactured goods for direct exchange with the peasantry, thus increasing the quantity of food at the disposal of its members.

Its members, as a matter of fact, are composed of the whole population of the country. The Centrosoyuz is to be *the* distributive organisation of the future. All persons, in town or country, must be members of a consumers' co-operative society; this, of course, does not prevent them from forming producers' co-operatives in the country, or, in the case of the smaller and non-nationalised domestic industries, in the town either. In the towns, in addition, a special form of society is introduced, based on the factory or workshop; wherever 300 or more

workers are employed they may voluntarily organise themselves into a co-operative society for the purchase of food from the peasants—either directly at one of the markets established in the neighbourhood for the purpose, or indirectly through the provincial or All-Russian Unions of Co-operative Societies (Centrosoyuz).

These factory co-operatives, apart from the grants-in-aid mentioned above, and direct subsidies from the All-Russian Co-operative Union, are also encouraged in the following way. A certain proportion, say 10 per cent. of the goods (or the value thereof) which they turn out, instead of going to the "Chief Committee" of their industry for disposal by other economic bodies, is handed over directly to the All-Russian Union of Co-operative Societies, and the value is credited to their account in its books. When the article manufactured is of such a kind that it cannot usefully be given direct to the Union (e.g., spare parts for locomotives), the Supreme Economic Council, to whom the article belongs, hands over its value, or an equivalent quantity of other goods, to the Co-operative Union.

On the peasants' side, the new policy is also calculated to win the support of the population. The taxes on food and raw materials are assessed by the local authorities according to the area under cultivation, farms smaller than a certain minimum being entirely exempt. All surplus stocks are fully at the disposal of the peasants for sale and barter purposes. The principal customers of the peasantry—apart from the speculating class which has at first taken advantage of the new facilities for private trading—may be divided into three classes. First, the Food Committees of the local Soviets, which under the "corn levy" system acted as the organs of the central government in this connection, and still continue to act as distributive agents for manufactured goods in the countryside.

During the year 1921-1922, the State hopes to secure through these channels, in addition to the quantities collected by taxation:

Corn	...	...	...	150	million	poods
Potatoes	...	...	...	37½	"	"
Oilseeds	...	...	...	10	"	"

Secondly, the local co-operative societies, which have already opened shops in a large number of places at which the peasants give up their surplus corn either for goods (procured by the societies in one of the ways already outlined) or for credit. It is worth noting that to aid the development of this branch of co-operative work, Krassin has even proposed that special paper tokens, exchangeable by the peasants at co-operative stores for one pood of salt, one arshin of cotton prints, etc., should be issued by the government, as a more real measure of value, in exchange for the peasants agricultural produce.

Thirdly, the peasants exchange their produce, in special open markets established for the purpose by the local authorities, with individual purchasers. As the supply of food to the workers through the co-operative societies increases, the amount provided by the government from the food tax will diminish, until finally it disappears. At present, however, neither source is sufficient, and private trading, in the strict sense of the word, must be permitted. The ordinary workers' wages are certainly insufficient for this purpose; but the same decree which allows them a percentage of their manufactured goods for exchange through co-operatives also permits them to spend a certain portion of

their working time—providing production is not interfered with thereby—on manufacturing small articles for exchange on the markets.

The net result of all these measures is that the worker secures a minimum of sustenance from the State, and more as his productivity grows; the peasant has security for his produce, and therefore has the certainty of receiving more manufactured goods as the output of his own tilled area increases. The worker becomes interested in making Socialist industry a going concern (we are leaving out the effect of propaganda, which is an enormous factor that must always be kept in mind); the peasant becoming more and more interested in making agriculture pay, will, in due course of time, with the aid of the mighty propaganda weapon of the Communist Party and the electrification which, Lenin has said, is the intermediate stage between proletarian dictatorship and Communism, arrive at the conclusion that only the socialisation of agriculture can satisfactorily meet the demands of the moment.

* * *

V. The economic measures taken by the Soviet Government during the last two months have already had clear and definite results, which can be characterised as follows.

From all quarters of the Soviet Federation—Georgia, Turkestan, the Tartar Republic, Petrograd, White Russia, Volhynia—reports have poured into the Moscow press to the effect that, after a little hesitation, the peasants have hailed the new policy with enthusiasm. The "sowing campaign," which was decidedly flagging in the first months of the year, received a vigorous and surprising impetus after the decreeing of the food tax. Ossinsky, the People's Commissary for Agriculture, after a tour of inspection through the Tula, Orel, Kursk, Voronezh provinces, reports that the areas sown are above the average. Manuilsky, People's Commissary for Agriculture in the Ukraine, has announced that the "sowing programme" allotted them—1,917,000 dessiatines (the 1916 area)—has been completely carried out. In the Moscow province, 210,000 dessiatines have been sown with various cereals this year—a larger area than in pre-war days.

Altogether, up to April 17, 83 per cent. of the "sowing programme" had been carried out. Exact data are not yet available for the state of affairs at the very end of the spring sowings; but it is known that they amounted to over 90 per cent. of the programme allotted.

Communists cannot blind themselves to the fact, however, that this increase in material prosperity cannot but temporarily, under existing circumstances, be achieved at the expense of what elements of collectivist outlook had been drilled into the peasants by combined propaganda and hard facts. The peasant has been once more thrown back upon the instincts of individualism. In the words of Rykov (at the recent Congress of Economic Councils) "The tax is the re-establishment of the institution of private property in the bourgeois sense of the word, and absolutely inevitably leads to the development—the perfectly legal development—of a bourgeois class, on the economic basis created in the village after the collection of the food tax. This line of policy definitely and absolutely means the legalisation of the development of the bourgeoisie, founded on the free disposal by the peasant—the small producer—of what he has left after part of his produce has been collected

by the State." Rykov proceeded to point out that this development of a bourgeois *psychology* in the country could not but have its effect upon the towns, where the workers are so closely bound up with the country that many of them spend the harvest time there. This might particularly be observed in the cry for denationalisation of certain factories in favour of co-operative societies, and even private individuals; and indeed, said Rykov, "if a factory might be set going by a private owner, and is at a standstill under us, it would be a crime not to hand it over to the private owner."

This undesirable side of the new policy is further strengthened by its first results in the towns. The workers, as we have seen, have not yet, either personally or through their co-operatives, been able to accumulate a sufficient quantity of manufactured goods for exchange; the only class that has been able to do this has been the speculators—those members of former well-to-do classes who by various methods have managed to hide or acquire such goods as the peasants desire. "So far," say letters from good Communists, "we workers have not seen any benefit coming from the free trading; it is the speculator who's as pleased as Punch." The Russian press prints every few days a sketch or other illustration of market scenes, in which oranges at 15,000 roubles each play a significant part.

All this Communists have to reckon with, and consequently cannot be afraid of facing, or of stating quite openly. But those who are deluded or terrified by these undoubted facts into believing that Communism is being abandoned by the Russian Communist leaders, or that it is unattainable in Russia, simply betray their own ignorance. Summed up, what they have failed to grasp is:—

1. The Russian Communist Party never considered Communism to be a rigid formula, but an end—to approach which many detours and bypaths have to be used.

2. Communism has never yet existed in Russia; what has existed has been the dictatorship of the proletariat, i.e., of the best organised and most class-conscious of the town industrial workers, supported actively in the Soviets by the remainder of the working class, and passively by the peasantry, so long as its elementary demands were satisfied.

3. That the peasantry should demand security and free trading is nothing new; it is simply the demand of the small producer for a market. If a "democratic," Menshevik, i.e., lower-middle-class government had been in power, he would have found a market in the large speculator and the foreign merchant, who would have been left entirely unchecked, while the worker starved. As it is, a government of revolutionary Communists, trusted by the overwhelming majority of the town organised workers and the peasants of Russia, is in power; and, while for a month or two the workers' position undoubtedly is not improved by the new policy, there is a guarantee that, at the end of this period, when the new policy produces the big harvest already foreshadowed, the supply of food from millions upon millions of small capitalist sources will be directed into large, State-capitalist, channels, and the establishment of the proletarian State as a capitalist in relation to the petty producers of the countryside, is a step forward towards Communism.

This is the difference, incidentally, between a Menshevik Government that makes concessions and a Communist Government in the same

position. The first makes concessions the business of life; the second makes them only where they are essential for the attainment of the final object.

The real concrete fact upon which the non-Communist critic seizes is the unquestionably unfavourable position of the workers in the first days of the new policy. The "shock" measures that have been taken to remedy this position have already been outlined; the press has also printed details of large purchases made with the same object in England. But in any case, this criticism overlooks the fact that what shortage of food exists is due to well-known reasons quite independent of the present policy of the Soviet Government; and by the time the new harvest comes in, the workers' principal obstacle—the absence of a fund of manufactured goods—will have disappeared.

4. Communism can only be attained by economic reconstruction. In towns, the process is simple; large-scale industry passes directly from capitalist to working-class control. In the country, the process is more complicated; small-scale industry has to be revived first, for the essential requirements of the towns. All that can be done is to ensure that small-scale industry becomes accustomed to dealing with the State, so that, when the time comes to introduce large-scale production in the country (by means of electrification, which can only be carried out by the State) the transition may be as rapid and painless as possible. Socialisation of large-scale industry is better than capitalism. Co-operation amongst small agricultural producers is better than unlicensed trading between individuals. And small-scale agricultural production is better than no production at all. These are the watchwords of economic reconstruction in Soviet Russia.

Let us quote Lenin's summary: "Trading and commerce must be developed at all costs, and without any fear of capitalism; for its limits have been fixed by definite Soviet measures, which direct it into the form of State capitalism or co-operation. Such is the underlying thought of the food tax, and the economic measures connected therewith; such is its economic significance. By this means we shall overcome the hesitation of the petty producer in the economic sphere, while against political waverers, after the pattern of monarchism and Miluikov, we shall wage a pitiless struggle. The waverers are disunited, we are united. The waverers are not economically independent. The proletariat is independent. The waverers do not know what they want, we do. And therefore we shall conquer."

* * *

VI. How can the western workers help their Russian comrades to conquer? The principal way is what it was before: to hasten the time of their own emancipation from the yoke of capital, so that they can with unfettered hands assist impoverished Soviet Russia as friends and comrades. The secondary way of importance at the present moment, is to do everything in their power to aid in bridging over the gap of two or three months between now and the next harvest. The less privation the already tired workers have to undergo in that transitional period, the more easy will it be for them to set about Communist reconstruction when the new period begins. And in this the western workers, even out of their need, can still, by a determined effort, substantially assist Soviet Russia.

Book Review

"The Evolution of Revolution," by H. M. Hyndman: Grant, Richards, Ltd. 21/- nett.

More than three-quarters of the way through this book a revolution more sudden and complete than any of those he chronicles, appears to take place in the mentality of its venerable author. From a prophet of class war and the sacred right of insurrection he degenerates, without a word of warning, into the flabbiest of social pacifists—a transformation so apparently inexplicable that the uninitiated reader must be quite at a loss to understand how the five concluding chapters could possibly emanate from the same brain as conceived the preceding twenty-nine.

To those familiar with the antecedents of "the oldest Social Democrat in this country," the explanation is of course simple enough. It lies in the fact that the concluding chapters relate to events in which Hyndman has himself figured more or less conspicuously. Hence he is confronted with the necessity of interpreting the present world situation in terms that will justify his own line of conduct. Needless to say he would be the last to admit this; but on no other hypothesis, save senile decay, can we explain the amazing metamorphosis referred to.

In his opening 300 pages Hyndman tells the story of man's slow and painful "progress" from primitive savagery to wage slavery and on the whole tells it very well. Exception may indeed be taken to his attempts to tone down the doctrine of historical materialism, but this is largely compensated for by his repeated insistence on the economic as the dominant factor in human affairs. Most effective of all, however, is the way he exposes the false glamour surrounding the institutions of classical antiquity, chivalry, etc., bringing into the limelight the perpetual helotry of the millions and the ruthless barbarities that have invariably succeeded abortive efforts to destroy it. In fact Hyndman displays throughout an unbounded enthusiasm for the rebels of all ages—except his own.

As already indicated from the moment he touches upon the events of his political lifetime the one-time pioneer becomes the tamest of converts to the gospel of peaceful persuasion, seeming to retain nothing of his former vigour but his unique command of invective.

What for instance is to be thought of the state of mind of a "revolutionist" who can bleat like this: "A great successful revolution need not necessarily be a forcible and bloody revolution. Thus in Sweden the well-known international revolutionary Social Democrat, Branting (11) has quite peaceably become Prime Minister. In Czechoslovakia President Masaryk is favourable to Social Democracy. . . . In Belgium the Social Democrats in the Coalition Cabinet are the most powerful Ministers of the whole administration." The only inference to be gathered from this gem is that, in the opinion of Comrade Hyndman, the elevation of Branting, Vandervelde & Co. to their respective cabinets constitutes "a successful revolution." Further comment is superfluous.

The chapter on "Bolshevism and the Russian Revolution" is best described as a solution of Mrs. Snowden and the *Morning Post*. For suppressing "free speech" and "representative institutions" the Bolsheviks are denounced even more vigorously than their critic (a few

pages earlier in the book) deplores the misplaced veneration of the Communards for bourgeois prejudices. The Soviet regime is generally summed up as a nightmare of "fearful injustice and monstrous cruelty" while Lenin is "a Communist Ivan the Terrible of no great intellectual gifts" in some respects singularly like "the scoundrel Rasputin" (to whom, of course, our learned historian "does not for a moment compare him").

Perhaps the best answer to this scarcely intelligible tirade is supplied by Hyndman himself when he naively remarks: "It is extremely difficult to understand how a vast population came to be dominated by a small and truculent minority of middle-class men who utterly failed to carry out the programme of social reconstruction they meant to impose on their countrymen and who, to commence with, had no great reputation among the people." Such a thing is more than difficult to conceive; it is inconceivable. To grasp the significance of events that shake the world it is necessary to start off with a very different set of premises from "a small and truculent minority who utterly failed, etc."

FRANK TANNER.

Capitalist Mexico

SOME DANGEROUS EXAGGERATIONS EXPOSED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKERS.

W. J. Lemon describes the Mexican situation in an interesting article in the Winnipeg O.B.U. Bulletin, of 16/4/21, from which the following extracts are taken:—

Since the return of King Gompers and his court to the United States, from their trip to Mexico, where they went as delegates and officials to the Pan-American Congress of Labour which was held in Mexico City, January 10th to 20th, of this year, he and some of his courtiers have been quite busy contributing articles to both the capitalist and labour press. These articles pay, in beautiful words, a glowing tribute to what they call the Labour Government of Mexico (King Sam says in one of his contributions: "The Mexican Government is the nearest to a Workers' Government of anything on earth"). I am not going to make any comment on their contributions; the mere fact that their writings are gladly solicited and accepted by such respectable business men's journals as *The Mexican Review* and others of a similar nature, should be sufficient evidence as to their worth and character. Before I came to Mexico I was somewhat deluded myself because of the glories of this so-called workers' government; not from reading the fairy stories that have been written by Messrs. Gompers, Kelley, Johnson and Co., but because I had come in touch with a few numbers of an English language magazine, published in Mexico City, called *Gale's International Journal for Revolutionary Communism*, its glowing accounts of Mexico's wonderful Socialist and union movement had somewhat impressed me with the idea that I was coming to a country where workers were practically at the point of peacefully and legally, through their political and economic power, taking possession of all lands, resources, and machinery of production and distribution—that the shackles of wage slavery were about to be broken from the limbs

of the workers and a new Russia established on the American continent. It told about the many Socialists and prominent labour leaders who occupied important positions in the various departments of government, such as governors of state, ministers in the Federal cabinet, etc., including the governor of the Federal district (who was not only a Socialist, but had once even written a Socialist book). Gale summed it all up in one number of "Gale's" with: "Soviet Mexico is near."

I am not going to indulge in much philosophising, for I want the readers to draw their own conclusions. What I hope to do is to tell the facts as best I can in my crude way, both from personal knowledge and from information received direct from the workers themselves. I feel that this is what is needed above everything else—correct information about conditions down here to counteract the stream of exaggerated and misleading statements that are being sent out to the workers of other countries, deceiving them as to the true status of the Mexican workers and of the government of Mexico. No greater injury can be done the labour movement of any country than by using flamboyant and exaggerated reports and articles through the press, whether it be through wilful intention or gross ignorance.

Merely to make a statement does not prove a fact. The principal fact that I shall bring forward to show that the Mexican Government is just as capitalistic as any other, and that it is in no sense a government of the workers, is the history of the recent strike of railway workers on the National system of the republic. Here we have a government that Gompers has referred to as a model and as the nearest thing to a real workers' government on earth fighting the workers as viciously as any other capitalist government or corporation. I arrived in Mexico City a few days before the strike was called (Feb. 25th); consequently I have been in a position to see and understand just how the governmental machinery was turned on the workers when the Holy Trinity (Rent, Profit and Interest) of the capitalists were attacked. For several days before the date set for the walk-out troops were being mobilised and despatched to all points. Soldiers were quartered at all stations, yards, shops, bridges, etc., from one end of the republic to the other. One could not approach any portion of the railway property without being confronted with the point of a bayonet. Even the General Administration building, in which the general offices are located, situated in the heart of Mexico City far away from the zone of conflict, was guarded day and night by Federal troops.

A despatch was sent out from Mexico City, March 6th, stating that strikers were committing sabotage by blowing up bridges, tearing up tracks, etc., between San Luis Potosi and Monterrey and that 15 of the leaders had been captured and executed by the military. The strikers' committee branded this as a capitalist newspaper lie, whose purpose was to create antagonism against the workers. On March 7th, another report quoted Obregon as saying that the government's strike policy remained unchanged; which would seem to mean that there would be no recession from the policy of non-recognition of the unions, with the attendant stern application of military measures to protect life

and property (especially property). On Sunday, March 13th, a passenger train standing at Huchapan Station was telescoped from the rear by a freight train, killing four, seriously injuring twenty-six, and inflicting minor cuts and bruises on fifty others. The press reported that the engineer in charge of the freight was a thoroughly competent man of sixteen years' experience. This was proven to be false by those who knew him, who testified that he was not only incompetent, but also mentally unstable, having been discharged in 1913 on this account, and now rehired by a "labour government" to break a strike. An endless list of accidents, such as boiler explosions, derailments and collisions, caused in nearly every case by incompetents engaged by this (according to Gompers and others) "labour" government to beat down the workers, could be recited if space permitted. As I write this article there is a movement on foot to call a strike in Tampico to force the release of a worker who is under arrest there charged with speaking against the government at a railway strike meeting. At Torreon sixteen officers and members of the union are under arrest charged with committing sabotage. I am informed that there were a number shot by the military during fights.

I am reciting these things as evidence to show that Mexico has not a workers' government.

The Mexican workers in other lines of industry were waiting, and anxious to come to the assistance of their fellow-workers. The leaders had been boasting that 200,000 of Mexico's organised workers would be called out unless the government made a favourable settlement with the strikers, but they never called them. But this is what did happen: about 8,000 textile workers at Orizaba walked out in sympathy without the sanction of the leaders and they were promptly ordered back (but they didn't go back, and at last reports they were still out). Orizaba workers are the most militant in the country.

The present status of the strikers summed up is that they have gone back to work practically defeated, except for the experience they have gained and the militancy that will later be developed—for we must remember that no strike was ever totally lost.

Enough has been told, I think, to convince the reader that there is nothing in common between the workers and the Mexican government, any more than between the two contending classes of all capitalist nations.

The next question to discuss is that of the numerous Socialists and labour leaders said to be representing labour in the government. Granting that this is true, it does not mean anything to the workers to be represented in coalition governments. Many countries have passed through the same experience to the sorrow of the workers. It is true that there have been attempts made by well-meaning individuals to better the conditions of the Mexican workers. A few years ago it is said a semi-Socialist state was set up in Yucatan, only, to be drowned out in blood later on by Carranza, who at one time claimed to be a Socialist of the Scheidemann, or Kerensky type, but whose favourite sport, nevertheless, was shooting down strikers. Zapata, who established his little colony in Morelos and Tabasco met with a similar fate

at the hands of the same gentleman, he being murdered about a year and a half ago. According to "Gale's" the Socialists are again in power in Yucatan, having regained their position at the last election—but this must not be taken too seriously.

The States of Michoacan and Hidalgo both have "Socialist" governors, of what type I do not know, but I understand they are trying to confiscate the lands of the Church and the large haciendas and distribute it among the peons. Some land has already been given to the peons, but only a small portion of them have been supplied with capital. And what can the peon do with land when he has no funds to buy tools with which to work it? Only Communism can solve the land problem, and Communism is not here yet, even though "Gale's" may say "Soviet Mexico is near."

Luis N. Morones, formerly head of the "Confederation Regional Obrera Mexicana," known as the Gompers of Mexico, is also the leading spirit of the "Partido Laborista" (Labour Party), in addition to being director of the government munitions plants, a very lucrative post. The Labour Party was formed last year for the purpose of boosting the presidential candidacy of Alvaro Obregon among the workers and has been the steady recipient of government patronage ever since. With revolutionary catchwords it attracts votes that could not be got in any other way. Its concrete programme is opportunistic to the core and its entire achievements for the last year are participation in the Obregon revolution against Carranza, exertion of influence with provisional president De la Huerta for the establishment of a government department of social work (which department has settled strikes, given charity to workers, etc.), exertion of influence for the improvement of conditions in the penal colony of the Maria Islands, and participation in various electoral campaigns. Its method is intriguing with the government officials, not steady revolutionary work along class lines. "Gale's" claims that the Labour Party has a membership of 200,000. I should like to know where the 200,000 hide between election campaigns. The truth of the matter is, the party is nothing but an ordinary political club, with no real active membership beyond the small group of officials and press agents.

Just as President Ebert of Germany was once a harness-maker, so Gasca, governor of Mexico City and the Federal district, was once a shoemaker, if that means anything. But I cannot see anything to indicate that he is giving a working class administration. The boot-blacks are taxed three pesos a month for the privilege of walking the streets and shining shoes. Every peanut vendor is also taxed all that the traffic will bear, and if you saw most of them you would say that it wouldn't bear much. Gasca occasionally acts as mediator between the robbers and the robbed, just as the mediators do in the United States, and the workers get about the same results.

As for the chief of Police of Mexico City, who is said to be a Socialist and author of a Socialist book, I can say that I have never heard of him arresting any of the respectable crooks, but every day I see his men marching gangs of men and women across the city. These are the petty crooks, victims of the system and members of the working class that have been forced down by the big crooks. Any one who visits this country can see the squalid misery and the scores of human wrecks that receive not the slightest care or consideration from this

so-called labour government, but are forced to eke out an existence that would disgust the lowest animals. These conditions infest not only Mexico City, but every part of the republic. I don't say that they are worse than in any other capitalist country, perhaps they are not so bad as in the slums of America and Europe (for here the poor can enjoy plenty of fresh air and good climate without any extra charge).

Phrases like "Soviet Mexico is near" and all the rest of the chatter about a red Labour movement in Mexico is child's talk. It is, in fact, nothing short of treason to the working class, whether it be done through ignorance or evil intention. Mexico has no such thing as a red movement, i.e., a well-organised disciplined body that knows what it wants and how to get it. There may be a few scattered groups here and there, but they are of no importance at the present moment. The real Mexican movement is, unfortunately still in embryo. Heretofore, the only labour organisation here has been an entirely reactionary craft union form, with a membership dependent upon the leadership of leaders who are out and out, pure and simple, individualistic self-seekers.

A scattered group of militant unions is so far too weak to be of any decisive influence. The Mexican workers as a whole are not only victims of 400 years of feudal servitude and priestcraft, but are now being preyed upon by their leaders. What is needed here now is a group of clear-headed, well-disciplined workers, capable of educating and organising the Mexican movement into a militant body, one that will brush aside all the leaders and others who stand in the way of the workers' freedom. There is an attempt being made now, to organise a left wing movement, but it is still too early to predict what success it will have. This attempt centres around the newly-formed "Confederation General de Trabajadores, which was organised only a few weeks ago at a congress called by the "Federacion Comunista" of Mexico City. The congress was made up of 53 delegates from 12 states, representing more than 40,000 workers and peasants. It passed resolutions condemning Sam Gompers' so-called Pan-American Federation and provided for the formation of a competitive Pan-American labour organisation which should represent the true interests of the workers instead of those of their bosses. It also endorsed in principle the Red Labour Union International and voted to submit to the unions a referendum on the question of definite affiliation.

Needless to say, the "yellow" readers of the "Confederation Regional" did everything in their power to prevent the convening and successful operation of this congress. Among other things they published false articles about the comrades who called the congress and united with Gale (who uses the name of Communism to cover up anything that may need covering) in the publication of a manifesto calling on the unions not to send delegates to it and hinting that the men who were pushing it were spies in the pay of American capitalism, whose object was to destroy "the unity of the workers." In spite of all this the workers did attend the congress and did organise the radical "Confederation General de Trabajadores."

The Communist International

MANIFESTO TO WORKING MEN AND WOMEN OF ALL COUNTRIES.

Another year has passed, and yet, with the exception of Russia, in no country can the working class boast of victory. The capitalists of all countries are triumphant. They feel more secure in their saddles than they were last year, and act as if they were confident of a lasting victory. Another year has passed, and still we have failed to throw off the yoke.

Another year has passed since the bourgeoisie, standing at the helm, has shown what it is capable of. The world is a heap of ruins. In the conquered capitalist countries—in Germany, Austria and Hungary—hunger is rife, and every day these countries become more and more the victims of the international vultures who are taking advantage of the low currency to buy out the very last of the wealth of these countries. The home exploiters of these countries are doing excellent business, but the poverty of the working class increases. Prices have long ago exceeded wages, and millions have not the wherewithal to feed their children or cover their nakedness. But what is the position in the victorious countries? Four million unemployed in America, two million unemployed in England, increasing economic disorganisation in France. In England, the most successful capitalist country in Europe, strike succeeds strike.

The masters of the Paris, London and New York stock exchanges believed that they could reduce half the world to beggary and live in peace themselves. They were mistaken. Beggars cannot buy, and Armstrong, Vickers, Schneider, Creusot, and the Bethlehem Steel Corporation cannot consume and grow fat on their own steel plate. Two and a half years have passed, and still world capital has not found it possible to re-establish world industry. On the contrary the only thing they have understood is how to resort to the old forms of violence. Foch has crossed the Rhine in order to take the German bourgeoisie by the scruff of the neck and empty its pockets, as a punishment for its crimes in the war, of which, of course, the Entente regard themselves as innocent as new-born babes. The trenches of the world war have not yet been filled up, and new trenches are already being dug.

The British bourgeoisie, with increasing alarm and mistrust, is following the increasing sea power of the United States of America. Against whom are these preparations being made? Against England and Japan? In the meantime, both England and Japan are replying with counter-preparations. The beast of world war is preparing for another spring. It is sharpening its claws and stretching its paws for new proletarian victims. If the world proletariat does not rouse itself and seize capitalism by the throat, it will not merely have to submit to increasing poverty and enslavement, but it will once again be dragged to the battlefield, and once again it will be compelled to shed its blood in the interest of world capital. The betrayers of the proletariat, Scheidemanns, Renaudels, and Hendersons will once again declare

that the cause is one of defending the fatherland of democracy. Did not Vandervelde, the leader of the Second International and the royal Belgian minister, recently cynically express his agreement with the dispatch of the Sengalese troops by France against the tortured German people? The heroes of the "two and a half" International will endeavour to find reasons in each country for justifying the betrayal of the workers, reasons why the workers should keep their powder dry for a better target instead of sending a bullet into the heart of capitalism. But things will not take place as the capitalists and the Social-Democrats imagine.

The world proletariat is not conquered; the world revolution is advancing, if but slowly; and its progress is evidenced in the increasing incapacity of the capitalists to give the workers any other but slave conditions. And secondly, its progress is evidenced by the growing numbers of the enlightened and determined workers who are rallying round the banner of the Communist International. The bourgeoisie every day feel that they are less able to re-organise the world; and for this reason greater and greater numbers of the workers are drawn into the path of revolution; and for this reason are the ranks of the proletariat becoming closer. Soviet Russia repelled the onslaughts of the armies of the world. England, the bulwark of the counter-revolution, has been compelled to conclude a trade agreement with the "robbers and plunderers" of Moscow. In spite of the fact that seven years of war have extremely weakened Russia, in spite of the extreme poverty of the Russian people, the advance guard of the Russian proletariat will stand loyally around the banner of the Soviet Government, and will know how to rally new fighters from among the wavering and weary masses. It will do everything through its heroic organisation to confound the efforts of the counter-revolution to exploit the weariness of the Russian people.

The White Terror that now reigns in Spain and Serbia, shows how uncertain the rulers in these countries regard their position. In Italy, the bourgeoisie has sown the whirlwind by letting loose the Fascisti. The existence of the Orgesch in Germany is a perpetual reminder to the workers to arm, not to be disheartened by set-backs and to strive for the time when they will be victorious. In Poland, seven thousand Communists are under lock and key; but strike follows strike, which shows that there will be no peace until a bridge has been made between revolutionary Poland and revolutionary Germany. In France, a country intoxicated with victory, and filled with national hatred, hundreds of thousands of workers are becoming acquainted with Communism. No amount of persecution will retard the spread of these ideas, which have been made sacred by the blood of the victims of June and by the blood of the martyrs of the Paris Commune.

The Communist International is making preparations for the Third Congress. This congress will not wail about the progress of world reaction, as did the leaders of the two and a half International, Adler, Bauer, Longuet, Hilferding, and Wallhead in Vienna, but will call for a sharpening of our weapons and the expulsion of all those who will hinder us. Not the diminution of our attacks, but an advance on a wider front, in deeper columns, will be our call to you on the First of May. Above all, we must stand in the forefront of the struggle of

the broad non-Communist masses for the improvement of their position. In this struggle the masses will see how they are being betrayed every day by the reformists, and that the Scheidemann and Hilferdings, the Hendersons and MacDonalds, the Turatis and D'Aragonas, the Renaudels and Longuets, are not only unwilling to fight for the dictatorship of the proletariat, but unwilling also to fight for the workers' daily bread.

They will see that the Communists are not those who split up the Labour movement, but those who unite it in the struggle for a better future. They will learn that the capitalist class is unwilling and unable to give to the workers as much even as the peasant gives his horse—enough food and rest in order to have sufficient strength to continue working. In this way, the determination of the workers to overthrow the capitalist system and destroy the power of the capitalist class will increase every day. Any day may bring the moment when the working class will refuse any longer to suffer the burdens which the dying capitalist system condemns them to bear. Any day the situation may arise when a courageous blow of the Communist advance guard will carry with it the working class masses, and the final struggle for the conquest of power will become the task of the moment.

The Communist International calls you to the greatest concentration of effort. Close ranks, be prepared; we do not stand before a period of slow preparatory work of propaganda and agitation, but before a period of sharp revolutionary struggles. The growing unemployment, the insolence of the counter-revolution, and the menace of war will arouse the revolutionary ferment among the masses. It is the duty of the Communists of the whole world to lead the van, to be the shock forces of the masses, the organised champions that will lead them to battle. It is our duty to raise our blood-stained banner, not only as a symbol of victory in the distant future, but to be carried in the forefront of the battles of to-day and to-morrow. On this First of May we will demonstrate to the world bourgeoisie our preparedness for the struggle. We will decorate our factories with red flags, and carry them in our mass demonstrations, that they may serve as beacons calling to the enslaved proletarians: *Close ranks ye enslaved, despised and exploited!*

Down with the open and concealed servants of the bourgeoisie!

Long live the Communist International, the red representative of the world revolution!

Down with the capitalist state!

Down with the bourgeoisie!

Long live Soviet Russia, the bulwark of the world revolution!

All hail to the world revolution and the international federation of proletarian soviet republics!

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF
THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL.

Germany

THE CRISIS IN THE COMMUNIST PARTY.

From the moment that the uncompromising policy of the Communist International, during the period of the consolidation of its organisation in Europe, was made clear in the case of the Italian Socialist Party, it became evident that there was a strong element in the German party which felt that its own future was threatened. The position of the Communist International was, that while leaving the National parties every degree of autonomy consistent with the existence of the Communist International as an organisation of combat and not as an international research department, it must insist upon the exclusion from all its component Communist parties of all hesitating, half-hearted, or openly opportunist strains. Otherwise, having the prestige of the Communist International behind them, they would introduce confusion and doubt into the ranks of the workers when the time came for the latter to look to the Communists alone for guidance. The largest group of the Italian Socialist party did not see the necessity of this, and was aware only of the number of strategical positions which it held in the capitalist State and the working class organisations, thanks to the presence in its midst of the element referred to above—composed, naturally, to a very large extent of the educated middle class. To put the question of expulsion or retention of the opportunists on this footing, however, would have been to invite condemnation at the outset; and, the wish being father to the thought, the question presented itself immediately in another more vivid, more catchy, but more shallow form—*shall Moscow dictate to the International Communist movement?*

The formulation of the problem in this way was so potent in the present condition of things, when masses of the party membership in Italy, as in every country, were too new to the Communist movement to be able to analyse each and every question of tactics on a scientific Marxian basis, that it won the day for the time being. At the Congress of Leghorn, the Serrati group, with 90,000 adherents, preferred to sacrifice unity with 60,000 Communists for the sake of unity with 11,000 opportunists.

The question of "dictatorship of Moscow," however, could not but affect those comrades in other countries who, for one reason or another—mainly their own lack of complete understanding of the essence of the revolutionary method—were also on the point of a conflict with the Communist International. Some, indeed, had already felt upon their backs the relentless pressure of a novel, and not altogether welcome, international discipline, which has been one of the principal contributions of the Russian Communist Party to the Communist International which it founded. This tendency told first of all in Germany, where, after Italy, the situation has been for the last two years more revolutionary, and therefore more exacting, than in any other country. Five members of the Executive Committee of the United Communist Party of Germany (V.K.P.D.)—Levy, Hoffmann, Klara Zetkin, Daeumig, Brass—resigned their positions while maintaining membership of the party.

The Executive Committee of the Communist International immediately passed and published a strong resolution condemning these comrades. After pointing out the elementary facts of the Italian situation, as indicated above, the manifesto reminded the offenders that their resigna-

tions, decided upon even without warning the E.C. of the Comintern, was a lamentable breach of discipline.

"In all Communist Parties the leaders have been placed at their posts by the workers, and they have as little right to abandon those posts, without the consent of the Party, as a soldier in the Red Army has to abandon his. It is only in the bourgeois and Socialist opportunist parties that the leaders consider themselves authorised to act independently of, or even against the wishes of their party comrades."

The manifesto went on to warn the German comrades that this presentation of the Italian position as one of a "mechanical scission," at the orders of Moscow, betrayed either ignorance of Italian conditions or a definite tendency to form a Right Wing.

"All the intelligent Communists of Germany," the manifesto says, "should understand that the E.C. wishes to be found in every country, not little sects, but truly active revolutionary parties grouping the Communist masses. The efforts made, in particular, in Germany, to bring about the amalgamation of the Spartacus group with the revolutionary elements of the former Independent Party and the Communist Labour Party (K.A.P.D.) into one large mass party, are a sufficient proof of this." To represent the activity of the Comintern in the way described above, therefore, shows that shallow protest of thought which is characteristic of international Menshevism, and the Communists are called upon to make every effort in order to nip this tendency in the bud. The manifesto concludes with a statement that Levy was not very far from a break with the Communist International. Confirmation was not long in coming.

During the month of March a series of strikes took place all over central Germany, culminating in many places in open insurrection, brought about by the determination of the German Government to impose upon the workers the rule of the so-called security police, behind whom stands the sinister, secret, White Guard organisation, the "Orgesch." Into this struggle the Communist Party, as might have been expected of any revolutionary party, threw its entire energies, actively taking the lead in districts and in the centre, and issuing appeals to the workers to rise in defence of their emancipation, all over Germany, arming themselves if necessary. For this activity the Party paid a heavy price; for some time it was deprived of a number of its newspapers by the police, many of its most prominent leaders, including eight members of the executive, were arrested, and literally thousands of the rank and file up and down the country were shot, batoned and jailed.

At this moment, on April 3, Paul Levy took upon himself to publish, without even consulting with the Central Committee of the Party, a pamphlet entitled "Unser Weg" ("Our path"), in which he violently attacked the activity of the Communist Party. He asserted, and strove to prove by means of extracts from the executive minutes, that the insurrection had not been provoked by the deliberate intention of the bourgeois state, but was consciously engineered by the Executive Committee of the Communist Party "at the orders of Moscow." He accused the Party of being ready to abandon the legitimate Marxian paths of proletarian mass movement at the behest of a foreign organisation, to enter those of a Bakuninist "putsch" policy, in which use was made of the proletariat, but of the loafer and tramp class, the "lumpen-proletariat."

Needless to say, this pamphlet, echoing as it did all the familiar arguments and accusations of the Majority Socialists and the Independents during the last three years, was eagerly welcomed first by the German bourgeois and reformist press, and then by the corresponding elements in all countries.

At its session of April 15, the Executive Committee of the V.K.P.D. replied by expelling Levy from the party for breach of discipline, summoning him at the same time to resign his seat in the Reichstadt. The Executive Committee at the same time drew up a statement in defence of its decision, condemning Levy for having published these attacks on the party without any warning, and without giving the Executive any opportunity of checking the statements and intentions he was prepared to attribute to it.

"Paul Levy," the statement proceeds, "published his pamphlet on April 3rd, at a moment when the struggle was still going on in several parts of the Empire, and when thousands of revolutionary comrades were faced with special tribunals. The latter are directly incited by Paul Levy's pamphlet to pronounce murderous sentences. The contents of the pamphlet constitute a treacherous denunciation of the policy of the comrades and of the import of their struggle.

By these acts Paul Levy has thrown the ranks of the Party comrades into the greatest confusion, and has prevented the Party from reuniting its struggling members upon a solid and unbroken front."

This decision does not mean that the right of criticism has been suppressed in the Party. "Criticism on the field of combat and based on complete solidarity in the struggle is a vital necessity for the Party, and is even a revolutionary duty. The criticism of Paul Levy, however, is not criticism on a Party footing; it makes its appearance as an open support of the enemy, in a period during which the Party is exposed to a very severe persecution. It tends, not to the reinforcement, but to the enfeeblement and destruction of the Party."

While, on the other hand, Levy followed up one act of indiscipline by another, and refused to resign his seat as he had been instructed, on the other hand, the crisis extended still further. The next day the minority of the Central Committee published in the Party organ a declaration, signed by the four original supporters of Levy, and in addition by Kert Geyer (late German representative on the executive of the Comintern), Paul Eckert, Henry Maltzahn, and Paul Neumann. The declaration protests against the action of the Executive Committee in substituting personal attacks on Levy for a discussion of the activity in question. The declaration does not touch upon the justifiability of the publication of Levy's pamphlet at such a moment, but asserts he said nothing but the truth, and his exclusion is only intended to prevent Party criticism. The signatories declare they completely share Levy's point of view, and demand the immediate summoning of a Party Congress to settle the points at issue, and to decide "whether revolutionary action must be in conformity with the principles of the Third International, or must go back to the principles of Bakunin."

At the same time Brass and Geyer published the declaration they had made at the meeting of the Executive Committee of the Communist International at which the vote of censure had been passed on the resigning members of the Central Committee. The declaration protested against the introduction of the phrase "Right Wing," and stated

that they were in favour of the removal of opportunists from the Party, differing as to the method of its achievement.

"The question at issue is not the policy of Serrati and his friends, but that of the representative of the E.C.C.I. at Leghorn, the result of which has been to detach from the Communist Party 90,000 Italian workers who belong to the Third International, and desire to remain in it."

The third delegate of the V.K.P.D. at Moscow, Koenen, opposed this declaration of Brass and Geyer. In consequence of the declarations published above, the Executive Committee of the Party addressed on April 21, in the *Rote Fahne*, to those of the signatories who were members of parliament, a request that they should suspend the exercise of their mandate until the next session of the National Council of the Party, which would decide whether they were entitled to continue in their functions.

At the same time, the Executive Committee appealed to the Party to maintain its discipline, and pointed out that in the vigorous discussion which began immediately after the publication of Levy's pamphlet, the Party masses had so far shown their complete solidarity with the Executive.

"The sections so far consulted have declared with a very large majority, if not with unanimity, for the decision adopted by the Executive Committee on April 7th and 8th. The members have consequently declared themselves in complete solidarity with the activity of March, and have shown themselves ready to continue the battle according to the lines indicated by the decisions of the Executive on April 17th and 18th."

This discussion has been going on upon two lines: criticism of the insurrectionary movement, and criticism of Levy's pamphlet. On the first question, it has been generally recognised that, while mistakes were made both in actual tactics (the methods adopted for bringing the working-class mass into the struggle) and in the policy of the Executive Committee (the lack of clarity and determination in its manifestoes) these were due to circumstances which were out of the control of the Party. The struggle was brought about by the provocation of the Noske party while the Communists were still organising themselves; and the organisation had had to be completed in the very midst of the fighting. "The Party, which had been preparing for an offensive movement, suddenly found itself obliged to carry on an offensive whilst in a position of defence." In this phrase the well-informed Berlin correspondent of *L'Humanité* sums up the situation. It is noteworthy that the Executive Committee of the Communist International passed a special resolution congratulating the German workers and the German Communist Party on the action undertaken in March.

The resolution hails the fact that "for the first time since the days of January and March, 1919, the revolutionary workers of Germany have resumed the struggle against the capitalist government not merely to snatch a morsel of bread from it, or to express their protest against the violence of the White Guards, but with the well-defined aim of putting an end to the domination of the exploiters. For the first time, above all, they have entered into this struggle as a compact army guided by an united will. Throughout the whole of Germany they have shown that thousands of workers are ready to sacrifice their lives on the barricades in order to throw off the yoke of capital."

The resolution concludes: "The first assault of the proletarian vanguard has failed. The bourgeoisie and its servants will strive to sow discouragement among the troops in retreat. The Communist International says to you: You have done well, you have written a new page in the history of the German working class. Arm yourselves for the future combat. Study the lessons of the previous struggles, close your ranks; reinforce your legal and underground organisations; strengthen your proletarian discipline and your fighting Communist consciousness. Never forget the victims of this new 'March.'

Long live the Communist proletariat!"

It is not surprising, in view of the facts outlined above, that the local federations of the Party, discussing the tactics of the Levy group, have approved the policy of the Central Committee by large majorities, in many cases approximating to unanimity. Amongst these may be cited the federations of Berlin, Essen, Silesia, Mecklenburg, Brunswick, Saxony, Rhenish, Westphalia and Frankfurt.

Another noticeable feature is that all the parts of central Europe—that region, in other words, which is nearest of all to the proletarian revolution, and where consequently the Communist Party is most sensitive to the need for its own self-development—have judged it necessary to pronounce an opinion upon the Levy case. The Executive Committee of the Austrian Communist Party has declared itself in complete sympathy with the attitude of the German Party Executive. Incidentally, this declaration has brought about the resignation of the editor-in-chief of the Party organ, the Vienna *Rote Fahne*, Strasser, who had declared his sympathy with Levy; and of Gruber, a member of the Central Committee of the Party. The central organs of the German-Swiss Communists (*Basler Vorwaerts*), the Hungarian Communists and the German Communist Party of Czecho-Slovakia (*Reichenberger Vorwaerts*) have also pursued a policy of approval of the German Party Executive.

The administrative council of the Czecho-Slovakian "Marxism Left" (Czech Communist Party, which is about to unite with the German section) has passed the following resolution:—

"The A.C. approves of the attitude of the Central Committee of the V.K.P.D. relative to the revolutionary struggles of the proletariat of central Germany, and assures the revolutionary German workers of the sympathy and solidarity of the workers of Czecho-Slovakia, organised in the Communist Party.

We condemn with the greatest indignation the attitude of the former president of the V.K.P.D., Levy, who at the critical moment has made an attack on the Party and the Communist movement.

Levy's attitude has nothing to do with the liberty of discussion and of criticism within the Party. The tone of the pamphlet goes beyond all admissible bounds, and shows in certain passages that the author does not possess the qualities required of a leader of a Communist Party.

Considering that in this case it is not purely a German question, but one which interests all Communist parties; and considering that the situation is such as, in the course of development of the revolutionary movement, every Communist Party may have to pass through; the Administrative Council approves of the expulsion of Levy from the United Communist Party of Germany.

Draft Constitution of the French Socialist Party

Humanité on April 17/18 published the draft constitution of the French Socialist Party as a basis for suggestions and amendments by branches. The following is a summary of the draft:—

PARTY CONSTITUTION.

The Socialist Party is founded on the following principles:—[International working class action, organisation of the proletariat for the conquest of power and the socialisation of the means of production and exchange. The title of the Party as from January 1st, 1922, is to be "Communist Party, French section of the Communist International; " members accept the principles, regulations, tactics and discipline of the Party.

ORGANISATION OF THE PARTY.

In each borough (Commune) there will be constituted one branch with the exception of Paris, Lyons, and Marseilles, where several branches may be formed. Members will receive a membership card and pay annual dues, which will be fixed by the national congress. Members of the Party must become members of the trade union of their profession and the co-operative society of their district.

Branches will be grouped into a federation in each department with a federal council; regional unions of federations may be constituted for purposes of propaganda and intensified activity, but in each case the organisation must be approved by the party, and unions must confine themselves strictly to the purposes for which they have been set up. Federations must not consist of less than five branches with a minimum of 100 members. Federations will draw up lists of candidates for parliamentary elections which will be ratified by the Executive Committee of the Party. All candidates must sign a pledge to abide by the principles of the Party and of the national and international congresses; if for one reason or another they leave the Party they must resign their seat.

No one may become a member of the Executive Committee, a permanent propaganda delegate, a delegate to the national congress, or the national council, or a candidate at parliamentary elections, unless he has been a member of the Party for three years.

THE PARTY CONGRESS.

The Party recognises the principle of majority rule, but admits the right of free discussion for any minorities; for all assemblies of the Party branches will appoint their delegates by proportional representation after a free discussion and vote. Delegates to the National Congress will be appointed by the federation congress, each federation establishing its own method of nomination. Each federation will be held to acquire one mandate for every 25 members of the Party, and will send delegates to the congress on the basis of one delegate for every 20 mandates. The vote by mandate will be taken at the congress if a quarter of the delegates demand it. The congress will be summoned

at least three months in advance, except in cases of urgency, the Executive Committee naming the place of assembly. The Socialist parliamentary group will make an annual report to the congress which shall have been published and circulated to the federations at least one month previously. At the congress itself it will be represented by a delegation of two to five members with consultative votes.

THE NATIONAL COUNCIL.

A commission of control, finance, and accounts will be appointed annually. It will be composed of nine members of which not more than one-third will be parliamentary deputies. A disputes commission will also be elected by the congress. Between the congresses the Party is governed by the Executive Committee, which is controlled by the National Council; in case of conflict between the two an extraordinary national congress will be summoned. The National Council is constituted by delegates from the federations on the basis of two delegates up to forty mandates and one for every forty possessed in addition by the federation in question. The delegates are elected for one year except where specially suspended by their federation. The members of the Executive Committee of the Party also constitute part of a national council. The national council will be summoned twice a year in ordinary session, but may be summoned in extraordinary session on the demand of the Executive Committee or of one quarter of its own members.

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

Between the congresses the Party is directed and administered by an Executive Committee composed of 24 members elected by the National Congress by a majority vote. It may not include more than eight members of parliament. It appoints and dismisses the general secretary, the international secretary, the treasurer, the director of publications, and their assistants.

THE PARLIAMENTARY GROUP.

The group is charged with the work of revolutionary party propaganda against bourgeois violence and political methods in parliament; and in addition must undertake fifty days propaganda work outside their own federation according to the directions of the Executive Committee. All sessions of the parliamentary group will be attended by a special delegation of non-parliamentary members of the Executive Committee, and the latter will be consulted on all broad questions of policy affecting the party as a whole, which may arise in parliament. The decision of the Executive Committee is binding upon the members of the parliamentary group.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT DEPUTIES.

The municipal and departmental councillors will be continuously under the control of the local organisation of the Party and in general under that of the Executive Committee and the National Congress.

DISPUTES COMMISSION.

Local and individual disputes will be settled by a mixed Commission appointed by the parties concerned and presided over by a neutral party. All disputes not settled amicably will be passed on to the Party Disputes Commission, composed of eleven members, which has plenipotentiary power to take into its cognisance all disputes. Appeals from the decisions of this commission may be taken before the National Congress, but may not be suspended on that account. Punishments inflicted may be censure, temporary suspension and expulsion. An expelled member cannot be readmitted except by the decision of the International Congress after consultation with the federation concerned.

PRESS.

Daily and periodical publications of the Party will be placed under the political and administrative control of the Party organisation to which they belong, and generally speaking, of the Executive Committee and the National Congress. They will express the policy of the majority as decided at the last congress, whether on questions of theory, tactics, or action. The party or federations may create organs of theoretical discussion, for members only, in which discussion will be absolutely free. Members of the Party contributing to journals or periodicals not belonging to the Party are under the control of the various organisations of which they personally are members.

NOTE—Up to January 1, 1922, the title of the Party will be "Socialist Party (French Section of the Communist International)."

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The Struggle in the German Trade Unions

The successes recently obtained by the Communists in the principal German Trade Unions have brought about an offensive on the part of the majority. It is in this way that began the crusade "against those who are destroying working class unity at the orders of Moscow."

At the Tenth Congress of the A.D.G.B. (the General Federation of Trade Unions of Germany) a motion of the Independent Dittmann was adopted. Its tenor is as follows:—

"The elements supported by Moscow are extremely menacing to the unity and cohesion of the labour movement, and the committee of the A.D.G.B. considers it its duty to combat *by all means at its disposal*, these disintegrating influences."

Nevertheless, the Central Committee would not act immediately. It simply threw out this watchword: "The Communists obeying the theses of Moscow place themselves outside the statutes of the federation and split the organisation." No proof was, or can be made, of this assertion. The pretext given was that the Communists following the orders of Moscow were constituting "Communist nuclei" within the ranks of each union.

This, however, was no novelty for the German Trade Union movement. The Social Democratic members, when they were a minority in a union, had never considered as they do now that the formation of special groups is contrary to the essence of trade unionism. Still more, they themselves put these principles into practice. For example at Berlin the majority members of the Building Workers' Union constitute a special group which meets outside the union with special notices of assembly in the *Vorwaerts* and none of them has ever considered that trade unionist unity was imperilled.

The offensive was launched by the railwaymen's federation. At its session of January 19, the Central Committee decided to expel the Communists. At Berlin at a General Meeting the representative of the Central Committee declared that proceedings for expulsion had been opened against five Communist members "guilty of having taken the lead in a railwaymen's demonstration which had not been authorised, and of having refused to obey the *orders* of the local committee to suspend a meeting which they had begun ten minutes before." The "defendants" he added were provisionally deprived of their rights; which was contrary to the statutes. The declaration aroused a tumult in the assembly which, a vote being taken, refused to follow the lead of the Central Committee and supported the five comrades.

Similar events have taken place at Cologne. A meeting voted affiliation to Moscow; Comrades Mieves and Klief who were responsible for the motion were expelled. 1,300 railwaymen then forced the summoning of an extraordinary general assembly. The Central Committee sent there one of its members, Breunig. The assembly decided to allow Mieves to speak; whereupon Breunig left the hall. It was then decided to send no more membership dues to the Union Treasury until the persecution of the Communists came to an end. A new local committee was elected, Mieves being placed at its head; the Central Committee refused to recognise it. A new assembly took place on February 4 and passed a resolution demanding where and when the supporters of the Third International had diminished the power of cohesion of the organisation.

The Central Committee replied by expelling all its opponents. Scheffel declared "the Central Committee has appointed a commission of three of its members to examine all expulsions. We are carrying on a unitary policy. For us there is only one alternative: either the Second or Third International."

At Essen five expulsions. At Munich Comrade Kammerer, member of the State Industrial Council and sixteen years an active worker in the Labour movement was expelled. At Berlin five expulsions; at Hanau the secretary Fleischhauer. Everywhere meetings of protest demanding the re-admission of the members expelled and even as at Hanau going as far as to declare that they will follow those expelled.

At Erfurt, Schmidt, the secretary, has been expelled in the same way. Notice of six weeks has been given only because it is required by the law.

At Munich, Leipzig, and everywhere else the struggle is continuing. Begun by the Railwaymen's Federation it is vigorously raging at

present in the building and metal-working unions. After the Halle congress which disapproved of the bureau dominated by the majority, and voted 'affiliation to Moscow while remaining in the old unions, Poeplow, the chairman of the Building Workers' Federation and a majority socialist, had a motion of expulsion passed against the Communist organisers Heckert, Brandler, Bachmann of Halle against two from Berlin and one from Munich. This again called forth a storm of activity. Innumerable resolutions were passed and a special congress was demanded.

In the Metalworkers' Federation the minority leaders won local successes. At this stage it was that the Central Committee had expulsions voted. The vote showed 72 for and 14 against. The statement of reason for the expulsion contained the following phrase: "No one can be an official of the federation who receives orders from abroad."

Hitherto there had been no apparent invasion on the part of the General Federation of Trade Unions and only the federations had been at work. But one of the most important working class centres, Halle, where the unions were nearly on the side of the minority decided at the end of January to fuse with the economic organisation of the Workers' Councils. This was the pretext awaited by the majority. The General Federation of Trade Unions immediately sent to Halle one of its best "Bolshevik leaders," Schulz, with the object of constituting a new Trades Council, i.e., a counter organisation. The cashiers received an order to refuse all payments to the union members of the town. On February 10th a conference was held of all the Halle unions, at which Schulz presided and declared that it was necessary to "split" the unions.

The struggle is continuing.

In Austria the struggle has assumed its own characteristic aspect. The social democrats are profiting by the preponderance they still have in the factory councils, and by the power of employment and dismissal which they enjoy to carry on the struggle by means of the very lowest methods ever used by the employing class. Under pain of dismissal the revolutionaries are forced to enter the social democratic organisations and subscribe to their organs. Reading the *Rota Fahne* is sufficient pretext for dismissal.

Vie Ouvrier, 13/5/1921.



America

SUMMARY OF C.E.C. REPORT TO THIRD CONVENTION OF THE C.P. OF A.

THE COMMUNIST BULLETIN, the fortnightly organ of the Communist Party of America, gives in its issue of March 31 a report from which the following extracts are taken:—

GENERAL PROGRESS.

"Since the last convention in July, 1920, the Communist Party has made good progress in organisation and propaganda.

At that time the party had not yet quite recovered from the split, which, being led by a former secretary of the party, took away our connections in three districts—the IV., V., and VI.; took away about \$7,000 of our funds; and put the membership into a state of confusion.

But soon things began to pick up. Although we were short of comrades qualified to act as District Organisers, so that District VI. obtained a permanent organiser only in the middle of September, good connections were fully established everywhere, and membership records, both by reports and dues payments, improved right along. Collections from Day's Wages and for the organisation fund (the totals of which are \$13,078.57 and \$6,530.73 respectively for the six months ending Dec. 31) soon put our finances in good shape, so that we could go ahead with the distribution of leaflets, printing pamphlets and books, and in December even to begin to issue another paper.

Although quite a number of our comrades left for Russia, still the membership records show an average of 6,371 for the last three months, Nov., Dec., and Jan. The January figure being 6,693 as against 7,250 for the first three months of July, Aug., and Sept.

From a balance of \$707.53 at the beginning of July, we have gained a balance of \$4,801.87 at the end of January.

The circulation of the COMMUNIST has risen from 6,000 to 8,000; the other paper is printed in 18,000 copies; 11 pamphlets and books have been published, most of them in 10,000 copies each; four general leaflets issued, the last in 390,000 copies, and several local, such as on the Coal Strike, the Street Car Strike and Shipyard Strike. Besides this, the Language Federations have issued their legal and illegal papers, leaflets, pamphlets, books, etc., as will appear in their reports.

DEVELOPMENTS AND DECISIONS ON ORGANISATION QUESTIONS.

Solution of the one organisation question which was so threatening at the last convention, appointments from top down to (and including) the sub-district organisers, and elections from bottom up to (and including) the local organisers, is working well; there have been no conflicts between the representatives from the central bodies and the representatives of the membership.

The only disturbance in our organisation during the last seven months which is worth mentioning, is the split in the Lettish Federation; and that was precipitated rather on legalistic and nationalistic lines, than on the issues of party organisation, although the demagogues who later went over to the U.C.P. also used the lure of "democracy" for their purposes. In this split the Lettish Federation lost about a little over 200 men, some of whom have recently decided to come back to the C.P. The C.E.C. decided, however, that seceding groups or organisations should not be taken back as a whole.

The seceding groups of the Jewish Federation came back to the C.P. in October. The C.E.C. permitted them to be taken back as whole groups, ordering the exclusion of Raphael, who was mainly instrumental in bringing about the split in the Jewish Federation, and who deserted the Communist Party so shamelessly in the split. The experience with these returning groups in the Jewish Federation prompted the decision that no seceding groups should be taken back as a whole.

The Polish Federation definitely re-affiliated with the C.P. in October.

These two federations, the Jewish and the Polish, suffered most in the Party split, and it was necessary to render them financial assistance, especially to the Jewish Federation, so they should be able to carry on the work of propaganda and organisation in their languages.

Applying to all sub-divisions and organisations of the Party, including all federations, was the decision of the C.E.C. that all party publishing concerns and legal press must be under the direct control and ownership of party management. Important steps have been taken in several federations to comply with this decision.

Another important decision regarding organisation was that providing for the addition of federation sub-district organisers to all sub-district executive committees. This was found necessary in order to make them the point of contact not only between the appointed officials of the party and the elected representatives from the membership, but also between the appointed officials of the federations and the local organisers who are elected from all branches in the local at large. This provision has fully justified itself in practice, and is now included in the draft of constitution proposed by the C.E.C.

The decisions that the C.E.C. should have the addresses of all sub-district organisers for emergency cases; that the dismissal as well as the appointment of all sub-district organisers is subject to the approval of the C.E.C., and that the regular party literature is to be sent to sub-districts directly wherever possible—are self-explanatory.

As to Federation branches in Canada, since there was and is no Communist Party in existence in Canada, the C.E.C. decided that they should belong to Federations of the C.P. of America, and function as

integral parts of the Party. Two sub-districts have been organised there as parts of District four, and all Party literature has been supplied to them under the same name as in the U.S.

Owing to the fact that the C.E.C. has found it necessary to appoint members of itself suitable to act as district organisers, it is unable to find enough comrades outside of the C.E.C. as district organisers in four districts, even though it meant that they would reside then quite a distance from the headquarters of the Party. This has been found quite an obstacle to the proper functioning of the C.E.C., and the provisions of the constitution in this respect should be complied with more strictly in the future.

The issuance of membership certificates has been changed several times, as the circumstances demanded, the final provisions being such as to restrict them to such members as have been in the Party for at least a year, and that they should be issued only by the branch organisers, if the member is not personally known to higher Party sub-division. There was danger of the certificates being misunderstood at the other side, if issued by the central body directly, and there was also danger that persons might join the Party merely to get a certificate. The Party discouraged as much as possible exodus of members to Russia.

The decision that calling of the meetings of more than one group, and large captains' meetings were to be considered violation of the constitution, was taken for reasons of conspiracy, and to insure the authority of action to the regular Party sub-divisions, groups, branches, locals, etc.

This was passed by the C.E.C.; it should be clear that this does not prohibit larger meetings for the purpose of discussion and propaganda, and meetings called for specific purposes, such as shop and union nuclei, etc.

On the basis of experience for the last seven months, the present C.E.C. recommends to the incoming C.E.C. that there should be a permanent assistant secretary, who should be ready to take the place of the secretary whenever emergency demands; that for the same reason there should be one paid sub-district organiser in each district, if means will permit—also to act as assistant district organiser. We are sure that there will be enough work for all these comrades all the time.

DEVELOPMENTS AND DECISIONS ON QUESTION OF POLICY.

Shop Committees, Nuclei in Unions, co-operation.

Your C.E.C. was compelled to change the name of the Communist Party Shop Committees to Communist Nuclei, as the former name created much confusion, leading to the belief that the work of the nuclei must consist only of activity in the shops, while in reality the Communist nuclei must function both in the shops, the unions, and all other workers' organisations, on the other hand, the name of the Communist Party Shop Committees is misleading because it conveys the idea of non-partisan shop committees, and created an erroneous impression that the Communist Party intended to replace the non-partisan shop committees by the Communist shop committees.

As a matter of fact, the C.E.C. never intended to project this idea. The Second Convention of the C.P. of A. did not discuss the creation

of such non-partisan Shop Committees, which were considered by some of the delegates to be premature, as the objective and subjective conditions were not satisfactorily ripe for their organisation.

In connection with this, we must mention that your C.E.C. deemed it necessary to advise our Communist nuclei to co-operate with other revolutionary elements in their common struggle against the bureaucratic officials of the reactionary trade unions. At the same time we have cautioned them to act carefully and not to disclose their identity while co-operating with other groups.

ATTITUDE TOWARDS LEGAL WORKERS' SOCIETIES.

The C.E.C. found it necessary to interpret the attitude of the last convention towards legal workers' societies, since there was a serious error in the report of the last convention which appeared in the official organ, the *COMMUNIST*, with regard to these societies.

Your C.E.C. took a stand against creating new legal societies, but deemed it necessary to advise our members to join and remain in the existing legal workers' societies, and, in keeping with the Theses of the C.I., to use all their endeavours to bring the members of such societies to our point of view.

PROGRAMME FOR STUDY CLASSES.

Your C.E.C. issued a programme for study classes which consisted of two parts—an elementary and an advanced course. As the period during which this programme was in effect was very short, we are not in a position to make definite conclusions as to the results, especially as during this time the attention and interest of the membership was taken up with the question of unity.

EDITORIAL POLICY OF THE *COMMUNIST*.

THE PAPER NO. 2, LEAFLETS, PAMPHLETS, ETC.

In order that the *COMMUNIST*, our official organ, should become a theoretical organ propagating Communist principles and tactics, your C.E.C. proposes that it should be issued as a monthly magazine. At this stage of the Communist movement in America, it is essential that the C.P. should publish a genuine propaganda organ, as our official party organ. The *COMMUNIST* has been neither a propaganda nor an agitation organ; and its tone, form and character have not been such as the magnitude and high purpose of our movement require. With the issuing of Paper No. 2, the work of regular agitation has been taken over by this paper; and therefore our official organ, the *COMMUNIST*, should devote all its space to propaganda and the discussion of party principles and policies, together with scientific and theoretical articles for the education and training of our membership, and development of Communists out of the party sympathisers. Such a scientific magazine will fill a much-needed want in this country, and will develop real Communist understanding among the membership, and develop Communist leaders in America among the English-speaking elements.

Purely party news and official party matters, together with the discussion of controversial party affairs, should be published in an official party bulletin to be issued bi-weekly, free of charge, to the

membership. Such a bulletin will keep the members of the C.P. posted on all party affairs, and keep them in close contact with their central organisations.

Also Paper No. 2 shall be made a weekly, and carry on the popularisation of Communist theory and practice. It carries the Communist message into the ranks of the organised workers, in the trade and industrial unions, and to the broad masses generally, in popular language. It gives the Communist point of view upon the immediate issues confronting the American working class, and reviews the proletarian revolution in other countries. Paper No. 2 is an important organ of the party, and one of the chief means of maintaining contact with the working masses, of giving a popular expression to Communist theory, and of rallying the advanced workers in the unions for the destruction of the reactionary trade union bureaucracy; thus bringing the labour unions into line with the proletarian revolution in American and other countries.

Popular legal pamphlets on the different phases of Communism were issued, but these pamphlets should be very simply written, so that they may be brought to the attention of the less educated workers. Pamphlet and books dealing with the more advanced and scientific formulæ of Communism are equally necessary. These may be legal or illegal, according to the subject of its treatment. Leaflets, legal or illegal, have been frequently issued on matters of issues, strikes, unemployment, etc. These leaflets should be concise, brief and keep within the bounds of the particular problem and subject upon which they are issued. All pamphlets and books should be issued only by the C.E.C. of the party and Federation E.C. Leaflets of a general nature dealing with theoretical discussion of Communist principles should only be issued by the C.E.C. and the F.E.C. Subordinate units of the Party should be allowed to issue leaflets on local problems, strikes, or the local manifestations of a general strike, etc. Mistakes by inexperienced members in the subordinate units are bound to occur in issuing such leaflets, but the members will learn by their mistakes, and it is preferable to inactivity.

PROGRAMME AND CONSTITUTION.

The C.E.C. brings before the convention a complete programme for your consideration, based upon the decisions of the second World Congress of the Communist International. The programme presented by the C.E.C. for your consideration at the convention suggests changes and the clarification of the Party's attitude toward the questions of Communist Nuclei, Factory Committees, the Trade Union movement, the Colonial question, Imperialism, the agricultural workers, tenant and poorer farmers and the semi-proletariat, and the function of the Communist Party of America. . . .

COMMUNIST UNITY.

On this question a number of documents and statements are given, showing considerable divergence in views between the two Communist Parties. The position at the beginning of April is summed up by the following letter:—

TO THE MEMBERS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY AND
UNITED COMMUNIST PARTY.

Comrades:

The undersigned, delegates of the Communist Party and the United Communist Party to the Second Congress of the Communist International, were designated by the Executive Committee of the International to see that its decision for unity in the American Communist movement was realised in life.

Upon our arrival and investigation of the situation, we were convinced that a deadlock had been reached which could be broken only by further intervention by the Executive Committee of the Communist International, and this time in such a form that neither party could evade the issue.

Having come to this conclusion, we wished to end the factional controversy on unity, which is demoralising our movement, until the Communist International compels unity. To this end we proposed the following plan:

That each C.E.C. elect three members to a National Council; that this Council shall function in the name of "The Communist Party of America (Unified)"; that it shall issue a central organ which shall have two editors, one from each party; that it shall publish literature, issue proclamations, and carry on as much work as the two parties shall agree to jointly; that the two parties shall maintain their organisations intact, and continue to publish all their papers except the central organ; that each party shall submit a detailed statement to the Executive Committee of the Communist International on why unity has not been accomplished, and what are the real issues which divide the parties, so that the Executive Committee shall instruct the unity convention how to decide on these controversial questions.

It is not our task to pass judgment on the two parties in this matter; but it is our task to try and end the factional controversy, even if only by a semblance of unity.

The C.E.C. of the Communist Party rejected our proposal, declaring that it is unworkable and in contradiction to the instructions on unity of their recent convention.

The C.E.C. of the United Communist Party accepted our proposal in principle, while making certain amendments which they thought would make the plan work better.

To our regret, we have, accordingly, been unable to break the deadlock.

We shall accordingly report to the Executive Committee that we cannot break the deadlock, and we shall make definite, concrete suggestions to the Communist International on how to break the deadlock and how to realise actual unity—unity of a character which will give factional control to neither party, but which shall be the unity desired by the International itself, and in accord with the requirements of the American movement.

In the meanwhile, we call upon the C.E.C.'s and the membership of both parties not to make factional capital out of our proposal, which was intended to end the factional struggle; we declare that to use our

proposal in a factional spirit is to indicate desire for control and not for real unity.

It is futile for each party to try to crush the other—that demoralises the movement and makes unity in the real sense still more difficult to accomplish. We therefore call upon you, comrades, to stay in the party where you are now, to have patience and not increase the bitterness which prevails among us, and to give the Executive of the Communist International time to act, finally and authoritatively.

(Signed) T.

COMMUNIST PARTY OF AMERICA.

(Signed) C.E.S.

UNITED COMMUNIST PARTY OF AMERICA.

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France

THE COMMUNIST PARTY AND THE NEW WAR.

Humanité (May 4th) prints the following declaration of the Executive Committee of the French Party on the subject of the Ruhr mobilisation:—

"The Party does not wish to delay a single day in raising its protest against the mobilisation ordered by the Government.

The present difficulties resulting from the Treaty of Versailles, which the Party denounced as imperialist, impracticable, and fatally productive of new wars and of the policy of violence of the national bloc, which it has never ceased fighting, cannot be solved, but will be aggravated by the recourse to force decided upon by the Government.

The Party declares once again that the Government, entirely swayed as it is by the most insane reaction is taking no thought industrially for the reconstruction of the devastated regions and real reparations. It denounces the deception of which the French nation is the victim.

It proclaims that the young people, torn from their homes, their work and their civil liberty, are bound by no duty towards the minority of profiteers and headstrong reactionaries which has forced the Government to mobilise them.

The workers have duties only to their class—within the nation in the international. The Party affirms its determination to draw together by all means in its power the bonds of fraternity which unite the French Communists with their German brothers. Together French and German Communists will carry on the struggle against the capitalist oligarchy in the two countries.

Henceforth, face to face with the bourgeois Government of France it declares that it will not cease to fight side by side with the working class organisations in order to restrain the threat of imperialism; and that it will spare no effort in order that from the present crisis, aggravated by the inevitable complications, may spring the revolution from which the bourgeois regime cannot escape."

Spain

THE BIRTH OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY.

The Spanish Socialist Congress held at the end of April, 1921, was the last stage in the decomposition of a party that had once been doctrinaire but honest, but which ten years coalition with the republican parties had corrupted with the vices and disorganisation of the latter. The situation was complicated by personal squabbles which had followed the refusal of the leaders in 1919 to obey the decision of the party, and cease their collaboration with the bourgeoisie.

For this reason the first speakers at the congress were mainly provincial comrades who were less directly involved in the recent disputes. The propagandist, Virginia Gonzalez, made a strenuous attack on the so-called "reconstructors" and particularly Largo Caballero, secretary of the General Union of Workers, for having declared at the Institute of Social Reforms that he participated in the mourning caused by the assassination of Dato, at a time when the workers had fallen by hundreds beneath the repression of that premier. She criticised the feeble tactics of the Socialist members of Parliament, and told them that the best service they could render to the proletariat would be to return to its ranks.

The reformist position was defended by Saborit, deputy for Asturias, and by Largo Caballero. The professor and deputy for Madrid pronounced a diatribe against the supporters of the Third International, saying that they were proposing to initiate not a war of ideas, but a mutiny of non-commissioned officers who wanted to become generals. He affirmed that no post in the party would henceforth be assigned to supporters of the Third International, and if necessary they would be expelled. These words finally made the breach which the more temperate speeches of the two delegates returned from Russia had endeavoured to bridge over.

Of these delegates, de Los Rios, the secretary of the railwaymen, is an opponent of the Third International, while Anguiano is a supporter of the 21 points. The final vote gave a majority of 2,000 to the reconstructors.

The vote was followed by a declaration on behalf of the minority by Perez Solis—a declaration which was signed notably by representatives of the Asturias federation, the most powerful in the party. One of the founders of the Spanish party, the veteran Quejido, rose and declared with great emotion, in the name of the majority of the Executive Committee, that he also was leaving the party to found the Communist Party with the delegates of the Third International.

Humanité, 26/4/21.

THE TERROR AT WORK.

The following moving letter to the French Syndicalist organ *La Vie Ouvrière* describes the methods by which the Spanish Government takes its revenge on those Communists, Socialists; and trade unionists against whom it is unable to establish any criminal charge. The penalty consists of being marched with hands bound between gendarmes along the highways to their native town or village, receiving for their daily

subsistence the sum of 6d. per day. The letter is dated March, 1921:—

"The present state of things in Spain is unheard of.

Caravans of exiles follow one after the other along all the roads of the peninsula.

We have to march for days and days with 6d. a day per head for our food; yet we pay 3d. to 4d. for 500 grammes of bread.

At the simple whim of a police agent or a "gardia civil" (gendarme) we are imprisoned blindly; without trial, without even judicial investigation we are driven to the most distant towns, if they are our places of origin, with hands in fetters, accompanied by other comrades, in interminable convoys.

At each prison we remain several days; and there it is decided what route we shall take further. We are not arrested, it appears, from the point of view of the law, but we are none the less deprived of liberty for several months, and of the possibility of assuring the needs of existence of our parents and families.

Correspondence is a very rare thing for us. For over a month I have received no letters from my wife; I have already sent her several letters, but I am not certain if she has received them. The comrades who are with me have no better fate than mine.

For six weeks the wife of one of these comrades has been in prison. She had the courage to bring him his dinner every day while he was in prison. She was arrested in her home at midnight and dragged to the police station, where two Browning's were pressed to her breasts to make her tell whence came the money with which she bought the food.

Poor ferocious beasts who seem to consider themselves capable of killing the solidarity in us that exists in all the workers!

I must add that she had not received anything up to that day, and that she had not had need of it.

For five days she was obliged to sleep at the police station, in the presence of a dozen policemen at least, and on the sixth she was taken to the prison where she still remains.

As syndicalists, we are regularly thrown into the worst cells, we are not even allowed to shave, or to wash our linen; as we are merely passing strangers we cannot be granted this as it would be a breach of the rules of the establishment. And we remain for weeks and months in the same clothes.

Judge, comrades, of the state in which we are living, without news of our families, without being able to read a single paper, most of us suffering from lack of food and from exposure—slowly moving along the road to tuberculosis and the grave."

TRADE UNION LEADER TORTURED.

About a month ago the secretary of the National Federation of Labour (the revolutionary trade union organisation in Spain), Avelino Boal, was arrested in his home and taken to prison. Witnesses who have since visited him say that he is now unrecognisable, his head and his face are a mass of bruises, his eyes being driven into their sockets, his face terribly swollen from the blows he has received.

Another comrade was surprised during his sleep at his own home, and assassinated in his bed. At Mataro, a little town near Barcelona, three other trade unionists were murdered as they were leaving work.

La Vie Ouvriere, 22/4/21.

TOWARDS UNITY.

L'Avant Garde, the Swiss Communist daily, of May 2nd, contains the following article from the pen of its Spanish correspondent:—

"The Extraordinary Congress of the Spanish Socialist Labour Party, which was held at Madrid on May 10th and the following days, decided by 8,808 votes to 6,025 not to accept the 21 conditions of Moscow, and to join its fate with that of the reconstructors. The Spanish bourgeoisie is making holiday. At the Congress two or three of the principal orators, men who had posts in the official departments of the state, showed themselves openly and frankly enemies of the Communist International. The capitalist press has praised and exploited their speeches, issuing them as sources whence to draw the conclusion that Russia of to-day is a chaos. None the less, at the end of the Congress many of the delegates left the Party and signed a manifesto to the masses which proclaimed the Communist International of Moscow as the only revolutionary International. This group has a very small body of representatives in Parliament.

The old leader Pablo Iglesias has lost all his old prestige, the congress has given a proof of this, for everyone knows that Pablo Iglesias never ceases attacking the dictatorship of the proletariat in the columns of the bourgeois press; none the less he was appointed director of the Socialist Party organ *El Socialista*, which is now becoming definitely reformist, nearly all of its editorial staff enjoying Government posts.

On the other hand the Communist Party, Spanish Section of the Third International, founded a year ago, expects to receive into its midst within a very short time, the honest revolutionary elements which have broken away from the Reformist Party. Its organ *El Comunista*, was at first published fortnightly, then weekly, and now appears bi-weekly; in a short time it is expected to become a daily.

The next Congress of the Party will take place at Madrid in May or June. At this Congress Merino Gracia, the Party delegate to Moscow will present the report of his journey.

From another source (*Humanité* of May 4th) we learn that the Minority section of the Congress immediately assembled separately constituting themselves the Communist Labour Party of Spain. The Provincial delegates were instructed to return to their districts in order to bring about the reconstruction of the new Party, leaving at Madrid a National Organisation Committee, composed of Quejido (one of the founders of the old party), Anguiano (ex-secretary of the old party), Nunez Arenas, Virginia Gonzanex, Torralva Becce, Mancebo and Evariste Gil. The National Committee set to work actively, deciding that the Communist member of the Madrid Town Council, Garcia Cortes, should separate himself from the Socialist group of councilors.

The first number of a new weekly, entitled "The Class Struggle," appeared on May 1st.

Czecho Slovakia

One of the most striking events in the recent history of the movement in Czecho-Slovakia, has been the trial of the fourteen Communists accused of high treason for participation in the general strike of December, 1920. The speeches made at the trial created a great sensation amongst the Bohemian workers.

Muna speaking first declared that he was a Communist and a supporter of the Third International. He claimed as his own the Marxian programme.

Passing on to the details of the accusations made against him he denied that the December insurrection had been organised at Kladno. As for the charge made against him personally, of having preached the confiscation of the estates of the great landlords, all he had done was to follow out the programme of the Kramarcz-Tusar Government which had on many occasions spoken about socialising the land.

Questioned as to his attitude about sabotage in the Army, *Muna* replied that he had only carried out the mandates of this party, but that the party had not spoken of sabotage.

Naprstec declined all responsibility for the events of December. He declared that up to the month of June, 1918, he had been a member of the Narodni Vybor at Kladno, and had assisted in organising the overthrow of the Hapsburgs. "In this sense, certainly," he said, "I am guilty of high treason, and if I had been condemned by an Austrian justice I should have held my head upright on the scaffold."

The next speaker was *Sadmek*. He admitted having incited the proletariat to strike and to take possession of the great estates. "I see no reason," he said, "why the Communists should be obliged to continue to leave the great landed properties in the hands of the ex-Emperor Charles, or the enemies of the Czech nation, Clam-Martinec or Fuerstenberg."

Comrades *Benat* and *Macak* admitted having been members of the Revolutionary Committee; but declared that their part in the movement had been a theoretical one.

The latter made a fiery speech against the charge laid at their door, and exposed all its iniquity.

Humanité, 9/4/21.

Turkey

Returning at the end of March to Moscow M. Pavlovich, member of the Council of Action of the Eastern Peoples, gave a report of the Turkish Communist Party and the last conference of the Council of Action. At the latter conference there were present Narimanov representing the Communist Party of Azerbeidjan, the chairman of the Foreign Bureau of the Turkish Communist Party, Ismael Shaki, and a number of delegates from the revolutionary parties of Asia. It was found necessary to set up in addition to the Council of Action and Propaganda at Baku, two supplementary bureaux in Tashkent and Central Asia. It was decided to send delegations to Persia and Turkey.

At the head of the Turkish Communist Party stands a group led by Ismael Shaki and Subki, which publishes *The New World*. A number of pamphlets in Turkish have been published. There exists in addition to this party the so-called "Angora Communist Party." From the speeches and articles of its leader, Mahun, Asara, it is clear that the Angora Party is only a tool in the hands of the young Turks. The members of the Angora Party persecute real Communists. According to the latest information Subki, the leader of the Turkish Communist Party, has been arrested by the Angorans.

Rosta.

Italy

THE WHITE TERROR.

The following article, dated April 10th, by the Rome correspondent of the *Populaire*, gives a graphic picture of the scenes which now occur almost daily in the industrial centres of Italy during the struggle between the workers and the white guards secretly organised by the Government.

The general strike which was declared at Padua, in consequence of the attack on the Deputy Pane Bianco, came to an end on the evening of April 7th. In all enterprises and factories the workers resumed work.

During the day of the 8th no incident took place. The calm was broken, however, by three young Fascisti, who had the audacity to ride through the Rue Savonarola in the working class quarter in a carriage. Here, during the riots, there had been wounded a little girl of five years old, Genevra Doborat. The street was crowded with workers, who received the three young men with stones. They then descended from their carriage and opened fire on the crowds, killing a working man of 35. It was only then that the police appeared to re-establish order.

At Venice a general strike took place to avenge the looting which had been done by the Fascisti at the railwaymen's club. A combat took place, and as always, the police came to the assistance of the Nationalists against the workers. During this conflict one man was killed and sixteen wounded. Two members of the police force were disarmed. In the afternoon the workers held a meeting in the Santa-Margherita Square and declared they would continue the strike until further orders from the railway union. The latter did not give an order for resumption of work until the Fascisti disavowed their own handiwork.

At Reggio Emilia, in consequence of a shot fired by a Socialist against a Fascist, the latter organisation attacked the Trades Council, looted it, and threw out of the windows the furniture, books, and all the documents, which were burnt. The Red flag was torn down and the national flag was hoisted in its place.

The work of destruction was continued by the sacking of the Socialist library and the burning of the office of the newspaper *Giustizia*. It was their intention to arrest the Deputy Zibordi, but in the office only the Deputy Prampolini was to be found. He was escorted to his own house by three Fascisti.

Everything was turned upside-down in the Socialist club. In the evening all the shops were closed and the theatres suspended. A general strike is expected.

Populaire, 12/4/21.

Workers' Guard for Norway

To preserve order and thus protect the Workers' interests in strikes, demonstrations and other economic and political conflicts the Christiana Labour Party and Christiana's Federated Trades Unions establish, in co-operation, a Workers' Guard of Order. The Guardians of Order consist of:—

1. Leaders of the two co-operating organisations.

2. A representative for every 100 or part of 100 members of the Trades Unions and the party organisation.

The "Guardians of Order" have the right to elect their own leaders or Committee of Order, but until this is appointed the committees of the two co-operating organisations act as Committee of Order.

The Guardians of Order are intended to be used:

(a) At great trade and political demonstrations.

(b) At comprehensive strikes, lock-outs and other great trade or political conflicts.

(c) When in a conflict a single organisation makes a request to the Committee of Order for assistance and the Committee of Order finds same justified. Otherwise it is taken for granted that in smaller trade disputes each group will arrange for the Guardians of Order it considers desirable and necessary.

All expenses to be borne in equal parts by the two co-operating organisations. The arrangements which demand expenses must first be accepted by the committees of the two organisations. In case of great expenses the case must be laid before representatives of the two organisations for consideration.

Arbejder Bladet (Denmark).

Reaction in Yugo Slavia

(FROM A BELGRADE LETTER).

Since December last the Belgrade Government has declared a merciless war on the Communist Party. When the miners of Bosnia and Slovenia went on strike, the Belgrade Government applied the method of Briand in 1910. It militarised the mines and mobilised the miners.

The Executive Committee of the Communist Party proclaimed a general strike of protest; whereupon the Government two days later declared that it was going to place "the forces of the State at the service of liberty and order."

Communist papers were suppressed, and their offices closed; the People's Houses of Belgrade, Zagreb, and Serajevo were occupied by the police. Finally, under the title of "Notice," the Government published a sort of "ukase," of which the following are the principal points:—

- (1) Until the vote of the Constitution, there are forbidden all revolutionary propaganda, Communist and otherwise; Communist organisations; their meetings; their papers; and all writings which have for their object to disturb public order and to propagate, to justify, or defend dictatorship or revolution.

- (2) All publications intended to criticise measures taken by the Government are forbidden.
- (3) Severe measures will be taken against agitators, whether shewing themselves openly or hiding behind an alibi.
- (4) All persons possessing arms must declare them.
- (5) During the work of the Constituent Assembly, demonstrations at Belgrade of every kind are forbidden; and offenders will be brought before courts-martial.
- (6) All foreigners having relations with fomenters of strife will be expelled.
- (7) All civil servants compromised in the Communist movement will be dismissed, and Communist students deprived of their scholarships.

After the execution of these various measures, the only opposition paper that remained was the *Republika*, the organ of the Republican Party, and the newspapers of the Radick group (the Croat-Slovene Party).

Our Comrades Pavel Pavlovich, and Dr. Simko-Markovitch, Communist deputies, went to demand from the Minister for the Interior the publication of documents justifying his accusation against the Communists of organising a plot. The Minister for the Interior replied by a refusal which is a model of its kind:

"Excuse me, gentlemen," he said, "if you desire to ruin the State I have no intention to assist you by publishing the documents in our possession, and thus indicating to you the channels by which they came to us."

Some bourgeois journals, however, did not find this reply satisfactory, and demanded proofs of the plot and all foreign influence. The Republicans organised a meeting of protest against the attitude of the Government, and demanded the publication of the documents.

The meeting was dispersed by the police.

Humanité.

The Movement in Italy

Il Comunista of March 13th publishes an appeal to the Communist Women of Italy, issued by the Communists of Turin.

It calls on the women to spread the doctrines of Communism among their friends and associates wherever possible; to encourage and inspire the men of their family to make a brave stand in the fight that is being waged in Italy. "But above all, the voices of women must be raised to affirm and demand their right to participate in the spiritual and intellectual life, which up to now has been almost totally denied to them; to participate in the political struggles which will decide their fate and future condition, and by which their future rights and duties will be largely shaped."

The Executive Committee of the Communist Party of Italy, in conjunction with the representatives of the Communist International in the Latin countries, informs all the organisations and members of the Party that:—

(1) Everything regarding the relations and Communications with the Communist International and with the Communist Parties of other

countries must be issued exclusively through the C.E. of the Communist Party of Italy. No other way will be considered valid by the C.E. of the Communist International.

(2) Anyone presenting himself as representative of the Communist International, of the Council of the Red Trade Unions, or of the Communist Parties of other countries, without having first got in touch with the C.E. of the Communist Party of Italy and being accredited by that Party, will be looked upon with suspicion and distrust.

(3) The Communist International and the C.P. of Italy recognise and support only those periodicals and newspapers authorised and announced by the E.C. of the I.C.P. as official organs of the Party in Italy.

The Polish Communists and Parliamentary Elections

The *Kurjer Polski* states that at the Second Congress of the Polish Communist Party the following resolution was passed:—

"The Congress recognises that after the struggle which began in 1919, ending in the victory of the bourgeoisie which created its own political apparatus, the Councils of workers' deputies (Soviets) were destroyed, thanks to the combined action of the Polish Socialist Party (P.P.S.) and the government. It is the duty of the party to make use of the electoral campaign and the parliamentary platform to propagate its views and to attract the masses into the ranks of the Party.

The conference, therefore, charges the Central Committee to take the necessary steps to realise this decision in real life. It is necessary to pay particular attention to the criticism of the activity of the first parliament and the parties represented in it.

Novy Mir, 6/4/1921.

Persecution in Roumania

The Socialist Party branches in Old Roumania and in Siebenburgen have refused to acknowledge the leaders, who have split the Party by their opposition to the Third International, and will not accept their decision. Provisional committees of workers are being set up to replace the leaders and carry on business until a national conference can be called. The Roumanian delegate to the Red Trade Union has already left for Russia.

Persecution because of participation in the general strike continues. The Trade Unions are hindered at every step. Four members of the executive of the Communist Party have been condemned to death, and thirty-three members of the Party imprisoned.

Demobilisation, first postponed, has now been cancelled. Discontent in the army is growing; the death penalty is in force for propaganda.

Six parliamentary deputies are doing hard labour; according to the law they ought to be immune from arrest. The secretary of a Socialist branch in Transylvania, who led a local general strike of one hour's duration, has been sentenced to death. "Unofficial" organised assassination has appeared. Workers in the annexed provinces are emigrating hastily.

Police Methods in France

The following is the text of a letter delivered by pneumatic post at the office of *La Vie Ouvrière* on February 14, 1921. The message was written in Russian.

"Comrade—

Please come to me as soon as possible, I shall be at home from 6.45 in the evening. I want to give you the funds and to talk to you very seriously about a comrade. Bring also the Polish papers. I cannot get them. You know my address, if you have not got it, find out from Albert.

Greetings.

Var."

Not a soul at the office either of *La Vie Ouvrière* or of "*Humanité*" knew either the writing or Albert, or what funds were spoken of.
Vie Ouvrière.

Soviet Armenia

The Revolutionary Committee of the Armenian Soviet Republic published on the 24th April the following decree:—

"The victorious revolution of workers and peasants has completely freed the toilers of Armenia. The appeal of the Soviet Government asking the population to take up pacific work, and to collaborate in the reconstruction of the country has been welcomed with sympathy by the popular masses of Armenia. The sympathies of the workmen, peasants and intellectual workers are the solid base on which the Soviet power is established, and assure its lasting existence.

"The Revolutionary Committee of Armenia, considering this state of affairs, has decided to add the following modifications to the decree of April 10:—

1. No pursuit will be exercised against persons, whatever their social state or profession may be, who have combatted one way or another, the Soviet Power.

2. These persons will recover all their rights.

3. All the military and civil authorities of the Armenian Soviet Republic must immediately execute this decree throughout the country, set free all these citizens or permit them to return from exile, and stop all measures of reprisals against them.

4. This decree comes into force on the day of publication, and should be, by means of telegraph, made known to all civil and military authorities.

Signed: For the president of the Revolutionary Committee of the Armenian Soviet Republic, Karsian; secretary of the Revolutionary Committee, Mrasvian."

Industrial Activity in Soviet Russia

Prof. Lomonossov, of the Foreign Trade Dept., on returning to Moscow, declared to a representative of *Rosta* that the first locomotive ordered by Russia at Henschel's factory, Kassal, would be finished on the 22nd May.

By March, 1922, Russia will receive from abroad 770 locomotives whose power will be twice as great as ordinary locomotives. By next spring the number of locos will have grown by 25%. For the repair of engines actually out of use the necessary spare parts have been ordered abroad, (some having already arrived in Russia. Russia has bought some types of spares at less than pre-war prices.

On Sept. 1st a certain number of cisterns for the transportation of naphtha will have arrived at Novorossisk.

Budienny, the chief of the Red Cavalry, in an interview, gives the following sketch of the work done by his corps:—

The cavalry has sown in the Ukraine 40,000 decatins of land belonging to the poorer peasants. It has created 4,000 market-garden farms. The army workshops have repaired the agricultural tools and machines. Furthermore, the political delegates have done educational work in agricultural districts.

Rosta

An Appeal to the International Proletariat

(Published in the French daily *l'Humanité*).

The All-Russian Congress of Trade Unions has addressed the following appeal to the workers of all countries:—

"The fourth All-Russian Congress of Trade Union Federations held at the important moment when Russia being no longer obliged to defend herself arms in hand is putting herself to the task of the pacific reconstruction of the country, sends fraternal greetings to the workers of the whole world.

Firmly convinced that the Trade Union movement in every country will in the near future take the road of Revolution, the All-Russian Congress invites all proletarians energetically to perfect their organisations and to prepare for the coming conflict with world capital.

The working class of Soviet Russia holds solidly in its hands the Red Standard of world revolution. But it counts the days and hours until such time as the workers of the world come to its aid. The Fourth Congress invites all workers to break for ever with the social-traitors and the opportunists, and to decide for a merciless struggle against the international bourgeoisie and only to follow the road that leads straight to Proletarian Dictatorship.

Long live the Revolutionary Trade Unions of all countries!

Long live the champions of the Working Class who are languishing in bourgeois gaols!

Long live the World Revolution! "

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Review of the Month

**The Moscow
Congress.**

By the time this number of the REVIEW is issued, the Third Congress of the Communist International will have become a matter of history. More and more as the days pass the tremendous import of the world congresses forces itself upon the attention of every sincere observer of world politics. Ignore it as they may, the capitalist newspapers cannot cheat history by hiding facts. On the other hand, all their pages of wearisome chatter on the performances in the gilded salons of Versailles, or the antics of the poor puppets who masquerade as super-statesmen on the world's stage might never have been written for all the effect they have had on the minds of thinking workers. How surely the hopes of the best of our class gravitate to Moscow! How wonderfully the nations of the East look to the Communist International for deliverance! And though the press may boycott its discussions, and the government prosecute the publishers

of its theses, it is certain that no professor of modern history at any university who values his reputation can afford to neglect the study of either. Slave and apologist of the capitalists though he be, he understands that the Congress at Moscow is determining the course of world affairs not only for to-day, but for all the generations to come.

**Smuts and the
Irish Truce.**

De Valera and his companions have been received in London like heroes; the Sinn Fein flag has been flaunted in the very face of British Imperialism; and Lloyd George coos like any sucking dove at the prospect of one at least of his many difficulties being successfully manœuvred. For the moment, however, Smuts is the idol alike of the Liberal camp and of the new school of sentimental Conservative pacifists. This ex-fellow of Cambridge University, ex-lawyer, ex-Boer General, needs to be closely watched. He belongs pre-eminently to a type that will yet find full scope for its repressive energies as the working class struggles up into manhood. The full-blooded terrorism of the South African deportations some years ago will not readily be forgotten by the workers in this country, short though their memories be. As between De Valera and Lloyd George, Smuts is the mediator, the disinterested friend, the healer of the wounds of war; but, in other circumstances, he could be much more—and much worse. He is quite willing to soothe Sinn Fein Ireland into contentment by soft words, but we doubt if an Ireland of the workers—Conolly's Ireland—would receive such gentle treatment at his hands were he in the Imperial Councils of State, and Irish workers in the field of battle. We repeat, he should be very carefully and very persistently watched.

**Capitalism's
Struggle for Life.**

The difficulties of capitalism do not grow less as its days diminish. Every action of the British Government, lately, speaks eloquently of panic. The desperate financial situation has driven it to an excess of repudiation in which caution and fear of consequences is thrown to the winds. The broken agreements with miners and agricultural labourers; the swindle of the withdrawn housing subsidy; the mad retrenchment on health and education; all these things will afford fine precedents to the revolutionary working class on the day when the dethroned capitalists shriek "confiscation" at their victors. Not less evident are the difficulties internationally. All too clearly the shadow of the next world war throws itself over the events of to-day. War is inevitable if capitalism continue. And capitalism cannot afford war, at least until another decade has passed. So, Wilson and his League of Nations having been thrown on to the scrap heap, there is a frantic scramble among the super-

statesmen to find salvation in limitation of armaments. There is a frantic desire in the ranks of international thievery to find agreement on the basis of the exploitation of China, since China is the greatest potential new market in the world, and a new market is as pressing a need for capitalism as dead meat for a hungry tiger. If the antagonism between the capitalists of Great Britain and the United States of America can be resolved; if the imperative necessity for the expansion of Japan can be satisfied; if the complications and enmities arising from these and a hundred other causes can be avoided; war may be staved off and capitalism settle down for another generation into a state of unstable slavery. But the spread of the world revolution is far more likely.

**New Plots and
Old Designs.**

It will be well not to treat too lightly the evidence that is accumulating concerning a new military attack on Soviet Russia from the Polish border. Under the pretext of preserving order in Upper Silesia 20,000 French troops have been sent from the Rhine army. Arms and munitions are also reported to have been sent in large quantities. In the meantime the intrigues of the Russian emigres, groups of whom exist in every European capital, continue. Well supplied with funds, the source of which could probably be traced to the secret service funds of more than one capitalist government, these malignant survivals of the Czarist regime, plot and scheme, and intrigue in order to win back the power in Russia that once was theirs—and never will be more. Only by working on the fears of the capitalists of other countries can they hope to win back. In France more than elsewhere their influence is felt. It is France, therefore; revolutionary France, the heir of 1789 that is the centre of reaction and counter revolution in Europe to-day. But the workers of this country must look to it that no support is given from this side to the sinister designs of the aristocratic parasites from whom Russia of the workers has been so gloriously freed. Soviet Russia grows daily from strength to strength. Alone of all the countries in Europe she has entered on the path of post-war reconstruction. Her victories are the victories of the workers everywhere. To the workers of France and Great Britain, perhaps more than anywhere else, is given the great task of defeating her enemies, and defeating thereby those who would strangle in its birth the victory of the international working class, one and indivisible.

America and Europe

"THE THREAT TO GREAT BRITAIN."

BY LOUIS C. FRAINA.

(Special to the *Communist Review*).

Speaking to a group of manufacturers and bankers, the American President Harding, on May 24th, said:—

"The United States never were, and never will be, able to maintain isolation. The war made us a great creditor-nation . . ."

President Harding carried on his election campaign against Woodrow Wilson on the theory that America must stay out of the League of Nations; and the particular interpretation was that America must not entangle itself in European affairs. The complacent assumption was something of this sort: We have won the war, and made enormous profits out of it; Europe owes us a lot of money which it must pay, *how* is their business; we will continue to make and sell goods, while Europe prepares to pay its debts to us. And, satisfied with itself, America waited, cold to the titanic tragedy of a world in ruins; while, with the generosity of hogs wallowing in their own super-abundance, the Americans threw a few bones of charity to starving Europe (but with business calculation and malice excluding Russia).

But this complacency met severe shocks. Europe did not and could not pay; worse still, Europe could not afford to buy America's goods. An industrial and financial depression developed; while the more Europe paid, in gold, the worse was the situation, until even the dull Harding is compelled to say that this gold "would be more useful in vaults abroad, guaranteeing the gold standard and the fair exchanges which are vital to international trade"—a superficial observation, but interesting. This situation was developing itself up to the election of Harding last November, but has since become almost disastrous, as is obvious in the fact that during the six months ending in May the foreign trade of the United States decreased 50 per cent.—almost exclusively in trade with Europe.

The pressure of economic and political facts is compelling President Harding to develop a world policy in accord with America's world power. Slowly, but surely, Harding is intervening in European affairs; if Europe can not or will not go to America, and pay, America must come into Europe and make it pay—a vulgar case of Mahomet and the mountain.

Imperialism and the world crisis, all the circumstances involved in the United States being a world power, are forcing the Harding Administration to actually carry out (in all respects except the League of Nations) the foreign policies of President Wilson. There is only this difference: that while President Wilson employed the lofty language of universal history, President Harding employs the business slang of the American manufacturer.

These developments are surprising to persons who imagine that words and election slogans (particularly in America) determine the politics of a nation. There were large hopes placed upon Harding, and the only results are large disappointments. It was imagined that the Harding Administration would immediately open trade relations with

Soviet Russia; but Secretary of States Hughes' note to the Soviets has made it apparent that Harding is as opposed to trade with Russia as was Wilson. It was imagined that Harding would do something (it was never clear precisely what) to help Germany; but the opposite developed, since only Germany's payments make possible the Entente's payments to America. It was imagined that Harding would repudiate the Versailles Treaty; but this treaty will be ratified by the new American Government with such reservations and modifications only as are in accord with America's own interests. . . .

The peculiar forms and variations of America's foreign policy are due to the fact that the war thrust economic and financial world-power upon America so quickly that Americans had not the necessary time clearly to develop a world policy—they continued thinking in terms of American insularity. But political thinking cannot lag behind economic and financial facts. Slowly, perhaps, but irresistibly, the United States, is developing a definite world-policy, compact of aggression and domination. This policy has, in general, three phases: (1) Latin-America; (2) Asia; (3) Europe.

A slight consideration of phases (1) and (2) are necessary in a discussion of (3). In Asia, at the moment, America has no very large immediate interests; but China looms up as a country that can absorb enormous amounts of American capital and iron goods, and the United States, accordingly, is now in a struggle to prevent Japan acquiring a hegemony in China (for this is the American policy, in spite of President Wilson agreeing to the award of Shantung to Japan). The Harding Administration is pursuing a systematic policy of consolidating and developing the financial and trade interests of the United States in Latin-America (Central and South America). Before the war, British and German interests in Latin-America were larger than those of the United States; but to-day the United States has undisputed supremacy. In 1910 the value of the United States' trade with Latin-America was 698,000,000 dollars; in 1912, 818,000,000 dollars; in 1915 1,000,000,000 dollars; while in 1920 it was 3,378,185,567 dollars (a gain for 1920 of 1,940,144,950 dollars, as compared with 1919). But it is not simply in terms of trade that we must measure the domination of the United States to Latin-America; before the war much capital was exported from the United States to Latin-America, while to-day this export of capital is increasing by leaps and bounds. In fact, the policy of the United States, as it now develops itself, is to secure the financial, industrial, and if necessary military, domination of Latin-America, and to make this domination the solid basis of the Imperialism of the United States in its struggle to maintain and extend its world domination. American Imperialism may be pictured as a colossus with its feet firmly planted upon Latin-America, while one hand reaches out to grasp China and Asia, and the other to grasp Europe.

America's relations to Europe are determined, in the first place, by its financial stake in Europe. What is this stake? It amounts to, roughly, 15,000,000,000 dollars, distributed as follows:—loans by the American Government to Great Britain, France, Italy and Belgium (with unpaid interest), 11,000,000,000 dollars, other loans and business credits extended to Europe, 4,000,000,000 dollars.

Upon receipt of payment for these loans and credits depends America's financial integrity. Payment is possible only by means of

trade, goods, and investments: America already has almost half the gold supply of the world, and steadily receives more, until American business is crying, "What shall we do with our gold?" . . . The problem is the restoration of the industry and trade of Europe: American trade with Europe is almost vanishing. American business now recognises that restoration of this trade depends upon America extending large credits to Europe, with which Europe may purchase American goods. In fact, the problem in the United States is more industrial than financial. Always a tremendous producer of commodities, the United States during the war increased its productive capacity enormously: an American worker produces three times as much as his British comrade—that alone is a terrific indication. The United States represents the most compact, efficient, formidable productive machine in economic history. America has the machine to produce the goods and the ships to transport them; but both are now largely idle, since customers are scarce: the problem is to create customers. Matters are proceeding satisfactorily in Latin-America; while American capital is mobilising for the invasion of China. (Independent of the loans to the the Entente, American capital invested in all parts of the world yields annually 665,000,000 dollars interest). Europe alone is unsatisfactory; but a policy is being developed. On May 7th the National Foreign Trade Council of America adopted a resolution, which said:—

"A return to normal conditions in America depends largely upon the development of foreign trade. The United States must continue to increase its imports or exports necessary to stable employment of labour and permit liquidation of the obligations of nations indebted to the United States. The solution of the present situation depends upon our ability to create facilities for long-term credits, which are now so badly needed in Europe. Unless credits are granted their business and ours must remain stagnant."

America's financial control over Europe is already immense; with the extension of more credits to Europe, this control will assume enormous proportions, accelerated by the fact that large amounts of American capital are being invested in European industry by means of purchase of European business enterprises. As Europe recovers industrially, and pays America its loans, these will represent a mass of surplus capital, much of which will be invested in Europe, so as to give America a still larger stake in the revival of Europe. This tendency is so important that a writer in "The Fortnightly Review" (London) recently said: "It is not inconceivable that through the purchase of European undertakings by Americans, Europe may become a dependency, if not a colony, of the United States."

Should this tendency develop to its conclusion (and for the moment we exclude from the problem the factors represented in England and Soviet Russia) Europe must become a hewer of wood and drawer of water for America, rendering its tribute to American Imperialism, deprived of initiative and independence. In a financial and industrial sense, Europe would be a colony, its manufacturers subject princes of American capital, while the workers would be subject to the double exploitation of European and American capitalism.

Accordingly, considering the problem on a capitalist basis (and so far we are limiting the discussion within the limits of Capitalism) Europe is doomed, world supremacy must necessarily move out of Europe to America.

This fact is clearly recognised by the French scholar, A. Demargeon, who, in his book "*Le Declin de L'Europe*," says: "No one can question the fact that Europe, which ruled until the end of the Nineteenth Century, has relinquished her supremacy to other lands. We are beholding the *shifting of the world's centre of gravity*. . . . At every turn one fact stands out: that is, the undoubted world hegemony of the United States. . . . By an astonishing turn of affairs Europe, mother of so many colonies, is becoming a field for American colonisation. No European country, from the most backward to the most advanced, is escaping this powerful movement."

Two years ago, it appeared as if Europe was doomed to become a colony of England. But now, according to the writer in "*The Fortnightly Review*," England is itself in danger of becoming an American protectorate. . . . America is now the world's great provider of capital, New York becoming world-banker in place of London, while the great American merchant marine built during the war, threatens British maritime supremacy (assisted by the fact that the Panama Canal and America's economic position are wresting trade from the Suez Canal). More and more American export trade becomes one in manufactured goods, on which British supremacy was based. In 1880-1890 the American export of manufactured goods was 15 per cent.; during the years preceding the war it averaged 30 per cent.; while during the war and after it was 50 per cent. Formerly an exporter, America is now an importer of raw materials. And, most threatening of all to Britain, American capacity to produce steadily increases while the British capacity steadily declines. America is aggressively becoming what Britain was formerly—the world's manufacturer, merchant, shipper and banker.

This competition between America and Britain expresses itself in all parts of the world, but it is now particularly acute in Europe. Europe is rapidly becoming the arena of a great struggle—shall Europe become a colony of Britain or America? While France imagines that it can secure the hegemony of Europe by means of military and political arrangements with newly-created states, these states, and France itself, are dependent upon England or America; after the military factor wears itself out and French policy accordingly collapses, France must itself, together with capitalist Europe, become a colony of—Britain or America. Lloyd George instinctively appreciates the situation. His recent actions are determined by his appreciation of Europe's problem as one of finance and economics, while France and Poland see it in terms of politics and military actions. Lloyd George wants this problem of political and military disturbances settled, so that Britain may engage in its struggle with America for the domination of Europe. It is a struggle of destiny for Great Britain—a struggle that extends out of Europe to Asia and Latin America.

In this struggle Europe will play the role of the victim waiting for the sacrifice. There can be no initiative or independence in a Europe organised on the basis of Capitalism.

But there is the factor of Soviet Russia—and in this factor are involved the multiplying contradictions of Capitalism and Imperialism, and the urge for the proletarian revolution in Europe. Soviet Russia, bruised, wrecked, starving, attacked by the whole world, has by means of its revolutionary policy resisted becoming a colony of either Britain

or America. That is a fact of world-historical importance. There is initiative in Soviet Russia—there is none in capitalist Europe. And this initiative of Soviet Russia is not confined to Russia: it is the initiative of the revolutionary proletariat in all lands.

The prevailing relations between Europe and America, which doom Europe (and the world) are relations determined by Capitalism and Imperialism. But Capitalism and Imperialism produce their own negation, themselves develop the forces for their own overthrow. American Imperialism is the mightiest and most brutal in the world; the European proletariat must throw off the domination of this Imperialism by means of revolutionary action and dictatorship.

.....

What are the Soviets?

By W. E. HARDING.

(AN OUTLINE SKETCH).

III.

"Every cook must learn how to administer the State."—Lenin.

"With the final triumph of the social revolution, the Soviet system will expand and include the whole population, in order thereby to lose the characteristics of a form of the State, and melt away into a mighty system of co-operative production and consumption."—Trotsky.

The Soviet develops in the course of the proletarian revolution—swiftly or slowly according to circumstances—from a central fighting organisation into the machinery of government of the working class. Correspondingly its basis broadens, and its internal structure develops, until the whole of the working class finds representation in it, and it becomes therefore the most democratic form of government in history.

But there is one more function of the Soviet which we must notice. It is distinguished from every other form of the State in this—that its object, the very reason of its existence, is not to preserve that existence, but to end it. It is the final form of the State, every act of whose life is a deliberate hastening of its death; so that with it the State as such—the organisation by which one class secures its predominance over the rest of the population—dies away altogether. And this feature is not accidental or mechanical, but is intimately and indissolubly bound up with the other features already considered.

Let us consider it first on the broad, theoretical ground. Lenin has explained the question to us in his "State and Revolution." The Soviet, like all other forms of State that preceded it, is a form of class domination. But it is different from them all, nevertheless. They—whether the primitive military oligarchy of Sparta, the imperialist commercial democracy of Athens, the commercial imperialism of Rome, the typical feudal State of Europe in the Middle Ages (whether King or barons were uppermost), the bureaucratic despotisms of the eighteenth centuries, the multiform capitalist States of the twentieth century—were all the organs of domination of minority groups. The particular group in power, and correspondingly the form of State, altered and varied

according as the methods and technique of production changed, producing different social relations and class groupings; but, notwithstanding a gradual broadening of basis numerically, all these forms without exception remained essentially forms of *minority* rule. (This, of course, means rule not merely arithmetically by a minority, but—much more important—for a minority.

A minority class in power was bound to resist every attempt to effectively broaden the basis of its "Constitution"; because every such attempt meant an inroad upon its own privileges on the part of the struggling submerged classes. To make this resistance effective the ruling class had to elaborate an apparatus, which grew more and more complicated as economic progress drew into the process of production—and therefore awakened to political life—larger and larger masses of the population. The apparatus has finally extended into every conceivable department of human activity—either directly, through so-called "public administration," or indirectly, through religion, the school, the cinema, art, literature, the press, etc. The mere upkeep of this apparatus requires the services of a large section of the population—the so-called "middle classes"—who are thereby attached by bonds that are almost indissoluble to the existing State and, consequently, the existing capitalist structure of society. On the other hand, what was the reason for this complicated machinery? It is the fact that the triumph of industrial technique and capitalist organisation had produced far greater masses of proletarians whose whole life is dominated entirely by the necessity of work, and who therefore are in practice utterly unable to control their own destinies.

In this way, therefore, although numerically the basis (not the legal, but the real basis) of the Capitalist State is broader than that of any of the preceding forms, actually it has a much more gigantic "under-dog" to fight, and its meaning as the specific apparatus of repression and oppression is infinitely more, not less, emphasised. What happens, however, when the proletarian revolution takes place, in some such manner as we have seen, and all power is concentrated in the hands of the Soviet, *i.e.*, the functions of the State are assumed by them? At first they are an apparatus of repression: the proletariat is numerically the huge majority, but needs a centralised and iron leadership to protect itself against the desperate attacks of the capitalist class and its hangers-on—far smaller in numbers, but far more organised, clear-headed, resolute, and combative.

This period, commonsense tells us, cannot last long. The more stubborn of the defeated class perishes: the weaker majority acquiesces gradually in the new order, *and begins to work*. Work is the purpose for which the new State exists, because it only comes into being as the proletariat realises from its own lot that it is only work upon which civilisation is built. The only resistance there is to the new order is the resistance of those who refuse to work: when the resistance comes to an end, the repressive apparatus of the State ceases to have any function. (This applies, of course, both to the ex-bourgeoisie and to those de-classed elements produced by the capitalist and other systems of exploitation which the old order calls "criminals"). When and as this happens, the State as such ceases to have any meaning. The technique of modern machine industry remains, and, it may be confidently anticipated, develops to an extent hitherto unheard of: conse-

quently some central organisation must remain with all its attendant consequences. But the fact remains that in the centre of the community there is now not a source of *authority*, but a source of *organisation and bookkeeping*. (The existence of inimical capitalist States outside the national frontiers only postpones this consummation).

All the functions of the State but those of *organisation*, of co-ordination, of systematic development of economic and social life—*i.e.*, those which did not exist under the capitalist or previous States, or, if they did, accidentally and as concessions to the submerged classes—*wither away*. The State itself, therefore, as history knows it, withers away; leaving behind an entirely new organism, grown out of the very heart of the old state, but henceforth living a life of its own.

So far Lenin, following up the work of Marx and Engels, took us in the "State and Revolution," written on the eve of the October victory of the Russian workers. The practice of the Revolution, however, has taken us further.

On the one hand, certainly, the functions of the State have tended, and now that the war is over, are hastening more and more, to take the form of organisation of economic and social life rather than repression of criminals and maintaining the rule of law (the chief work of the old State). The central economic organisation—the Supreme Economic Council, as it was conceived in 1918, or the Council of Labour and Defence, thrown up by the three years' war—is more and more becoming the centre of gravity of public administration; and the first great dispute in the Russian Communist Party since the signing of the Brest Litovsk Peace took place, in February, 1921, not over the question of regulating elections to the Soviets, nor even of combatting "inequality" in a wider sense; but whether the workers' industrial unions were or were not fit to take over control of production and distribution from *the State organisations*—although the latter were the Soviets, themselves the organs of the working class. In the sphere of distribution of food and other articles of primary necessity, again, the work has been taken out of the hands of the State, into which it was placed as a war-time expedient (as early as 1916—before the revolution) and returned—not into the hands of private capitalists and exploiters, as was the case under the old regime, but into those of the workers' and peasants' own organisations—the co-operative societies, directly elected by adult proletarian suffrage.

The withering away of the State, however, does not solely depend upon the indisputable fact that part of its mechanism will become and, in Russia, is becoming obsolete. It goes down to a much deeper reason. The State existed hitherto because there was a socially degraded section of the population to be kept down, who could not be allowed themselves to enter into its workings. Directly these circumstances disappear—and very soon after the proletariat revolution they do disappear, in the form of the absorption of all other classes by the working class (voluntarily or otherwise)—the need for a special machinery of government, for a special class of men skilled in the "art of governing," begins to disappear. The masses themselves begin themselves to administer public affairs, by election, by rotation, and even (in some cases) collectively. When "every cook has learnt to administer the State," in Lenin's striking phrase, this will not be due only to the simplification of the State's functions, but also to the fact that every cook will be a

very different person, with much more wide and varied experience, than she is to-day.

In this respect Russian practice has already, despite every thing adverse, begun to give us a wealth of illustrative material. Clearly a full detailed summary cannot yet be made: but a few examples at random are as instructive. It has already been remarked that in three years over 20,000 different people had passed through the Petrograd Soviet alone. 20,000 different people—and most of them, let us remember, working men and women—had been introduced to the “mysterious” art of government in the best possible school—that of sheer necessity. And in Petrograd alone! How many in all Russia? (In January, 1921, a writer in the journal of the Russian Home Department estimated the total number of members of Soviets as roughly one million at any given moment). And what will be the result when after a short period of peaceful constructive work, a regular system is established, not only in the capitals and large industrial cities, but elsewhere as well, under which all members of Soviets are elected not only to meet, talk, and legislate, but to pass straight on into this or that local administrative department for practical work in the service of the community—health, education, social welfare, labour, justice, transport, as has already been practised in the large centres? Will not this mean that the State, as something *above* society, will wither away, leaving a mechanism definitely and unalterably in the *service* of society?

For a long time now, moreover, there has existed a State department in Russia—the Workers’ and Peasants’ Inspection—which as its name implies, consists of workers’ peasants’ committees, elected in every district and unified by a national Board in Moscow, for the sole purpose of introducing class control, direct from the field, the factory, and the workshop, into every department of public life. There is not a single public office or institution into which the local controllers, elected by the workers, may not enter for the purpose of investigation and report; and these reports are more and more frequently being taken into consideration side by side with that of the responsible officials appointed by the local Soviet. During the war the scope of this institution was confined; but its organisation, and the extent of its work, are increasing by leaps and bounds now that that barrier has been removed. Tens of thousands of workers in this way are becoming acquainted with the details of administration.

There is still a third approach which the coming of the Soviets, and the Soviet *principle*, has made possible, and which has been more and more utilised during the last eighteen months. Conferences of delegates from workshops, elected if possible on a non-party basis, elect, as we have already seen, the executive committees of the co-operative societies which now constitute the national distributive apparatus for food and all the primary needs of the population. But this is only one case amongst many. Large numbers of women delegates, for example, have been elected in most of the large towns to go direct to those public institutions the work of which interests them specifically—for example, hospitals, childrens’ clinics, crèches, schools, communal kitchens, and bakeries—and act there as supervisors, controllers, and finally assistants. At the end of a fixed period, say six months or a year, they retire, or are absorbed into the permanent staff, and are replaced by new controllers. The same applies to the men, in such local committees as those

set up during the last year for improving the general wellbeing of the workers, housing conditions, and (in the country) increasing the acreage sown.

There is not a single social institution left by capitalism to the new order which has not to be overhauled and reconstructed; and for one that has been so left, fifty have to be built entirely anew. For all these hundreds of thousands of workers are required: not a capable man or woman but work for the common good is required of him or her, apart from the purely productive work of their regular avocation. The fact that the Russian proletarian revolution has revealed is that this work for the common good is not an art to be acquired with difficulty and jealously maintained as the perquisite of privileged class. Every normal man or woman can learn to do it, and must do so. The Soviet "system," as we said, draws thousands upon thousands of working men and women into this work, by utilising them as members of the Soviets. The Soviet *idea*—the principle of control of participation in public administration by workers' delegates, chosen directly at the place of production—draws literally millions upon millions of workers into the common task, as we now see. To-day it is by election: to-morrow, with production organised and education advanced, it may be by rotation (as in Russia the assessors in the People's Courts are chosen). The form is immaterial; the essence is that the masses themselves participate in and direct what public administration there is. And thereby they bring about the withering away of the State.

The survey of the Soviets, as a new phenomenon in world history, is thus complete from a Marxian dialectical viewpoint. Beginning, in the struggle for a higher form of social order, as the battle organisation of the historically progressive class—the proletarian—continuing, in the period of consolidation, reconstruction, and creation, as the State organisation of the workers (now no longer the proletariat) of a type infinitely more democratic than any previously known; they by their own activity prepare the way for, and finally merge into, that still higher form of society in which all political (*i.e.*, repressive) machinery becomes obsolete and dies a natural death—the Communist order, in which the limits of human activity are fixed only by reason and the communal good.

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Martial Music

BY

MARCEL MARTINET.

[Translated by Eden and Cedar Paul from "*Les Temps Maudits*" (Evil Days) Poèmes, 1914-1918. Ollendorff, 50, Chaussée d'Antin, Paris.]

Martial music,
Roll of drums,
Bugle-call filled with wing-beats,
Filled with morning breezes;
How strongly throbs the heart of man!
Martial music,
On the highways, at dawn,
When the sky brightens with the clear light of morning;

Across the fields, the meadows, the steaming coppices,
When a haze is rising from the river,
How stirring is your sound
As it rings into the blue heavens!
Martial music,
You pass through the streets, making the streets drunken;
The roadway grows hot beneath the soldiers' tread;
The wayfarers pause on the sidewalks,
Their hearts responsive to your beats;
Those who watch from the open windows
Are ensnared by the melody;
Their eyes flash, a breath of heroic fire
Animates their lives.
And what of the soldiers? Oh, the soldiers,
They march, they march, heads erect,
Eyes dauntless, hearts enkindled,
Hearing naught but the music;
They straighten their backs under their loads;
With fresh vigour in their weary limbs
They stride briskly towards the trains
Which will bear them off yonder, which will bear them off yonder . . .
In their uniforms—
Their uniforms
Are faded, threadbare, soiled, tattered and torn,
But they are still uniforms;
The tired men who wear them
Advance in serried ranks
Shoulder to shoulder;
An irresistible and brutal force
Unites and sustains these wearied men.
In their uniforms, out there at the front,
Amid the frenzied whirl of regimental colours,
Amid the rushing, leaping flames
Of the song of the bugles calling to battle,
Amid the thundrous roar of the drums,
Amid noise, fire, death,
Amid bullets, shells, the hail from machine guns,
Amid the gleam of slashing steel—
Mad music, mad music, the soldiers outrun you,
Forgetful of self, of everything,
Storming onward into the blazing shadows—
And Death, chill and motionless,
Reveals to them its silent doom.
Death!
Death! They have been dismembered, these serried ranks,
And already, from the body of each one of the slain,
Of each one of these corpses lying lonely in death,
From the maimed body in its tattered uniform—
Dumb now is the martial music—
Behold already resurgent the soul of man,
Resurgent in its terror and its nakedness,
Enfranchised, alone

In the night, in the silence; motionless;
Filled with regrets, filled with memories. . . .
Martial music,
Where now your rolling measures, your ardours, your frenzy? . . .
The dead, these corpses, the dead,
You led them hitherward, you did this thing.
And now,
The man who was ere you ever were,
With his common round of daily life,
The handicraft which earned him bread,
The mother who bore him,
With his joys, his sorrows, and his loves,
The lowly life which was great,
Which was warm, which was beautiful,
With the simple happenings of hour to hour—
This man lies there, dead.
Dumb now is the martial music;
Its breath is an icy breeze sweeping over the graves.
Let the death of this man be weighed in the balance;
Reckon up the life that he lived, the death that he died.
To die. . . .
To die!—To have known how to live, to have cherished life,
To have despised death and yet hastened towards it,
To have died without repining, to have died even gladly,
Knowing the while how fair and good life can be,
Knowing that death takes all and that death ends all.
Hail, ye warriors, victors or vanquished,
From whom a glorious life demanded this death
As its crown;
Hail to you who, knowing you were about to die,
Neither regretted, nor cursed your fate;
Who, passionately loving life, met death open-eyed.
O rebel dead, ye who died on the barricades,
Whose blood watered the streets of towns,
I greet you, O dead. Of you, volunteers,
I say: Happy were these in their deaths.
Though they, too, were imprisoned, their minds were unclouded;
For the rapture which led them to welcome death's embrace
Was the ripe fruit of the years loving life to the full.
Free men and resolute; making their last choice;
Death was their choice. True to themselves, they died.
Happy are they for whom death has been life's crown—
Martial music, frenzy, changeling of the soul,
Happy they who died gladly without listening to you,
Who were radiant, with no need for your light,
Those for whom the day of death was but one of life's days,
A day like other days but the finest of all.
Happy are they who, dying, have looked upon death
With a lightsome heart; have faced death with their whole soul.
Happy are they who have died in their working clothes.

Communism in South Africa

By DAVID IVON JONES.

Presented to the Executive of the Third International on behalf of the International Socialist League, South Africa.

The Third International has, of necessity, not given much attention to Africa so far, further than a passing recognition, in the heat of the European struggle that the teeming millions of the Dark Continent are also to come under its wing. Africa may not cover such a vital part of the anatomy of Imperialism as India does. But a country's immediate contribution to the collapse of world capitalism is not its sole claim on our attention; we have to consider what positive dangers it may harbour for the movement as a whole. European capital, however, draws no mean contribution from South African cheap labour. "Kaffirs" (as gold shares are appropriately nicknamed) are the mainstay of a large section of the bourgeoisie of Paris and London. Besides which the depressing state of the vast mass of Kaffir labour from the point of view of proletarian development—illiteracy, generally low social and civil status and backward standards of life—is not a matter to which the Communist International can remain indifferent.

Africa's hundred and fifty million natives are most easily accessible through the eight millions or so which comprise the native populations of South Africa and Rhodesia. Johannesburg is the industrial university of the African native, although recruiting for the mines has been confined in latter years to parallel 22 in Portuguese territory.

South Africa, moreover, is an epitome of the class struggle throughout the world. Here Imperial Capital exploits a white skilled proletariat side by side with a large native proletariat. Nowhere else in the proportions obtaining on the world scale do white skilled and dark unskilled meet together in one social milieu as they do in South Africa. And nowhere are the problems so acute of two streams of the working class with vastly unequal standards of life jostling side by side, and the resultant race prejudices and animosities interfering and mixing with the class struggle.

SOUTH AFRICAN POPULATIONS.

The Union of South Africa, occupying the country South of the Limpopo River, comprises the old Boer Republics of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State, the old British Colonies of Natal and Cape of Good Hope. These now form one Government with their own local Provincial Councils. The more sparsely settled areas of Rhodesia and German West Africa are not yet in the Union. The white population of the Union is divided almost equally into Dutch and English extraction, with a large Jewish population in Johannesburg. The whites number about a million and a half. The feuds existing between the two main sections of the white population are matters of history, and animosities resulting therefrom are serious political factors at the present day.

The native population of the Union numbers about six millions. The native race is mainly composed of one type, called the Bantu, meaning "folk," divided into several tribes which have their remnants of

tribal territory in Zululand, Basutoland, Swaziland, etc., nominally under the protection of the Imperial Government; in practice, however, the native peoples are governed by the Union's Native Affairs Department.

Between the black and white peoples there are shades. There is what is known as the coloured people. In South Africa "coloured" means "half-caste." The coloured population, inevitable accompaniment of a black and white society, numbers hundreds of thousands, mainly in the Cape Province, with large numbers in Kimberley, Johannesburg and Durban, and other industrial centres. They are a social link with the natives, though not socially intermingled. They are a section apart, aspiring to the social standards of the whites and invading the skilled trades. In the Cape Province coloured people enjoy the civil and political rights of the whites with a far larger measure of social equality than in the Transvaal.

In Natal, is centred a considerable Indian population, originally indentured to the Sugar Estates. A large proportion of these people are South African born. They socially intermix with the coloured people. Further immigration of Indians is prohibited in the Union.

INDUSTRIES.

In a country of a million square miles, agriculture is of necessity a staple industry, though the old Boer farmers' methods are obsolete, and there are vast tracts of land held up idle by the landed syndicates in combination with the mining houses.

The Gold Industry of the Transvaal, with its Witwatersrand gold reef sixty miles long, is a world-renowned phenomenon. The Reef, with the town of Johannesburg as its centre, provides the economic stimulus for the whole country. The diamond mining industry of Kimberley and Pretoria, the coalfields of the Transvaal and Natal, the Sugar Estates of Natal, sum up such industries as affect the world market. The Railways are owned by the State.

POLITICAL AND SOCIAL CURRENTS.

In such a milieu one may guess that the social relations are rather complex. After the overthrow of the old Boer Republics, the Boer political leaders, Botha and Smuts, proceeded to make friends with the mammon of unrighteousness, and fitted themselves to govern by acquiring interests in land and gold mining. By 1907 they were deemed sufficiently safe to be entrusted with self-government. There was a distinct subsidence of the animosities aroused by the war. After the Union of the Provinces in 1910 the Dutch Party was again entrusted with the Government. Hertzog, the present leader of the Republican Party, was at that time the left wing representative of the Dutch in the Cabinet as Minister of Justice, and, it may be observed in passing, the first to conceive the brilliant idea of arming the mounted police with pick handles to beat down the tramway strikers of Johannesburg. After his expulsion from the Cabinet in 1912, the Dutch Party split up into the present South African Party led by Smuts and the Nationalist Party led by Hertzog, who, since the great war, gives half-hearted homage to the republican idea, and Tielman Roos, the more thorough-going republican leader. Since 1912 those "heralds of illwill," Dutch

Nationalism and British Chauvinism, further fostered and embittered by the world war, have sounded the slogans of Capitalist Imperialism versus petty bourgeois federalism. During the war the Dutch Nationalists broke out into open rebellion. It was, however, speedily suppressed. Latterly the Party has gained popularity at the polls with its republican and populist programme, appealing as it does to the increasing mass of disinherited Dutch Afrikaners. This has caused the consolidation of the British Unionist Party with the Dutch South African Party. The February elections showed that the Nationalist farmer recoiled before the consequences of the Republican propaganda, and the Government Party obtained a safe parliamentary majority for the Imperial connection.

DUTCH NATIONALISM AND THE NATIVE.

The great festival of the Dutch Afrikaner people and of the Nationalists in particular is Dingaans Day. This day is made the occasion of political appeals on present issues, as well as a commemoration of December 16th, 1838, when the Dutch Voortrekkers crushed the power of the Zulus in a bloody battle fought on the Blood River, Weenen. On this festival the dual oppression bearing on the small Dutch farmer are inveighed against: justifiable hate of British imperialism and of the British Chauvinist on the one hand, and hatred of the progeny of Dingaans on the other, his own hewers of wood and drawers of water. "Presbyter is only Priest writ large." More glaringly than in most Nationalist movements, the freedom demanded from British rule is almost avowedly freedom to more fully exploit the native. As a concession to Nationalist sentiment, Dingaans Day has now been officially declared a legal holiday throughout the Union. On these days, as on others, the rifle and the sjambok are invoked as the appropriate remedy for native grievances. In his personal relations the Dutch farmer adopts a quite friendly and patriarchal attitude towards his native labourers, provided of course they keep their proper stations. To the old Boer, the native is a simple beast of burden. His religion is that of the Old Testament. It involves no contradictions, for his economic environment is primitive, though rapidly changing now with the advance in agricultural methods. General De Wet's excuse for going into rebellion in 1914, was that he had been fined five shillings for flogging a native servant—an unpardonable restriction on personal liberty! The Nationalist movement has a literary reflex. What there is of Afrikaner literature is, of course, inspired by Nationalism. But the mania for isolation reaches absurd lengths. For example, Holland Dutch is one of the official languages of the Union. But the spoken language is a crude patois called Afrikaans. Previously the Dutch Afrikanders were content to let Afrikaans remain the spoken language, and used Holland Dutch as a vehicle of religion and literature. But now, the Nationalist movement resents Holland's intellectual patronage as much as Britain's Imperial dominance. Though there are no fixed standards of grammar or style or spelling in Afrikaans, it is now being tortured into requisition as a literary medium, and the upholders of "Hollandse" are stigmatised as the creatures of Smuts. The treasures, historical and literary, of the mother Dutch are thus thrown overboard; but the young Afrikaner intellectuals cannot possibly endure such a self-imposed sentence of solitary confinement for very long.

Our remarks on this movement, as the movement of a class, must not be construed to apply to our Dutch friends as a race. They partake of the virtues of all good people. In the feud with the British it is they who have always held out the hand of conciliation, often spurned with insult by the British Jingo.

BRITISH CHAUVINISM.

Among the British section of the population there is a corresponding animosity towards the Dutch Afrikaners. The recent elections show that the Republican scare took away many votes which had previously been given to the Labour Party, although that Party blows the Imperial trumpet loudly enough. But this brand is too notorious to need any description here.

FRANCHISE ANOMALIES.

Only whites are qualified to vote in the Transvaal and the Orange Free State. In Natal the coloured people are qualified to vote, and even natives, but on terms so strict that only three or four individuals are able to avail themselves of it. In the Cape Province, besides manhood suffrage for whites and coloured, natives are also qualified to vote on certain slight education tests, and the coloured and native vote is a serious electoral factor to be reckoned with. These disparities of franchise rights obtaining for the various provinces are inherited from the pre-existing provincial governments, and are the cause of the most amusing antics of electioneering parties operating simultaneously in the different provinces. The liberalism of the Cape is the legacy of the old Free Trade Governors of the Victorian period. In those days, Manchester looked upon native populations more as buyers than as cheap labourers—people whose standards of culture and, above all, wants should be improved.

In the Transvaal, thanks to the slave-holding traditions of the old Boer voortrekkers, Imperialist Capital with capital to invest rather than goods to sell, found cheap labour in a civil milieu to its liking for the exploitation of the gold reefs.

These political cross currents produced some curious effects during the war. The British workers cried down our anti-militarist declarations, while the Dutch approved. But coming to our native workers policy, it was then the turn of the Dutch to decry, while the British with their trade union traditions were prepared at least to listen. We were being repeatedly consigned to prison by the Johannesburg magistracy; and the judges, drawn largely from the older population, as repeatedly quashed the sentences.

The Indian traders, who are fast gaining control of trade in Natal and other parts of the Union, are the cause of much heart-burning among the white traders, and anti-Asiatic movements, into which the workers are often dragged, are frequent.

Among the Trades Unions of the Transvaal, the wage-cutting effect of the coloured labour that swarms to the industrial centres is a burning question, aggravated as it is by the short-sighted policy of the Unions in excluding the coloured worker from membership. This time it is the turn of the employing class to sneer at Labour's inconsistency.

WHITE LABOUR MOVEMENT.

The white Trade Union movement in South Africa dates from the end of the Anglo-Boer war of 1899-1902, although such trades as the Typos., Engineers, and Building Workers were organised in South Africa previous to that. W. H. Andrews, prominent among those who did the spade work of the Transvaal Labour Movement, is still to-day active, blazing the trail of the Communist Movement. The growth of the movement was marked by the usual steps of the formation of unions in the different trades, the Trades Council of Johannesburg, from which sprang later the Federation of Trades and the Labour Party. After the Boer War, the gold magnates profited by their victory to introduce Chinese labour into the gold mines of the Rand. This created a White Labour Policy League, of which Creswell, then a victimised mine manager, was the head. This movement also mixed itself with the labour movement and brought Creswell into the Labour Party, of which the capitalist press soon appointed him popular leader in opposition to the class leadership of Andrews. In 1910, when the four provinces formed a Union Government, the South African Labour Party was inaugurated out of the various Provincial parties. This party had a Socialist objective in its platform, as also a demand for the abolition of the indentured system of native labour and the prohibition of the importation of native labour from territories outside the Union. The Party started in 1910 with four members in Parliament; it gained another four in by-elections up to 1915. The Party very soon became the accepted political expression of the white workers, its class-conscious elements, rather than the White Labour Leaguers of Creswell, being dominant. At that time "class-conscious" meant white class-conscious, and the native as a fellow-worker and a comrade in industry never entered into any Labour calculations; neither did the idea of Labour enter the native mind, so well defined were, and still are, the respective industrial functions of black and white. Indeed, the wholly utopian proposal of segregation of black from white in strictly delimited areas, in accordance with the scheme of the White Labour League, and the withdrawal of the native from white industry, was the only Labour proposal for the natives up to the time of the war.

In 1913 a general strike of white workers broke out on the Rand, causing a complete stoppage of the gold mines for the first time in their history. This strike was a bloody affair. Troops were called out, and shootings by the regular troops resulted in 22 persons being killed and several hundred wounded. At that time the Chamber of Mines, which employs about 20,000 whites, had not learned the value of class collaboration—a wrinkle which Syndicalist Crawford* taught them later. In 1914 another general strike broke out, this time forced upon the white workers by the Government, which spread to all parts of the Union. The massacres of 1913 had brought the workers an unexpected victory; but in 1914 the Government had prepared in a military manner. Martial Law was proclaimed, and 60,000 burghers from the veld were armed and put in possession of Johannesburg, having first been told that the English were making war again. The workers were driven back to work and leaders imprisoned by the dozen. Nine trade union leaders, and others who were by no means leaders, were deported by force to England.

The indignation against deportation found a vent in the ensuing Provincial Council elections, when the Labour Party obtained a majority

of seats in the Transvaal. This resulted in a large influx of middle-class elements into the Party. The outbreak of war found the Party divided on the question of militarism, but the Executive was anti-war, though few in a truly revolutionary sense. At a special conference of the Party held in 1915 the Executive were defeated by an overwhelming majority on the war issue, and were thereby forced to resign. The Creswell faction carried things with a high hand, and forced every candidate to give a written undertaking to "see the war through." The anti-war section broke away, and with the co-operation of what were called the S.L.P. men (comrades like John Campbell and Rabb, who propagated the principles of Marxism as formulated by De Leon) formed the International Socialist League, which is to-day the South African section of the Communist International. The League started its career backed by the majority of the Labour Party Executive, including the Chairman (Andrews) and the Secretary (Ivon Jones), who took similar positions in the new organisations. It, however, soon shed its Reform Pacifists on the adoption of a revolutionary programme and the extension of the class struggle to include the native workers.

THE ERA OF COLLABORATION.

The Labour Party, thus rid of its anti-war executive, fought the elections of 1915 on the cry of "See it through," and for its pains got its Parliamentary representation reduced from eight to four. Up to the time of the split the Labour Party was composed of open political branches, and the Trades Unions affiliated or deaffiliated to the General Council, according to the fluctuating votes of their respective memberships. Up to the war the Party was largely composed of elements from the trades unions, the Engineers, Carpenters, Miners, Boilermakers, and Printers being affiliated. On the war issue the trades unions followed Creswell's lead, but they seem to have very soon got ashamed of their handiwork, for to-day there are no trades unions affiliated to the Party, which has deteriorated as a machine into a collection of electioneering committees trading on the name of Labour. This is partly due to the increasing number of Communist supporters among the active elements of Trades Unionism; and partly to the influx of Dutch workers into the towns for which the unions must "cater." To these workers the Labour Party is anathema, for it has by its beating of the Jingo drum violated their legitimate national sentiments.

Nevertheless, in the general elections of the early part of 1920, the Labour Party, by a judicious handling of the two issues of the Cost of Living and the Imperial connection, pulled off twenty-one seats. But at the general elections of the early part of 1921, when Smuts forced the issue of the Imperial connection against the Republican propaganda, the Labour Party, led by Creswell, though it jettisoned the "Red Flag," all its economic demands, as well as the Jonah of Socialism, and frantically protested on every platform that it was faithful to the Empire, only obtained nine seats, Creswell himself being beaten. This looks like its final decline. The factors are too complex in South Africa for a powerful Social Democratic Party.

During the war the White Trades Unions gained enormously in membership, and lost equally in fighting spirit. Crawford, at one time anarcho-syndicalist, is now the apostle of class collaboration, and as Secretary of the S.A. Industrial Federation, is the willing agent of the Chamber of Mines.

LABOUR ARISTOCRACY.

The failure of the anti-war Executive of the Labour Party to keep the workers to the class struggle was due to the fact that, in the white worker, consciousness of class is, so far, fitful and easily lost. He is used to lord it over the unskilled native as his social inferior. The white miner's duty is almost wholly that of supervision. With the fitters and carpenters the native labourer does no more than the fitter's or carpenter's labourer in European countries. But he is black, a being of another order, and moreover only has half a shirt on his back, more for ornament than for use, and sleeps in a tin shack. As workers whose functions are wholly different in the industrial world, there is hardly any competition involved; indeed, the white miner is as much interested as the Chamber of Mines in a plentiful supply of native labour, without which he cannot start work. They are therefore annoyed at any strikes of natives, and are prone to assist the masters in their repressive methods, although in the case of white strikes they are not behindhand in appealing to the natives not to go down the shafts; and the natives, as a rule, are unwilling to go without the white miners. For between white and native worker there is, as a rule, the best of good humour at the place of work. The native addresses the white worker as "boss," it is true, but this term has now become almost a convention like "sir," and there is no doubt that the native is animated by a large measure of respect for the white worker as his industrial educator, a respect which will find more generous play on both sides in a better economic order. One of the nightmares of the white miner is that he may lose his monopoly to the legal right of holding a blasting certificate. Under such conditions what wonder if consciousness of class among the mass of white workers is somewhat narrow and professional.

During the war, the capitalists, urged by the necessity of keeping up gold production, discovered that it paid them to regard the white workers as an unofficial garrison over the far larger mass of black labour, and that it was not bad business to keep the two sections politically apart by paying liberally the white out of the miserably underpaid labour of the black. The white workers were far more intractable to Communist ideas at the end of the war than in the second or third year when the colonial campaigns were in progress. The premium on the mint price of gold enabled the Chamber of Mines to keep up this policy of economic bribery till the end of last year. Now it seems as if it had come to an end. The bribe fund has petered out. The premium on the mint price of gold is being reduced, and under the threat of closing down the non-paying mines the white miners are compelled to accept lower pay. During the last few months there have been unofficial strikes against the will of the Union Executives and of Crawford, the Federation Secretary. The mines have retaliated by withdrawing the "stop-order" system. This system, introduced in 1916, was an ingenious bait to trade union officialdom. Every miner had his trade union contribution deducted at the mine office from his wages, and the mine offices handed it over to the union in a monthly cheque, thus making the Union an adjunct of the Chamber of Mines. Now this "privilege" has been withdrawn as a measure to weaken the none-too-pliant membership. The garrison is too costly. The mining industry can only save its profits by following the historic process, namely, to raise the black standard and depress the white, making towards a homogeneous working class.

(To be continued).

*Secretary, South African Industrial Federation.

Book Reviews

THE RED DAWN

"My Reminiscences of the Russian Revolution," by M. Philips Price, former Correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian* in Russia. (Allen & Unwin, London, 1921: pp. 402; 18/- nett).

In many of the national sections of the Workers' International one item in the rules and constitution has been the obligation for each branch to found a library for the education and enlightenment of the members. This is part of a world-wide proletcultural movement for independent working-class education, and is of practical utility to us all. Communist purses are not usually long, whereas the Communist intellectual appetite should be insatiable. A branch could lay aside a sum each month and could thus procure valuable nutriment for its hungry members from among books that are too costly for the individual. Philips Price's volume of Russian reminiscences is certainly a case in point, and will undoubtedly provide many hours of absorbing interest to all members of the Party.

Philips Price is one among many who, nurtured in the bourgeois tradition, has yet been able, as the great drama of the Russian revolution unfolded before him, to shake off prejudice, and to open mind and heart for the reception of a new idea. Men like Malone, René Marchand, Jacques Gadoul, and Pierre Pascal; the Russian correspondent of the "Frankfurter Zeitung," Dr. Alfons Pacquet; and many other honest bourgeois, became infected by the spirit of the revolution and succeeded in understanding the events which were taking place before their eyes.

We have had the privilege of reading John Reed's cinematographic account of the ten days that shook the world. Reed's was a brilliant mind which saw events on huge canvases. His vivid pen was able to dress the pictures in words which were of the essence of life. Price uses very different methods. He, too, lives every moment of the revolution, keenly, and more and more sympathetically as events move forward. But whereas one book is the pæan of Revolution Triumphant, the other depicts the Way of the Cross, the Golgotha of the Revolution.

My Reminiscences describes all the happenings from March, 1917, down to the end of 1918. Price shows the material circumstances in which the Russian masses found themselves on the eve of the revolution; he describes how the relics of feudal agrarian policy lingered on till the summer of 1917, and were only destroyed by the peasants themselves; he travels into the provinces and depicts the agrarian revolution in the remotest parts, telling us how, what was in effect a bolshevik revolution had taken place in some of the rural districts a couple of months before the urban proletariat of Petrograd and other big towns seized the reins of power in November, 1917. He traces the development of the combined forces of international capital for the seizure and exploitation of the raw materials and populations of the vast Russian plain. He shows how the struggle for peace was no mere sentimental pacifist idea, but the passionate desire to be free of the age-long oppressors.

It is impossible in so short a review to do adequate justice to this enthralling book. Price has done his work with dignity and with a whole-hearted love for his subject. We British Communists have much to learn from his book; first of all as the record of one who lived through those great years, who starved with the workers, who offered his services to the Red Army, who sat up o' nights translating lengthy documents, who never grudged time or vitality for the revolution. And, secondly, we may learn from it many a lesson for our own days of victorious trial which we hope may not be so very far distant. In many ways, as Lenin says, it was easy for the Russian workers to seize power, but terribly hard to construct an ordered society. "In Western Europe it is terribly hard for the proletariat to seize power, but very easy to construct an ordered society." We should like to accept the latter half, the sanguine part, of Tavarish Lenin's estimate. Certainly we have not the burden of an enormous peasant majority; the agricultural labourers—a rural proletariat—will be with us, and we can make short work of our dukes and our kulaks (rich farmers). But the economic position and the insular situation of Britain carry with them their own peculiar difficulties. All the more reason for profiting by such lessons of experience as are conveyed in Comrade Price's book.

EDEN AND CEDAR PAUL

The Labour International Handbook, 1921. Edited by R. PALME DUTT. Labour Publishing Company and Allen & Unwin, Ltd. 320 pp. 12/6.

The state of chaos into which the world in general and the International Labour Movement in particular, has fallen since 1914, is so great that it is extraordinarily difficult for the propagandist or the student to be sure that he is right with regard to any of the thousand and one questions he may be called upon to deal with. Our geography books and atlases are of no value—except for economic matters—and the ordinary works of reference make little or no mention of the things that are vital to the worker. This being so, one must give a very cordial welcome to this book, which is "the first post-war attempt to make a complete survey of the world of international labour after the tremendous transformations that have taken place."

The book is divided into two main parts. Part I. on "International Affairs" is a series of reviews of the leading issues of international affairs, and foreign policy from a labour standpoint: Part II. might well be regarded as a directory to the international movement.

In the first part, the various Peace Treaties are set down in plain language, and we are able to see at a glance how much coal Germany must transfer yearly to France, and how many new States have been carved out of the old Austrian Empire. Henceforth we can burn all our newspaper cuttings and odds and ends of information about these subjects because the job is here much better done for us.

R. Page Arnot writes very ably on "Russia and the World." Very briefly he reviews early Russian history and the Tsardom, and then at greater length deals with the events of 1905, 1914-1917, the Revolutions,

the Brest Litovsk Peace, the attacks of the Counter-revolutionaries, and so on to the end of 1920. It is a valuable essay, and if well read by our propagandists will put them well in possession of the "meat" of Russian affairs. Russia, quite naturally figures very prominently throughout the book. In the sections dealing with the movements in each country is given a report of the activities of the Socialist Parties, Trade Unions, and Co-operatives of the Soviet Republic, and in the main this is a fair survey of revolutionary activity, because few of the organisations mentioned were of any importance prior to 1917.

In "A Labour View of Foreign Policy," H. N. Brailsford deals with Russia—it is always Russia!—Central Europe, and some of the results of the economic blockade of Europe brought about by the Peace Treaties. Those who have followed Brailsford's argument in the *Herald* will—without necessarily agreeing with all his conclusions—be glad to have here provided a summary of his main theses for reference purposes. Erskine Childers writes "The Irish War of Independence"—a title that will live when "The War to End War" is forgotten by most—and states the issue as:—

"This struggle between a small and poor nation of four million inhabitants and the greatest military empire in the world"
He shows how the "greatest military empire" conducted its war on the "small and poor nation," and how, in spite of it all, the Irish people "carried on."

In Part II. of the book is to be found a series of tabloid histories of the Internationals and of the various phases of the labour movement in every country. Postgate reviews International Socialism, and deals with the life stories of the First, Second and Third Internationals, to say nothing of the "two-and-a-half." The constitution of the Third, and the Twenty-one Points are included, and it is good to have them printed on the next pages to the Rules of the Centrist, "International Working Union of Socialist Parties," as the two-and-a-half likes to call itself. Palme Dutt contributes a survey of the International Trade Union Movement, including a short note on the "Red" Trade Union International, together with its Provisional Rules.

The short notes on the movements in the different countries have useful headings which tell of the constitution of the country and its principal economic features—very helpful notes indeed.

The only criticism one has to make with regard to the book is its price. Twelve-and-six is a good sum, but one supposes that it is impossible to produce such a book at any less. For that reason, the work will go mainly to libraries, branches, and Trade Union offices. Those who can afford the money will get their money's worth—there is no question about that—and those who, like myself, can not, will have to see to it that it is got by some organisation just round the corner, because we can't very well do without it.

W. McLAIN.

A Communist History

BY CHARLES ROEBUCK.

"The class conscious Workman must know not only what is Communism, but also what is Russia. This book is devoted to the history of the formation of Russia of to-day.

It does not assume in the reader any preliminary historical knowledge, *i.e.*, speaking more plainly, it pre-supposes a person whose brains have not been addled by the school history books, with their endless Tsars and ministers, who only think about various 'reforms' for the good of the people. Here the narrative has also been arranged, if you will, according to 'reigns'—only instead of puppets in crown and purple, the author took the real Tzar—Tzar Capital—the autocratic ruler of Russia from Ivan the Terrible to Nicholas the Last.

The first sketch, therefore, is devoted to the first reign—the history of the rise of *commercial capital* in Russia and its seizure of power. The Northern War, and the formation of the Russian Empire, mark the complete maturity of Russian commercial capitalism. But in his swaddling clothes a babe was already making himself heard, in a hundred years to be as powerful and as headstrong as his father. The second sketch will be devoted to the reign of this successor of commercial capital—*industrial capitalism*. The era of the complete maturity of industrial capitalism in Russia comes in the second half of the nineteenth century. At the beginning of the twentieth century, imperialism is already on the scene; and to it and its fall will be devoted the third and last sketch.

As we see, the number of pages does not at all correspond to the number of centuries. The first eight centuries of Russian history occupy as much space as the two centuries that follow; while the last twenty years take up as much room as the two centuries preceding. The writer had in view a reader whose leisure is much less than his desire for knowledge, and in consequence was as brief as was consonant with clarity of exposition."

In this introduction Professor M. Pokrovsky, one of the oldest members of the Bolshevik Party, one of the most prominent Russian historians of pre-revolutionary days, and to-day director of higher education in the Soviet Republic, outlines more clearly than any review the scheme of a book which, in its way, marks an epoch in the literature of the proletarian revolution. Hitherto the materialistic method in history had received only a very partial application in practice, despite its universal acknowledgement as the only safe guide, by all who claim to be serious Marxists. The "18th Brumaire" and the "Civil War in France," in which Marx first gave us an illustration of the colossal power of the materialistic method and of the immense prospects it unlocked in historical science, were written primarily not as histories but as political and almost controversial treatises. Kautsky, Labriola, Plekhanov, have left us essays and explanations of the materialistic method itself which can never be superseded. In Germany, where serious Marxian study went further before the war than anywhere else, Mehring, Cunow, Kautsky, and others gave us a series of works applying the materialistic method to the study of a number of isolated historical incidents and periods.

All these represent steps, some of them very important and memorable steps, in the desired direction. But the very success with which these writers dealt with isolated periods only served, in the old days, to emphasise the colossal nature of the task which "one day, after the revolution," we should have to undertake. That task would be to re-write the whole of human history, after a preliminary re-investigation and reconsideration of all the sources and materials used by previous historians. True, the more reputable historians of the last twenty years, at the most bourgeois of universities, have borne the

impress of the universal standardisation and subdivision of labour which is the mark of the last, most perfect, stage of mature capitalism. Learning from the historians of Germany, where efficiency had been imposed at every turn, upon every member of society, by the imperious demands of a growing capitalist State, the historians have been content, with comparatively few exceptions, to confine themselves to a bare, dry-as-dust, objective study of materials, without any attempt to go further. For this reason, their work can be, and already has been, utilised in a large part as it stands by the historians trained in the school of the revolution. Even here, however, conditions are not entirely satisfactory. In many cases with the deliberate intention of diverting historical research from the study of "dangerous" or "controversial" subjects, its energies have been spent upon work of a purely antiquarian nature, in no sense valuable to that generation of future historians which we have foreseen. It may well be that after the revolution we shall have to go through a long period of preliminary historical study of materials, and revision of sources, before we can arrive at a series of satisfactory histories.

But the revolution is here. In one country it has already set free millions of workers from the oppression of the factory owner, and has set their feet, perhaps unsteadily, and still a little doubtfully, upon the path of knowledge. And to tell these millions, thirsting for education and culture, that they must wait 20 or 40 years until the history is written which shall satisfy all the higher criticism that can be directed against it, would be not merely ridiculous but a crime. Under such circumstances, what can be better than to have a complete history written by a man grown old in the work of accumulating and sifting historical documents, who has been at the same time from his earliest years a revolutionary Marxist, in action as well as thought. Pokrovsky has not only realised the necessity of rewriting the history of Russia; at every step in his career, whatever minor or major study he was engaged on, he always carried on his work of investigation, sifting, and accumulation in a spirit of materialist criticism.

This book, ("Russian History—The Most Essential Outlines." Parts 1 and 2. State Publishing Agency. Moscow, 1920.) is the first fruit of our comrade's labours in the face of the crying needs of the masses. It is a worthy beginning to the new school of history for which we hope: its very introduction, which is quoted in full at the beginning of this review, tells us at the outset that we must expect something new in historical writing.

Confining itself only to the principal outlines of Russian history for the requirements of the Labour Colleges—as we of the British movement may not unjustifiably call them—that are springing up all over Russia, Pokrovsky's work is yet able to give us whole series of new facts and ideas which hitherto were passed over by the bourgeois historians in silence, however dispassionate their intentions.

It is idle to attempt to review the ground covered by the history in the space of this review. For the present it is sufficient to say that, after a stimulating and brilliant introduction on the general meaning of history, the book sets out upon, and successfully accomplishes, the task which its author set before himself at the beginning. The best service that can be done to the Communist movement in Great Britain, and to the British working class, would be to translate this book.

It is impossible, however, to refrain from quoting from one passage in the latter section of the book, in which Pokrovsky is approaching the beginning of the period of the revolutionary movement—the beginning of the nineteenth century—in which the driving forces of the Russian revolution, as in France, still spring from amongst the bourgeoisie. It is a perfect example of the simplicity and clarity of Pokrovsky's style, his profoundly Marxian method of thought, and at the same time his freedom from those crudities into which beginners in Marxism are apt to fall, interpreting the materialist conception and method in history as an "economic interpretation."

"Here we must for a moment dwell on the question of what bourgeoisie it is we are speaking when we talk of the 'revolutionism' of the bourgeoisie. Often this is interpreted to mean that, once upon a time, the capitalist class (incidentally irrespective of what capitalists precisely were involved—commercial or industrial) was itself independently revolutionary. Such never was and never is the case. The revolution is always a movement of the masses of the people, always directly or indirectly moving against exploitation—*every* revolution, not only a Socialist one. Judge then, whether an exploiter will summon the people to battle against exploitation. This, of course, never takes place. But one set of exploiters, in case after case, does succeed in *making use* of the rising of the exploited against the other exploiters.

It is a special form of bourgeois competition, if you will. So, in France, at the end of the eighteenth century, industrial capitalism with the help of the peasant and working class revolution, threw out of the saddle the old commercial capitalism which was closely bound up with landed property: and then itself took the place of the merchants and landowners. But this does not mean that the immediate leaders of the French Revolution were factory owners and manufacturers. The French Revolution of 1789 actually began with a rising at a factory. The leaders of the revolution in France were not manufacturers, and generally speaking not the owners of capital; but an *intermediate class* between the capitalists and the lower middle classes—a class closely bound up with industrial capitalism and depending upon it, but not itself directly engaged in the exploitation of the masses of the people. This class of educated auxiliaries of capital we in Russia are accustomed to call 'intelligentsia'—that is, people who understand.

The intelligentsia also lives on surplus value—in this lies its connection with the bourgeoisie. The more rapidly and widely does capitalism develop, the better is it for the intelligentsia; for then the number of educated professions increases, and there is a wider field of activity thrown open to it. Commercial capitalism maintained, in the capacity of educated servants, only doctors and the intelligentsia of the chancery—the government official. Writers, actors, artists, were, under commercial capitalism, in the position of buffoons and jesters. All this intelligentsia was either very little intelligent (the officials) or very unimportant in the social sense. Hence it is that in the revolutions of the epoch commercial capitalism the intelligentsia plays a very small part, as we shall shortly see.

But in the measure of the development of industrial capitalism there are added solicitors and barristers and, as machine technique develops, engineers, and so on. These classes now become very necessary to bourgeois society, and their social rôle is much more important. In

France the leaders of the revolution were for the most part lawyers and journalists (but there was a doctor-Marat: an engineer-Carnot, and so on); in other cases there were writers, teachers, and even soldiers. The participation of soldiers in the bourgeois revolution is very noticeable in Spain, in Italy, and amongst ourselves, in Russia. The principal revolutionary attempt of the bourgeoisie amongst us—the Decabrist conspiracy—was nothing but a military affair.

And so the direct incarnation of bourgeois revolutionary intent is not the bourgeois capitalist but the intelligentsia. Let us remember this, and incidentally observe that it is not at all essential that the intelligentsia should realise to what end is moving the bourgeois revolution, and that it should see clearly that it is fighting for industrial capitalism against its commercial predecessor. The revolution demands of its participants devotion, self-sacrifice, and, at the very least, the risking of their lives and livelihoods. But who will be stirred to devotion by the picture of the manufacturer driving out the merchant neck and crop, and who will begin risking anything, at all costs, in such a case? The intelligentsia simply did not understand all the economic substrata of the struggle which has been outlined above. It saw the external symptoms of the servile State—the autocracy of Tzardom, the corruption of the bureaucracy, the oppression of the lower classes—and it revolted against all this in the name of *liberty*. That there can be no real liberty while there exists the exploitation of man by man, while capitalism is still alive, this the intelligentsia did not for a long time realise, and, when it did realise this, it ceased being revolutionary for the greater part. Because the intelligentsia, let us repeat, like the bourgeoisie lives on the surplus value violently squeezed out of the worker and the peasant. The Communist revolution meant for it that it must lose this advantageous ration, and must take its stand on a level with the manual workers, renouncing its former privileges. But this can be accepted only by a few of the most sincere and devoted of the revolutionary intelligentsia."

"Without comments," as the French say.

Gaol for a German Comrade

THE TRIAL OF BRANDLER AT MOABIT.

Brandler was accused of high treason for the part he played during the last insurrection in March, and was condemned to imprisonment for five years in a fortress by the special court of Moabit.

The trial naturally went according to the opinion of the government, and not according to the law. The Public Prosecutor managed to find five paragraphs of the Penal Code which proved to his own satisfaction that the March movement "attempted to overthrow by violence the Constitution of the German Empire," and that Comrade Brandler as Chairman of the German Communist Party "incited to acts of violence, dangerous to the public peace, various classes of the population."

The trial commenced by a discussion on the nationality of the accused. He was stated by some people to be a Czecho-Slovak, but when it was proved that he had been Secretary of State in Kurt Eisner's Government in Bavaria, the prosecution immediately changed the subject and began to read the details of the charge. The Public Prosecutor insisted mainly on the appeal to the workers issued by the Executive Committee of the German Communist Party during the March insurrections, and on the articles which appeared in the "Rota Fahne" at that time.

BRANDLER'S STATEMENT.

The Presiding Judge asked Comrade Brandler to give an explanation of his actions. Brandler declared that he took all responsibility for the appeals issued by the Executive Committee during the insurrections. He gave three reasons for the Committee's decision to take action: (1) The danger of military conflict in Upper Silesia, which was augmented by the declarations of Kahr the Bavarian Premier, who declared that he would not submit to the law on disarmament. (2) The menacing sanctions of the Entente. (3) And, above all, the dastardly provocation of Hoersing in Central Germany, which aimed at crushing the workers' spirit so that the recruiting of volunteers for the Orgesch and for Upper Silesia could go on without hindrance. Comrade Brandler denied vigorously that the leaders of the movement of March could possibly be accused of high treason.

The presiding judge then read some of the theses of the Third International in order to disprove this statement of Brandler's. The latter replied, "We did not base our action, while leading the March insurrection, on the theses of the Third International, but on the programme of the Spartacists."

The judge asked how the United Communist Party of Germany intended to reach its aims. Brandler replied that the general strike proclaimed in the Party's appeals aimed at exercising such pressure on the government that they could obtain the arming of the workers and the disarmament of the counter-revolutionaries. The disarmament of the counter-revolutionaries had already been promised by the government which came into power after the Kapp Putsch. Severing had promised to form immediately army groups' organisations from workers and employees, but he did not keep his word. The Communist Party, therefore, only demanded what all three Socialist parties and the trade unions had already claimed. "Our action of March," Brandler said, "did not at all aim at the seizure of power, before thinking of throwing over the Constitution we shall have to fight in many more bitter conflicts and the whole mass of the workers will have to be behind us."

CROSS-EXAMINATION AND PLEADINGS.

In his cross-examination the Public Prosecutor constantly based his statements on passages from Levy's pamphlet. He proved, using for this purpose quotations from Levy, that the initiative of the March movement and its direction came from Moscow, and from Moscow alone. While recognising that the accused was moved to action by noble motives, that he was an idealist, and the most intelligent Communist who ever

appeared before him; but proved also that Brandler's principles must inevitably lead him to preaching violence, and demanded that he should be condemned to seven years in a fortress!

In his speech for the defence, Brandler's lawyer, Weinberg drew a striking contrast between the treatment of those who have committed acts of "high treason" who belonged to the Left, and those of the Right who have done the same. None of the gentlemen of the Kapp Putsch have yet been called before a special court, he said. As for the appeal of the National Council on the 24th March, for which Brandler was specially singled out and accused, it was not an offensive but a defensive act. As a matter of fact this appeal only called for the carrying out of the eight demands made by all the socialists at Bielefeld after the Kapp Putsch, and after the general strike it provoked.

In closing his defence Comrade Brandler made the following explanatory statement:—

"In all my life my political intentions have never been so misunderstood as they have been here. I repeat again once more that I take all responsibility for the actions of the executive committee of the V.K.P.D. in March. I still share, to-day as then, the opinion of the National Council, that an order of the President of the Republic depriving workers of the right to strike was certain, in such a situation, to provoke a general strike. And when the Public Prosecutor wishes to make me, or the committee, or the party itself, responsible for a state of things which we were unanimous in condemning, the least one can say is that the position is somewhat strange.

"I feel as if I were living in the Middle Ages, as if I had been accused of sorcery, an accusation with regard to which no one can produce any proofs at all. With all my power I repudiate the lies of those who wish to make out that 'the movement of March was a Putsch.' In order to be able to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat it is first necessary for us to bring over to our opinions, or to lead into common action, the independent and the majority socialists. The government has set us outside the protection of the law and brings us before special tribunals. Since it has been your pleasure to bring forward here in the most important place the directions of the Communist International, I may as well say that the 'dictatorship of the proletariat' means, in the sense in which it is understood by the Communist International, that the power of the working masses must become the decisive factor in the formation of society. There are only two paths to-day which we can follow, either the utter brutalities and the violence which are used in the interests of the capitalists, or else the dictatorship of the proletariat. We who are Communists, here and now, swear that we will do all that is necessary to uphold the interests of the proletariat at all times, and in every situation that may arise."

Thereupon the jury retired, and after an hour's deliberation worked out the following monstrous verdict: The jury finds the accused guilty on all counts of the indictment. But recognising that he only took action because of his own beliefs, the jury has decided not to send him into a penitentiary, and condemns him to five years' imprisonment in a fortress for high treason.

L'Humanite, 13/6/21.

The Congress of Red Trade Unions

AGENDA.

On July 3rd took place the ceremonial opening of the first International Congress of Red Trade Unions. Two hundred representatives of 20 countries were present. The agenda of the Congress includes the following points:—

(a) A report by Rosmer on the activity of the International Council of trade unions.

(b) Reports by Bukharin and Losovsky on the world economic crisis, and the problems and tactics of the trade unions.

(c) Report by Zinoviev on the relations between the unions and political parties.

(d) Report by Rosmer on the relations between the Red Trade Union International and the Communist International.

(e) Report by Heckert on the trade union and workshop committees.

(f) Report by Alperovich on trade unions' and workers' control of industry.

(g) Report by Bell and Watkins on unemployment.

Novy Mir, JULY 6th, 1921.

THE FIRST SESSION

The first session of the international Congress of Red Trade Unions was opened by Losovsky, who emphasised the fact that the International Council of Trade Unions had in 12 months succeeded in uniting the revolutionary workers of the whole world and in creating a most powerful antagonist for the Amsterdam Trade Union organisation. Greetings in the name of the British and American workers were delivered by Tom Mann, in the name of the French workers by Sirolle, on behalf of the Russian Unions by Rykov, and on behalf of the Trade Unions of Germany, Austria, Hungary, and Switzerland by Hoyding. All the orators pointed out that throughout the world the workers are streaming into the Red Trade Unions.

The following Presidium was elected:—

Lovosky and Rikov.
Rostov.
Heckert.
Tom Mann.
Nino.
Matifevsky.
Pavlovich.
Hempel.

Russia.
France and Belgium.
Germany.
England and Australia.
Spain.
Poland.
Balkans.
Czecho-Slovakia.

Novy Mir, 7/7/21.

Towards the Socialist Republic

AN APPEAL OF WHITE OFFICERS TO ALL CITIZENS OF THE RUSSIAN SOCIALIST FEDERAL SOVIET REPUBLIC.

To you, citizens of great mother Russia, wherever you are, whatever position you occupy, we address ourselves, a group of officers, officials and priests, who have just arrived from the distant shores of Turkey, having lived through and suffered all the horrors of the civil war as its involuntary participants.

Without any pressure from one side or the other, and moved only by devotion to our long-suffering, distracted home land, we make this appeal to you.

We, who are physically exhausted, spiritually crushed, with souls trampled down and covered with slander, cruelly deceived, must be for you, our countrymen, a vivid and living example. Let our sufferings serve as a lesson for you, sobering the hot heads of those who blindly, with arms in their hands openly, or with poisoned honey on their lips secretly, continue the struggle with the Soviet Government and attempt to throw new fuel of discontent upon the expiring embers of the civil war.

Three years of titanic struggle by new enlightened Russia against the kingdom of darkness have ended in a complete victory of the light; and we who experienced the terror and oppression of that darkness no less than you, we who as the result of all the lies and deceptions, terror and violence, or our own error and political short-sightedness, ended by finding ourselves in the far concentration camps of Turkey, decided to be the first to break at all costs with the past, and to bring our lives, and sincere repentance for all our voluntary and involuntary crimes, before the tribunal of the lawful government of the people

Mobilised, or driven into the ranks of the enemies of the Soviet Government by the circumstances of life, we were the unwilling administrators and sometimes executive officers of the campaign of lies and violence, against the will of the people. All this, drop by drop, accumulated in the soul of everyone of us, creating first dissatisfaction, and finally, by the revelation of ever new and newer facts of our deception and of the deliberate intention to return to the old order, led to the complete break up of the White Army.

Consolidated by internal terror, and fed by the bourgeois governments of Europe, who feverishly created armies of any description, and even little detachments, only to postpone the moment of their own destruction, the White Army thrown against its own flesh and blood, burst like a soap bubble. And in the heart of everyone of its fighters there grew up a feeling of indignation and the consciousness that we were marching against our own brothers, the workers.

We, sons of one and the same people, were the instruments by which our home-grown Napoleons and little Napoleons, manufacturers, factory owners, in alliance with foreign capitalists, sought to snatch the prize from the fire they themselves had lit, and attempted to restore or retain their rights and privileges, though this entailed the shedding of seas of blood.

This is a fundamental thought that little by little grew up in our tortured souls, and helplessly clenching our fists and muttering curses against the political speculators, we longingly looked there to the North where our brothers, our homes, and our families were. And all the while our intelligence whispered: "But you are guilty; you fought against your own brothers; albeit unwillingly, you strove to extinguish the light which had begun to shed its beams over the homeland. There is no forgiveness for you."

"There will be no forgiveness, but torture, the gallows, the rifle bullet," hissed the adventurers of all nationalities and ranks in their appeals and warnings.

The intimidation reached its height, but it had not any terrors for us. The stories of 13,500 hung in the Crimea printed in the Russian and French press, and other such stories had no effect, nor had the deathlike whisper of the French: "We do not answer for your lives; ponder well—you will be hung." But it did not matter to us, and the sharp cry of: "To our homes! enough of deception and adventurism!" loudly sounded through all the camps.

It is enough, gentlemen! We shall be hung, you tell us. Let it be so; but give us the possibility of shaking off the dirt with which you have defiled us. By our open departure from you we openly told you that in your new adventures we shall not participate, and if necessary we shall fight against you.

What have you given to our people? Nothing. Who asked you twice to raise the fury of civil war? No one. Did General Wrangel ask the army whether it was willing to continue the civil war? It is you, together with the French capitalists who decided to continue it, exploiting the exhaustion of the warriors who had only just undergone complete defeat, a panic stricken retreat, and the horrors of the Crimean mousetrap.

You promised our peasants land and liberty: but you burdened them down with payments for a quarter of a century; and from behind the guady promise looked out the face of the landlord. You promised the worker an earthly paradise, but it stopped at the accumulation of piles of worthless notes, with which, thanks to the presence of frantic speculation which you call free trading, they could only sink gradually into deathlike starvation. What did you give to the intelligentsia? But what have you given to anyone at all, except those political and commercial adventurers? Did you introduce even one new living current into the life of our people? No, you did nothing of the sort, you who ruled us in the name of General Wrangel. You pushed us forward as a barricade for yourselves: behind our backs you squabbled and fought over who was to be politically and commercially the superior, and who should be your special advisers in Europe, "honest brokers," just like yourselves. We were only needed by you in the Crimea so that you

could feverishly buy up foreign currency and again try to climb up into comfortable positions. No! this will no longer be; and in the damp and airless dugouts and the broken sheds, where lived, in such contrast to you, the men you have herded together, the determination was born: "Enough of lies, enough of deception."

These men were we—we who had been thrown by you under the guardianship of French negroes and Arabs, who insulted our national feelings by firing at us, by blows and abuse. You who sat in Constantinople and travelled, in order to organise new adventures, from conference to conference—where have you brought us? Enough! we must go home! There, back to the cold north, to our brothers with the warm hearts, we like prodigal sons shall bring our repentance, shall ask for forgiveness, and shall take our stand in the ranks of the world fighters. Let our suffering be a warning to those who believe that a happy and peaceful life can be created by dirty hands of the adventurers and profiteers who travel about in French motorcars and live on French gold. Do not believe them! Do not believe their agents who jingle their coins and dream of tearing away something from the prostrate body of Russia in the future. The great Russian people has itself created for itself new forms of Government. In the name of the general welfare of the world it is making ghastly sacrifices, bursting through with its breast the armour of world capitalism and speculation; and we, grown wiser sons of our homeland, were burning with desire to take our place in the ranks of the world fighters for the kingdom of the bright future, and now make our appeal to all who are still in the toils of the political adventurers.

Take thought! Don't follow them! Don't build a well fed life of power and wealth for them out of your groups and the groups of your brothers; remember our example, and honestly, like ourselves, come not as the enemies of Soviet Russia, but as men burning with a desire to serve her, and to give her all your energies.

Long live the Soviet Republic!

Long live Comrades Lenin and Trotsky!

Long live the Third International!

The manifesto is signed by 67 officers of rank from Colonel to Subaltern, 33 officials, and 4 Priests, and was drawn up at Krasnodar (formerly Ekaterinodar).

Izvestia, 5/4/21.



Belgium

A STATEMENT BY THE BELGIAN COMMUNIST PARTY.

(A letter from the Executive Committee of the B.C.P.).

TO ALL THE OTHER COMMUNIST PARTIES AND TO THE EXECUTIVE
COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL.

DEAR COMRADES,

The Executive Committee of the Belgian Communist Party has been informed that the Left Wing of the Belgian Labour Party, that is to say the group called "Friends of the Exploite," have formed at their congress on the 29th May, 1921, a Communist Party alongside the party already existing, which is recognised by the Third International.

The Belgian Communist Party does not at all desire for formal reasons to deny the right of the Left Wing of the Belgian Labour Party to make this gesture, nor does it wish to reproach its fraternal party, the V.K.P.D. for having sent to the congress of this group, without even having asked for any information with regard to it, a delegate from its executive committee.

We wish, nevertheless, that all the members of the Communist International, and especially the Central Executive at Moscow, should know the following facts: *In the first place*, the development and the experience of the Communist Parties during the last two years have by now sufficiently well shown that a change of name is not enough to constitute a Communist Party.

Secondly, at the conference in Rotterdam on the 13th March, 1921, this group had agreed to joint action with the Belgian Communist Party. This agreement was signed by its delegate Everling. The local sections to this group have never been informed of the scope of this agreement, therefore, have not had the opportunity to ratify the promise made to our delegates.

Thirdly, that this opposition group has not yet approached the Communist Party in order to begin negotiations with a view to discovering what possibilities there are of achieving unity. They have formed a new Communist Party for the following reasons:—

- (a) The existing Communist Party is too exclusive.
- (b) Communists ought to use parliamentary methods.

We draw particular attention to these two points, which are very characteristic, and for those who know the international policy of the Centrists, from Martov and Kautsky to Levi, Serrati and Smeral, these two points define perfectly well the exact character of the new party, and above all of the motives which animate its leaders. Our organisation, which was a so-called "sect" (on which matter the members of the new party are entirely ignorant since none of them have asked for affiliation to us) shows the clearness of our principles as regards tactics and aims, seeing that we are organised according to the principle laid down by Lenin—"before we can organise a party we must first of all be free from non-communist elements." This main line of tactics in the fight seems to be too exclusive for them. We realise this, although they have not said so publicly since they entirely lack theoretical principles; of course it is not at all necessary to dwell on what they mean by "Communists ought to use parliamentary methods." There is no question here of what Lenin wrote in his book "Left Wing Communism and Infantile Disorder" as to the duty to engage in revolutionary parliamentarism, and still less is there question of the attitude towards this matter shown in the theses of the Second Congress of the International. If they had understood these points of view they ought to have:—

(A) Pointed out the conditions which made such revolutionary action possible in parliament in the existing situation in Belgium.

(B) Shown where the subjective forces could be found capable of carrying on this sort of parliamentary activity.

You are, however, aware, dear comrades, that one can only judge a movement from within, from its acts, and from its active work. Several questions at once suggest themselves to anyone who has been in a position to follow the feeble vacillations of the leaders of this group in their opposition to the leaders of the Belgian Labour Party on trade union and parliamentary matters. One of these questions is: what methods drove these people out of the shadow of their feeble and meaningless opposition within the Labour Party, and led them to form themselves into a Communist Party in which definiteness, activity, and sacrifice are the first and most necessary qualities?

Already in their statement of their aims the obscure nature of their opportunism may be observed—an opportunism which will grow greater still because of the difficult situation which is being created between the various parties. Provisionally we consider that this declaration of ours is sufficient, but we insist vigorously upon the fact that we have to deal with a group composed of all sorts of opposition tendencies, and not in the least with the group which has become Communist in the struggle or through an evolutionary theory. In making this declaration we are moved by no considerations of formality with regard to our own party, for we do not mind what "the Communist Party" shall be so long as it is a solid and combative organisation useful to the proletariat in the class war, and able to lead us to the victory of Communism. We are always ready, as is our Communist duty, to furnish proofs of the statement we have made here, and which we submit to the judgment of our comrades in the International.

With Communist greetings,

THE EXECUTIVE OF THE BELGIAN COMMUNIST PARTY.
(Section of the Third International).

THE DECLARATION.

The Executive Committee of the Belgian Communist Party, in view of the fact that the Left Wing of the Belgian Labour Party has transformed itself into a Communist Party, has decided:—

(1) That all the Communist groups affiliated to the Communist party of Belgium (Section of the Third International) shall deal with the new party on any questions which may arise in the future only through the Executive Committee, or on its authority.

(2) That all the Communist groups, as well as the party organ, shall continue to struggle with the greatest possible vigour against any activities which do not conform to the principles of the Third International, to the resolutions of the congress of the Belgian Communist Party, and to those of its Executive Committee.

(Signed), THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF BELGIUM.

L'Ouvrier Communiste, 11/6/21.

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France

A DECLARATION OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE REVOLUTIONARY SYNDICALIST COMMITTEES.

In full accord with the pact of Amiens, reinforced by the resolution of the Clermont, Paris, Lyons and Orleans congresses, the revolutionary syndicalists proclaimed without any possible ambiguity the *total independence and autonomy* of French revolutionary trade-unionism.

Faithfully interpreting the aspirations of the masses of the people the R.S.C. consider that trade-unionism to-day contains within itself, by the natural and normal development of its various appropriate organisms, such possibilities that the whole social and economic organisation should be based exclusively upon labour.

The R.S.C. declare that they wish to achieve a constructive plan which will place the producer at the foundation of the social edifice of the sphere of production, administration and control.

Considering that trade-unionism, the expression of life itself constitutes the sole true class struggle organisation of the manual and intellectual workers; and that it contains within itself all social technical values, which under its permanent and direct control should form and organise the framework of the new society.

Rejecting, unhesitatingly, the minimum programme of the C.G.T., which has as its methods, class collaboration and the permeation of the administrative bodies of industry; as its object, a mass levelling of classes which can only result in a dangerous consolidation of the forces of capitalism—democratising, consecrating, and legalising the exploitation of men by men.

The R.S.C. vigorously repudiate the C.G.T. programme, impossible to realise within the framework of present society, and insufficient for the organisation of the future society.

The R.S.C. declare it essential immediately to set to work, to submit to the workers before the Congress of Lille a general programme, which while opposed to that of the C.G.T. leaders, is at the same time sufficiently elastic to answer to the requirements of the situation produced by proletarian activity before, during, and after the revolution.

The R.S.C. consider that the Soviet system realised by the Russian revolution is based upon the producer and is constructed upon the same plan as French revolutionary trade-unionism.

The R.S.C. declare that the present political state is only the legalised expression of the capitalist system which will disappear after the revolution; and proclaim that the latter must bend all its efforts towards the total disappearance of all forms of the State and the organising of the economic life of the peoples.

Consequently the R.S.C. do not despise, either the assistance which may be rendered them by revolutionary political parties at the present moment, or the considerable influence which may be exercised by the philosophical groups whose purpose it is to raise the human mind by spreading doctrines and the noblest sentiments. None the less they consider that trade-unionism must be the principal motive force of the revolution and the determining factor of the social transformation which must take place under the control and thanks to the combined efforts of all the organised revolutionary forces operating in their own proper sphere of activity.

They consider finally that these methods fully correspond to the aspirations of the French workers whose historical and peculiar characteristics must be rigorously kept in mind by the revolutionaries of our day.

Confident in advance of meeting on this point with the approval of the Russian working class movement, which cannot fail psychologically to appreciate our course of action, apparently differing in its methods, although identical in its aims, from those of the Russian proletariat.

The R. S. C. send the assurance of their most active sympathy to the Soviet Republic; and declare that they will unfalteringly work with it for the universal emancipation of the workers, which can only be realised by the revolution.

Humanite, 21/ 5/ 1921.

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Germany

REORGANISATION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY.

Basing itself on the experience of the March insurrection which brought out certain inherent weaknesses in the organisation of the German Party, the National Council of the V.K.P.D. has worked out a new scheme of organisation for the party along the following lines:—

The Communist branches in the large towns break up into sections and groups containing about a dozen members, each of which elects a leader. As soon as they have increased to the size of 20 members they must break up into two. Every group leader will have assigned to him a definite field of action—a street, block of houses etc.

Every member of a group will be charged with serving one or more houses, according to the size of the field of action appointed. In these houses his work will be:—

1. To distribute leaflets.
2. To secure subscriptions to the Communist press.
3. To recruit new members.
4. To work at election time.
5. To stick up posters and propaganda sheets.
6. To collect information.

The collection of information consists of being acquainted with all the events of the houses: each member must know in the centre attributed to him how many independents, majority socialists, and non-political individuals there are. He must also know how many counter-revolutionary elements there are, and amongst these how many are ready to enter into active operations against the Communists. He must know if there are arms in these houses, and what quantity; whether there are members belonging to the "Orgesch" or to the Self-Defence Organisations, and whether counter-revolutionary meetings are held there.

The members must maintain strict secrecy as to all the information they collect, and inform only their group leader. The latter, in his turn, after checking it, transmits it to the branch secretaries and federation secretaries, who will communicate it to the higher authorities of the party.

The groups unite in one or more branches, according to the size of the town, and elect their representatives to the local executive committee (Ortsborstand).

PROPAGANDA IN THE FACTORIES.

For all industries the Communist Party must place an agent. In the largest enterprises there will be one agent in every shed or workshop; and these men will constitute a committee. The agent or the committee must regularly convene all the Communists working in the factory. They must do their best to take over the direction of the enterprise; which, of course, will only be possible when the majority of the workers have been gained over to the cause and when they are ready to take the initiative in questions of administration.

The agents in the factories of a ward or of a town will meet and elect, just like the members of the local groups and branches, their representatives to the local executive committee. In towns of an average size there will be five members for the local territorial organisations and five for the factory organisations. These ten members will constitute what is called the local executive committee (Ortsborstand), which must conform by general meetings.

By organising our groups and branches in this way, says the executive committee, we shall be able to resist the most violent crises. Members of committees who have been arrested will immediately be replaced by others, for there will no longer be any necessity to convene general meetings for the purpose of electing them—meetings which cannot be assembled in a period of struggle.

PROPAGANDA IN THE COUNTRYSIDE.

The duty of the Communist branches is not only to work in the town in which they live, they ought also to extend their action to the borders of the country in which the comrades of the next town or commune are working. Every village, every farm or isolated house in the country should be subjected to investigation and propaganda similar to that described above. In order to do this each party worker in a group of ten will be assigned a village or a farm.

ORGANISATION OF THE DISTRICTS.

The local organisations form part of the district organisations or federations; in the German Empire there are 28 districts. Representatives of local organisations meet in conferences which elect the district commissions. These commissions will work in the largest town in the district, but their members live in different places within the district. These commissions meet regularly and elect district committees, charged with the administration of the districts.

HIGHER FEDERATIONS.

Until now, 28 districts were in direct contact with the National Council in the centre. This contact has not always been effective. The last movement in March made obvious the necessity for linking together the districts belonging to one zone of production, such as the Rhine basin or Central Germany. For this reason the National Council decided to organise higher federations trusted with the direction of groups of districts belonging to the same zone. The National Council will name its political representatives who will be sent into the higher federations and will be in constant contact with itself.

ILLEGAL WORK.

"The decisions of the Second Congress at Moscow have often been interpreted as implying that the party ought to organise illegal action. This is not true. It is simply a question of organising the party in such a manner that at moments of crises the party can continue its revolutionary activity.

The organisation which we have worked out here has this end in view."

SERVICE OF COURIERS.

"One of the principal tasks of our party," the directing committee states, "to ensure its illegal action at moments of struggle, is the organisation of a service of couriers, which will make it certain that the district committees can keep in touch, on the one hand with the local executive committees and the group leaders, and on the other hand with the higher federations and the National Council. Each executive committee and each group leader ought to know the address of the members of the local committees, district committees, and of the members of the National Council.

L'Humanite, 11/6/21.

Italy

THE COMMUNIST PARTY.

The Italian Communist Party has two daily papers, *L'Ordine Nuovo*, published at Turin, with a circulation of over 50,000; *Lavoratore*, of Trieste, which had to stop publication after its offices and printing press were destroyed by the fascisti. The police regarded this destruction of property with entire calmness, and occupied their time by arresting and imprisoning the editorial staff. In spite of the brutal violence of the reaction, which has been concentrated against the Communists, they represent the only force which can lead the Italian proletariat and teach them the meaning of the class war and of the revolutionary movement.

A new daily paper, of which 50,000 copies will be printed, called the *Lavoratore Comunista*, will shortly be published, as the comrades who were arrested for their activities on the old one, have been released after two months' imprisonment.

The party also has a bi-weekly journal with a circulation of 30,000 copies, published at Milan, and called "*Il Comunista*." This is the organ of the Central Committee of the party. In addition 28 weeklies, each with a circulation of 4,000 to 5,000 copies appear in the most important towns in Italy.

Parliamentary elections took place under conditions which were very unfavourable for the party. The offices of the Central Committee were occupied by the police, who did not evacuate until the elections were over. The other temporary offices were systematically seized by the police and the fascisti. All our best propagandists and all our more well-known militants were imprisoned. In one province in Trieste, for example, it was impossible for the Communists to speak in public during the elections, and even the publication of the party programme was forbidden. The Communists put forward candidates in 27 electoral districts out of 40. In the thirteen districts where the party did not ask for the votes of the electors, the fascisti had their most important successes, and were able to exercise a systematic terror with the aid and tolerance of the police. Fifteen Communists were elected, and over 300,000 votes were given to the party programme in the 27 districts contested. The centre of the party's most vigorous activity in the trade unions and in politics is Turin.

The number of votes for the Communist programme was very much reduced by the fact that workers who were known to favour the party have everywhere been dismissed by their employers. After dismissal they have no chance to find work anywhere else as the capitalists have a complete system for procuring information on this point. The masses of the workers do not believe that the parliamentary system is of any use to them. In Turin the Socialist Party only obtained 21,000 votes, and the Communists 12,000, while almost all the workers failed to go to the poll. But the local elections show how the masses are turning towards Communism. In this case at Turin the Communists obtained 48,000 votes on a strictly revolutionary programme.

L'Humanite, 12/6/21.

THE CRISIS IN THE ITALIAN SOCIALIST PARTY.

The beginnings of a crisis are appearing in the Italian Socialist Party. Its first effects are already obvious. Baratono proposed the motion of the Communist Unity group at the Congress of Livourne. At the same time Baratono demanded the expulsion of Turati from the party on the grounds of his lack of discipline. He was not listened to, and at the Congress of Livourne after the Communists had left, adhesion to the Third International and the acceptance of the 21 points were once more voted.

This acceptance and this adhesion were of no value whatever, and those who had accepted the "unity motion" were not slow to realise this. Baratono was one of them. He had just written a letter to Serrati in which he points out the headlong evolution of the Socialist Party towards the Right. He states that while he does not wish for a new split in the party (it is not wise to speak of the rope to the family of a man who has been hung) the motion passed at Livourne, that is to say the 21 points which were accepted, must be carried out, and beyond this he demands that those who still refuse to submit to the discipline of the party shall be expelled from it. "I must add," wrote Baratono, "that it is urgent that the executive should show to the party that it cannot and must not, allow acts of indiscipline, and of internal rebellion to pass unpunished, now above all when the Congress of the Communist International is only a few days distant. Our duty with regard to comrades who think, write, and agitate in this manner is clear; we ought to call a National Congress before our new group in parliament has determined its line of policy, and above all before the doors of the congress at Moscow are inexorably closed to us."

The Italian Socialist Party, which belongs neither to the Second nor to the Third International, is in a position which cannot last and must be ended. While it remains in this position, the crisis will continue within it, and at each congress a new split will occur.

Avant Garde, 23/5/21.

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Spain

The split between the Communists and the so-called Socialists in Spain has become wider. More than a year ago the revolutionary elements broke away from the old Socialist Party and formed a Communist Party. A Communist Labour Party was formed in April. Negotiations for unity between the two latter parties have been going on, and the questions in dispute will be settled at a conference to be called in the Autumn. The main issue to be decided is the proportion of representatives of each party in the central organs of the unified party, and on the editorial boards of the future party's papers. The original Communist Party demands two-thirds of the places on these Committees. It also demands the expulsion from the new Communist Labour Party of certain of its members, including one delegate of the Socialist Party of Spain to the Communist International, who returned from Russia full of criticisms of the Soviet regime. The International is expected to help in the settlement of these disputes.

The reason why the Communist Party demands two-thirds of the seats on the various committees, although it is the smaller body, is that it is suspicious of socialists who have just broken away from the old Socialist Party, and does not believe in their determination to accomplish revolutionary duty which adhesion to Moscow entails. It is also afraid of being swallowed up in the Communist Labour Party, which already has a considerable number of members. This fear seems to be without good ground, as both parties agree in programme and in method of action. It is true that the Comrades of the Communist Labour Party are rather late in leaving the old Socialist Party, but they only delayed in order to await the results of the National Congress after the return from Russia of the Socialist delegates to the Second Congress of the International.

Another important question which must be solved arises out of the anti-parliamentary attitude of the local general federation of labour in Catalonia. This organisation, although Syndicalist, is rapidly acquiring a Communist spirit. If it is possible to find agreement on this point, the proletariat of Spain will have made an enormous stride towards Communist unity.

L'Humanite, 13/6/21.

Switzerland

A SINGLE REVOLUTIONARY FRONT.

The Swiss Communist Party, founded only a short time ago, is making rapid progress in the trade union movement. To this is attributed, in no small measure, a circular letter addressed to all trade union organisations in Switzerland (union executives and trades' councils) outlining a common programme of action in defence of working-class interests. The programme did not attempt to call the Swiss working class to revolution, but to take advantage of the fact that the Communist Party was the only organisation courageous enough to give a lead to the workers in their everyday economic struggle that would provide a satisfactory way out. The circular addressed as above, runs as follows:—

“ Comrades,

“ As you are aware, a conference, summoned by the Executive of the Communist Party, took place on May 8th at Trimbach. An invitation had been addressed to those of the trade unions and trades' councils who had responded to the appeal of the above-mentioned executive for the formation of a single front against capitalist reaction. There were represented officially: the Central Committees of the commercial, transport, building, municipal, wood, textile, leather, and clothing workers' unions together, eleven trades' councils, including those of Lucerne, Bale, and Geneva.

“ The conference unanimously adopted the following decisions:

- (1) The organising of a propaganda committee.
- (2) To lay down the following objects for the committee:—
 - (a) To secure as quickly as possible the support of the union executives and trades' councils necessary for the summoning of an extraordinary trade union congress.

(b) To propagate the necessity of a single front and of a defensive struggle by means of public meetings, thus preparing the ground for the congress.

(c) To make efforts that local branches of unions may be directly represented at the congress.

(d) To prepare a programme of action for submission to the congress. Deliberating also upon the task incumbent upon it, the committee has taken this decision concerning the congress, in view of the fact that the constitution of the Swiss Trade Union Federation provides that such an Extraordinary Congress may be summoned, if one-third of the affiliated federations or one-third of the trades' councils comprising not less than one-fifth of the total membership give their support.

"While the above will be the formal, the following must be considered as the real ground for summoning the congress. No doubt can be entertained any longer as to the very serious situation in which the working class finds itself at the present moment. All along the line the employers are proceeding towards a general reduction of wages, the deterioration of labour conditions being greatly assisted in this respect by the intensity of unemployment and the apathy of the workers. A strong section of the working-class proletariat realizes that only the union of all the workers will be capable of resisting the attacks of reaction, and that if this grave question is considered as the private affair of each federation the defeat of the whole working class is certain. This is why the formation of a single front and of a defensive organisation is extremely urgent. What is important is not whence the initiative comes, but to realize it.

"The Executive of the Communist Party has taken the initiative, but the committee elected by the conference has taken over charge of continuing its work. In this way going beyond the bounds of a political party, it cannot any longer be described as a 'Communist manoeuvre.' The composition of the committee already proves, in addition, that what is intended is to secure the support of all the organisations of the proletariat in the latter's own interest. Only the Trade Union congress has sufficient authority to form or to reject the single front. This question must be settled for the sake of the working class. We therefore appeal to all competent organisations to support our demands.

"Comrades, the situation is critical. Defence must be organised all along the line. Make it possible by your adhesion for the supreme authority of the Trade Union Federation to decide on this question. Help us to find a way out of the impasse in which the proletariat finds itself at the present moment.

"We invite you, in addition, to discuss within your organisations the problem in question, and to see that your federation organ takes up its position on one side or the other. This alone will make it possible to combat the apathy of the masses and to overcome it."

L'Avant-Garde, 17/5/1921.

U.S.A.

THE WHITE TERROR.

The "Iron Heel" again crushes. On April 29th, without warrant, New York's infamous "bum squad" pulled off a raid, seized "evidence" and arrested Abram Jackira and Israel Ampter. The same evening, E. Lindgren was arrested in a movie theatre. Police claim Lindgren had been followed from Pittsburgh, Pa. These men are alleged to be high in the counsels of the United Communist Party. The police charge them with circulating literature that advocated the forcible overthrow of government. Bail was set at \$50,000.

Their hearings were set for May 5th. The case against them was so flimsy that Magistrate Rosenblatt ordered their dismissal for lack of evidence. As they were leaving the court room they were again arrested without warrant, and held pending a grand jury indictment charging them with Criminal Anarchy. Announcement is made that bail will be reduced from \$50,000 to \$5,000, which indicates the extent of the collapse of the "bum squad" bubble.

(Later: No guidance was found against them, and they were released but immediately re-arrested by plain-clothes men).

During the week four women were also arrested in New York, charged with distributing May Day literature. They are held under \$5,000 bail pending the return of grand jury indictments alleging Criminal Anarchy.

In Philadelphia the police also made the headlines on the first page. On April 25th, 48 men and women were arrested 38 of whom are held under bail of \$2,500. Here, too, homes were entered without warrant, private papers seized, and men and women assaulted. One group of Philadelphia police added variety to the situation by getting drunk on wine they stole, and making gun plays against each other.

In Chicago the police "fizzle" was a bit more fizzly than ever. Two people were arrested for displaying the Red Flag; two others for buying and selling "illegal" literature, and will probably face deportation proceedings; and in East Chicago, a May Day speaker was arrested on the completion of his address, but was released without being booked. Minor disturbances occurred in other places.

Toiler, 21/5/1921.

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Roumania

News from Roumania tells only of a "white terror." Early in April a new Trade Union Law passed the legislature (forty more votes being recorded than there are members), which delivers the unions up to the whim of the government. Not content with this, the Government, a fortnight later, forbade railwaymen to form a trade union. At the same time, a new law authorised officials to treat any unemployed Roumanian as if he were a tramp, for whom imprisonment is a legal punishment. Any worker who seems dangerous may be declared a foreigner, and ordered out of the country.

Communists have been receiving special attention. A long-established newspaper was suppressed at the end of March, and immunity withdrawn from Communist Deputies. A number of Communists, now in other lands, were sentenced by court-martial to long terms of imprisonment; among them is Rakovsky. Seventy-two delegates of the Socialist Party, who took up a position in favour of the 3rd International at the Party Congress, have been arrested and sent to a military prison. On May 22nd, in the town of Ccuaj alone, 70 Communists were arrested. Affiliation to the 3rd International has been proclaimed by the Minister of the Interior to be a crime against the security of the State. When the Balkan Communist Congress was held at Sofia, in the first week of May, Roumanian delegates were prevented from attending, but subsequently the Roumanian Party accepted the resolutions of the Congress.

THE SOCIALIST CONGRESS.

The congress of the Roumanian Socialist Party, in spite of the prohibition of the Government, met secretly on May 8th in the printing establishment of the Party. The Secretary, Macavei, stated that 545 delegates were present representing 27 federations. The deputy, Cristesco, condemned the brutal attitude of the Government, but made it clear that the tyranny of the Roumanian oligarchy was the best method of transforming the revolutionary sentiments of the Roumanian proletariat into revolutionary determination. He read the following motion, which was adopted by the congress:

"The Congress of the Socialist Party, assembled on May 8th at Bucharest, sends its fraternal greetings to the Communist International—the representatives of all the class-conscious workers of the world, and expresses its conviction that the struggle carried on by the Third International, for the abolition of capitalism and the establishment of the system of the regime of workers' and peasants' councils, will soon be crowned with success to be followed by an era of social prosperity and intellectual development for humanity. Long live the Communist International!"

In the second resolution the congress sent its fraternal greetings to the Balkan Communist federation and the Hungarian Communist Party.

The debates on affiliation to Moscow occupied nearly two sessions.

Transylvanian delegates declared against immediate affiliation. The result of the voting was 432 for unconditional affiliation, 111 for affiliation with reservations, and 12 for affiliation after supplementary information had been obtained.

Dr. Rosvany (Hungarian Communist Party) invited the delegates, who had voted against affiliation, to leave the Party, as the Communist International in the class war demands great sacrifices from all its supporters; and those who will not give themselves up, without reserve, to the cause of the revolutionary proletariat, have no business in a party affiliated to the Communist International. On the motion of Cristesco, the congress decided to allow delegates who had voted against unconditional affiliation, but who accepted affiliation in principle, to remain in the party. They were not, however, allowed to take part in the work of the congress.

L'Avant-Garde, 26/5/1921.

Poland

The economic chaos in Poland only grows more frantic. Peasants are worried by the alarming seed shortage; national finances are demoralised by the growing deficit and the continued corruption of officials and contractors; the cost of living still mounts, *e.g.*, railway charges, which during May were increased another 200 per cent., and flour, which has risen another 150 per cent.; capital is passing more and more into the hands of French companies; unemployment increases tremendously.

At the same time, the Government is making new difficulties for itself by its policy towards subject nationalities. Lithuanian schools and newspapers are being suppressed or "transformed"; Ukrainians complain of being "persecuted and oppressed, nationally, culturally and economically"; Ukrainian railwaymen have been discharged *en masse*, perhaps in preparation for a scheme of Polish immigration. Though some Ukrainian bourgeois are keen supporters of the Polish government, Ukrainian socialists are seeking to ally with the more revolutionary Polish socialist organisations; the Ukrainian Social Revolutionaries, however, stand aloof, and refuse to work with any Polish socialist party.

Strikes and political raids and prosecutions make up most of the Polish news. As a result of the victory of the government in the railway strike, starvation wages and victimisation in the railways have continually caused trouble. Great strikes of farm workers in Posen have been crushed by the same methods as proved successful with the railwaymen. Miners, oil workers, shoemakers, brickmakers, metal workers, sawmillers, bakers and wood-workers have all struck to protest against wage-cuts and discharges, but, thanks to weak organisation, hesitating leadership and fierce repression by the government, they have had little success. In some cases the strikers were actually forced back to the factories by police. The strike in the Dombrova coal fields led to a great butchery of demonstrating strikers by State police. In the Eastern Galician oil-fields, a state of war was proclaimed. The proclamation of a general state of siege to settle the farm strike was suggested by the Government.

Strikers have not had a monopoly of persecution. May Day demonstrators, including a number of Ukrainian Social Democrats and Ukrainian railwaymen, suffered in many towns. In Warsaw, the People's University and the T.U. Council have been raided. Soldiers who demanded to be demobilised, according to contract, were mishandled. Dombal, the revolutionary peasant leader, is being followed everywhere by spies; the government is spending, in his county, 1,000,000 marks a month on its spy service, but, owing to the tremendous local popularity of Dombal, it cannot attack him openly; the authorities have repeatedly demanded that the Diet should withdraw his deputy's immunity. A number of Communists have been prosecuted in Cracow, simply because they are members of the Communist Party, and railwaymen have been punished for Communist propaganda. The long-promised amnesty was at length, at the end of May, granted, but in a modified form, applying only to press offences and to offences for which less than 12 months' imprisonment had been imposed.

The Polish Socialist Party (P.P.S.) and the T.U. officials have done little to assist strikers or political victims. The diplomatic interference of P.P.S. leaders, in the strikes of farmers, coal miners, and builders, seems to have done much to end the strike, and to end it in favour of the employers. In connection with a strike in Sosnovice, an executive

committee was formed, including representatives of the P.P.S. and the National Labour Party; this committee at once called on the strikers to return to work and to contribute a part of their pay for the benefit of the Polish insurgents in Silesia. The Socialist press has been silent about the great oil strike, publishing only what is given it by the government press bureau. The Galician organ of the P.P.S. has been publishing advertisements, inviting Polish workers to go to Northern France to help in repairing war devastations; the party appears to be indifferent to protests from the French workers. The party has supported the Polish claims for the acquisition of Upper Silesia. It is negotiating to join the Vienna International, much energy is being spent in slandering the educational and economic work of the Soviet Government of Russia; the slanders are exactly in the style of Helsingfors. The organ of the Polish Ukrainian Socialist Party declares (May 16th) that the P.P.S. has "completely given up its socialist programme, incited the Polish workers to national chauvinism, degraded themselves to be lackeys of the Polish bourgeoisie and of its imperialist aims, and affirms that for the Ukrainian socialists, the P.P.S. "has ceased to be a Socialist Party" There are signs of new proletarian organisations, which will challenge the supremacy of the P.P.S. and the T.U. leaders. In Upper Silesia non-party Workers' Councils have been formed to protect workers from German and Polish exploitation alike. The Warsaw section of the Metal Workers' Union has become Communist, and has come into direct conflict with the Central Committee of the Union. These signs seem more significant than the various attempts to organise a Green International to combat international Communism.

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Czecho-Slovakia

During the last couple of months there have been more signs than ever of an imminent economic collapse. Unemployment increased 100 per cent. during the months from February to May; the great leather industry, starved by the loss of markets in other portions of the old Austrian Empire, has already reduced production to about 25 per cent., and now can find no purchasers, even for its diminished output; the centres of the metal industry in Central Bohemia, Slovakia and the Ostran district are working short time (about 30 hours per week), while some metal factories have already declared a lock-out; the insurrection in Upper Silesia has added complications, driving into Czecho-Slovakia some thousands of miners and bricklayers who had found work in Silesia.

Strikes and lock-outs have been occurring everywhere; the great strike of December had greatly weakened the workers, but even during January and February there were 60 strikes, as well as 11 lock-outs. During April and May there has been trouble, especially with wood-workers, clerks, agricultural and metal workers. A lock-out in the furniture factories of Prague was followed by a strike among wood-workers in several districts. Clerks in ironworks at Ostran stubbornly fought for a reduction of hours. A strike of 20,000 farm labourers in the Russian Carpathians spread over the whole of Slovakia; 200,000 agricultural workers were out, other unions showed active sympathy, and a powerful representative strike committee took charge; the government declared a state of war, and, by ruthless persecution, broke the strike, but the settlement imposed by the Minister for Agriculture was upset by the

landowners and the government, which censured the minister, and the strike broke out again, though on a smaller scale. Short time and unemployment in the metal industry led to a strike in Prague, which extended to all the largest metal works in Central Bohemia, involving 25,000 workers; there were grandiose demonstrations of sympathy and promises of a sympathetic strike of railwaymen; the Central Council of Trade Unions took charge of the strike. There were disputes about the powers of shop stewards as well as about hours.

The state of war declared at the end of April to deal with the agricultural strike has been continued to deal with demonstrators in May. Legionaries who joined in May Day have been punished, and every effort is being used to suppress the Young Communist movement. Since September, 1920, 5,000 Socialists have been prosecuted, 700 of them in Prague alone.

To deal with difficulties like these, significant changes have been made in the organisation of the Trade Unions and of the Left Socialist Parties. District Trade Union Councils have been discussing withdrawal from the Social Democrats, and the Shoemakers' Union has become Communist, in spite of opposition from the Central T.U. Federation. A local group of the Textile Workers' Union has been threatened with expulsion from the Union by the Central Committee if their leader will not sign an adherence to Amsterdam. A conference of the Czech, German and Polish Trade Unions of the Ostrau-Karvin district declared in favour of unified international trade unions and promised fierce opposition to any attempts to divide the unions on national lines. To remedy known defects in strike methods the Communist Craft Union Council decided to form a Trade Union Central for Greater Prague. The Bohemian metal strike was managed by the Central T.U. Council.

International unity within Czecho-Slovakia has been advocated also by the Left Socialist parties, Czech, German and Polish, who have united in combined demonstrations. In the same spirit Slovakian Communists have denounced the agitators for Slovakian independence. But the most important news of the Socialist movement is the formation of a great Czecho-Slovak Communist Party. The Czech Left Socialist Party expelled the editors of the party organ for declaring they would not submit to a decision to adhere to the Third International, and a Congress was called to consider acceptance of the Comintern's conditions.

THE FORMATION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY.

The Congress of the Left Socialists of Czecho-Slovakia opened on May 14th. The agenda comprised a report on organisation; a report on finance; a report on the Control Commission of the Parliamentary group; election of the Credentials Committee.

On May 15th debates began on the following questions: The development of the labour movement of Czecho-Slovakia; the question of affiliation to the Third International; alteration of the party programme; the party constitution; elections.

There were present over 500 delegates representing 3,622 party organisations with 457,474 members. Hungarian, Slovakian, Carpathian, Ruthenian, and Poalo-Zion delegates were present. One-third of the members of the Congress were women.

The Right Wing Socialists distributed leaflets amongst the delegates, accusing the Left Wing of receiving money from Moscow, containing many attacks on Soviet Russia. Nevertheless, by 562 votes to

seven the Congress decided to accept the 21 points, to transform itself into a Communist Party (section of the Communist International), and to send a delegation of 16 members, led by Smeral and Kreibich to represent the party at the Moscow Congress, and to resolve the differences which have arisen between German and Czech Communists.

In an opening speech Smeral, reviewing the history of the labour movement in Czecho-Slovakia, said that the new party would be one of the strongest in Europe, and its power, in comparison with the other forces existing in the country, would be incomparably greater than in other countries. The Czecho-Slovakia proletariat, he said, is now capable of carrying out a revolution, but it is essential that other countries should be equally ripe. He considered that the events of the last six months indicated that the capitalist world was moving towards this climax.

The following is the resolution passed amidst great enthusiasm on the motion of Jan Dolozal:—

"The Congress of the Left Socialist Democrats of Czecho-Slovakia declares for unconditional affiliation to the Third International. At the same time the Congress changes the name of the Party to 'Communist Party of Czecho-Slovakia' (Section of the Third International). The Congress thereby expresses the Party's wish to be distinguished even in name from the party of the Social patriots. The delegates present solemnly undertook in the name of their organisations to carry out under all circumstances the conditions laid down in the 21 points; and to carry them out not only in the party of armistice, but also in the face of the class struggle which will culminate in an open war against capitalism."

The enthusiasm at the passing of this resolution was beyond description, delegates, journalists, and guests rising and singing the "Red Flag" and the "International."

L'Avant-Garde, 17/5/1921 and 21/5/1921.

THE SPLIT OF THE SOCIALIST-PATRIOTS.

The questions at issue between the Right and Left Wings of the National Socialist Party are sufficiently important to make a split inevitable. Even before the revolution of 1918 a Left Wing of the Party was in existence and opposed energetically the official leaders. This Left Wing was mainly composed of old members of the Anarchist Federation who were grouped around the review "Cerven," published by Neumann. A certain number of these, including the miners and some of the National Socialist League of Youth from Prague have already left the party. The others have stayed on led by the Member of Parliament, Vrbensky, Madame Landa-Stich and Professor Kalandra, forming an opposition to the policy of the official leaders within the party. At the Congress in May, lively discussions took place between representatives of the two groups. Dr. Vrbensky spoke in favour of close collaboration with the Communists. Professor Kalandra called for a revision of the Party programme on the basis of the principles of the Third International. After stormy debates the Congress decided to submit the question to the local branches of the Party. An Extraordinary Congress of the Party will be called in five or six months to make a definite decision. Meanwhile the Central Committee has expelled several members of the Left Wing opposition.

Here and there at the Third Congress of the Communist International

The Russian delegation to the Congress includes Lenin, Trotsky, Zinoviev, Kameniev, Bukharin, Dzerzhinsky, Radek, Rykov, Stieglitz, Lunacharsky, Losovsky, Kollontay, and others, in all 21 decisive votes and 29 consultative.

On June 17th Moscow was on holiday in honour of the Congress. A Special Order of the Day was issued to the garrison, an impressive parade of which, together with detachments of the militia, cadets, scouts, etc., was held in the Red Square, the salute being taken by the People's Commissary for War and Marine, Comrade Trotsky. The parade was followed by a great mass meeting, at which delegates from a score of countries spoke in their native languages, "from Hindoo to Italian, from English to Tartar," in the words of the transport workers' organ "Gudok." In the evening the Lettish section of the Communist International held a meeting in memory of the nine comrades recently shot by the capitalist government of Latvia. Impressive speeches were delivered by delegates from Latvia, Russia, Germany, Finland, Poland, etc. About 200 aged "veterans of labour" were publicly honoured at the demonstration, for their services to the working class, receiving addresses and gifts.

The Congress was officially opened at a great "concert-meeting" in the Grand Theatre on June 22nd, with Zinoviev as principal speaker and Chaliapin on the concert programme. Simultaneous meetings of welcome were held in every town and country district of any size throughout Russia.

THE AGENDA OF THE THIRD CONGRESS.

Moscow, 20/6/1921.

The Executive Committee of the Communist International has worked out the agenda for the Congress, together with the delegates already arrived. The report on the activity of the Executive Committee has been entrusted to Zinoviev; the report on the international situation and the problems of the Communist International to Trotsky; the report on tactics to Radek; the report on co-operation to Khinchuk; and that on the internal and external policy of Russia to Lenin. The official languages of the Congress are Russian, French, German, and English. Zinoviev has been nominated for Chairman, and Koenen (Germany), Lorient (France), Gennari (Italy), for the Vice-Chairmanship.

THE ITALIAN PARTY AND THE INTERNATIONAL.

Moscow, 23/6/1921.

At the session of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, Terracini made a big speech on the Italian question, in which he declared himself violently opposed to the acceptance into the International of the Italian Socialist Party (Serrati's group), which since the Leghorn Congress has been more and more swinging to the right. Serrati is entrusting important posts in the party to persons who were formerly expelled from it. When the workers see that Serrati's party is not received into the International, they will leave it in masses.

THE CONGRESS OF THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL.

MOSCOW, 22/6/1921.

Although the Congress of the Third International has not yet been officially opened, debates are already in full progress. The Executive Committee, enlarged by the inclusion of two or three persons from each delegation, meets in session almost every evening. Special commissions are discussing various questions on the agenda. The E.C. for a long time discussed the question of the admission of the Communist Party of Czecho-Slovakia. Although this party has accepted the twenty-one points, there were divided opinions about its admission, as it was established that it does not consist of Communist elements alone. Thus, for example, at the constituent congress, even after the acceptance of the 21 points, Smeral made a speech which is not considered a Communist one; and yet he was elected chief editor of the principal party organ. On the other hand, the party, in spite of its large size numerically, is not able to exercise very much influence on the trade unions.

It was pointed out at the session of the E.C. that, when a representative of the Russian trade unions arrived in Prague with the necessary mandates and attempted to enter into relations with the Czecho-Slovak unions, the latter were not satisfied with the mandates of the Russian unions, and demanded a foreign passport of him. As he had not got one, they broke off relations on this pretext. Burian, the delegate of the Czecho-Slovak party, defended his party, affirming that there were no centrist elements in it. Finally the E.C. decided to receive the Czecho-Slovak party into the International, on the condition that the Czech and German parties amalgamate into one C.P. of Czecho-Slovakia within three months.

Further, the E.C. considered the position of the French party. A detailed report was read by Loriot, after which extensive debates followed. A mixed commission composed of four French and six Representatives of other parties has been appointed to work out a report on the condition of the French party. To-day the question of the Italian party is being discussed; also the events of March in Germany and the expulsion of Paul Levy from the Communist Party.

Novy Mir, 24/6/1921.

International Tactics

THE ITALIAN SOCIALISTS.

At the session of July 1st the Italian Socialists announced that they would harmonise their tactics with the decisions of the Congress, and would do their utmost to secure the acceptance of these reservations at the forthcoming party conference.

COMMUNISTS AND THE LITTLE ENTENTE.

Czecho-Slovak delegation is pressing for the organisation of a conference of all the Communist Parties in the countries of the Little Entente, together with Italy and Hungary, with the object of discussing measures against a possible attack by the Little Entente on Soviet Russia. In consequence of the organisation of the bourgeoisie a close agreement of the Communist forces is essential. The proposal was accepted unanimously.

RADEK'S INTERNATIONAL TACTICS.

Following Czecho-Slovak debate, Karl Radek addressed the Congress on the tactics of the Communist International.

"When defining our tactics," he announced, "we must first of all establish whether the world revolution is in a condition of development or decline. This question is answered for us by the proposition at the base of Trotsky's report. We have no foundation for believing that the development of the world revolution has been even temporarily interrupted. Even Martov has lately published a series of articles proving that the progress of the counter-revolutionary movement is very far from meaning that capitalist society has finally overcome its crisis. The helplessness of capitalism to restore economic life, the growth of unemployment, and the lowering of wages, are for Martov the characteristic feature of the present crisis. This crisis must lead to revolutionary outbreaks.

Dealing with the 2½ International, Radek replied to Friedrich Adler who said that the Communist International was speculating on a rapid development of the world revolution. We pointed out long ago, said Radek, that our tactics are founded on the recognition of the fact of a gradual development of the world revolution. In consequence of this, we consider it necessary to make a stand against the impatient Left elements. The 2½ International considers that the development of the world revolution will be spread over such a long period that Adler will be in a position to strengthen his party and go to the barricades quite calmly and without the least danger. For us this period is a time of severe fighting, in which the Communist Parties may win victories as well as suffer defeats. The opinion of some delegates—for example, the Czecho-Slovak leader Smeral—that the period of open warfare is over, and that a war of positions has begun, is fundamentally incorrect. At the present time we are living through, not a period in which military operations were interrupted, but a period of organisation and strengthening of the army of the proletariat. The Congress must point out to the Communist parties they will do their duty to the world revolution only if they stand at the head of every movement of the proletariat in their country. Analysing the events of Central Europe and Italy, Radek came to the conclusion that in Italy and Czecho-Slovakia the opportunist leaders betrayed the mass movement, while in Germany the revolutionary leaders proved incapable of organising and carrying through a mass movement. Nevertheless, the fact that the German Communist Party, in spite of all its defects, had begun an open struggle, has had as its consequence a closer rallying of the masses around their party. In Central Germany the workers' revolt unmasked the centrist elements. The March defeat taught the German Communists a great deal; and this is a guarantee that it was the forerunner of the future victories of the German proletariat.

The Social Democrats attempted to improve the position of the working-class within the frame work of the existing bourgeois order. In Germany and Great Britain they have adopted the watchword of the socialization of certain branches of production. We adopted another point of view. Side by side with the struggle for the transference of political power to the proletariat we also support all the other demands of the proletariat which arise from the practice of daily struggles. By supporting the labouring masses in their struggle for increased wages we do not necessarily strengthen the capitalist system.

We are on the eve of a great decisive struggle, and must be prepared for every possibility. We cannot organise revolutions to order: nevertheless, we must lead the armies of the proletariat. The work of preparation must be carried on side by side with the attack of the workers. Our watchword is to profit as much as possible by every situation. Radek concluded his speech by insisting that the Communist Parties must attract themselves the great mass of the workers and gain experience in the struggle.

DISCUSSIONS ON RADEK'S REPORT.

At the session of July 2nd Radek's report was discussed. Hempel, representing the Communist Labour Party of Germany (K.A.P.D.) announced that this party considers the trade unions unsuitable for the social revolution. His party considers that the only correct form of organisation is the "production union."

Terracini, representing the Italian Communist Party, stated "for the revolutionary struggle it is not at all essential that a large section of the proletariat should belong to the Communist Party. It is quite sufficient for the revolutionary offensive that the sympathy of the mass of the workers should be on its side."

LENIN'S SPEECH.

Lenin addressed the Congress after Hempel and Terracini. If the congress, he said, will not make an energetic stand against this childish Left chatter, incalculable harm may be inflicted upon the world revolutionary movement. In actual fact, not a single Communist Party in Europe has yet acquired the leadership of the majority of the working classes. Terracini pointed out that the Communists in Russia were also a small party at the time they gained the victory, and was extremely upset because the congress imposed upon the Czecho-Slovak Communists the problem of winning over the majority of the working class to its side. We were, it is true, a small party in 1917; nevertheless, we had on our side the majority of the workers' and even peasants' councils. In addition we had at the very least half the army on our side. Point out to us one capitalist country where the Communist Party has half the army on its side. Terracini defended the principle of the offensive, and demanded that we should begin an open struggle. These are the very same watchwords which were used against us by the Left Socialist revolutionaries. In this sphere we have had a great political experience. For fourteen years we struggled against Mensheviks and the semi-anarchists. Without this struggle we could not have held power for 3½ years. Now, after 3½ years of revolutionary struggle to quarrel about political watchwords instead of talking about preparing for the revolution is disgraceful. We conquered in Russia, only thanks to the fact that our revolution was being prepared from the very first day of the war. The armament of the workers was the preliminary condition for our victory—the fact that ten million workers and peasants had arms in their hands. We succeeded in putting forward the idea of insurrection at the appropriate moment, and derived considerable aid from the circumstances that wide sections of the peasantry were struggling with the landlords. Our first problem was the creation of real Communist Parties. This problem was solved by the first and second congress of the Communist International.

The Communist Parties must know that the meaning of "masses" is determined by the conditions of the struggle. There are circumstances in which 200,000 men are sufficient to create victory.

Lenin's speech closed amidst prolonged applause.

At the morning session of July 3rd the discussion of Radek's report was concluded, and the resolution proposed by the reporter was passed. On July 4th Varga's report on the world crisis was delivered.

Novy Mir, 7/7/21.

FINNISH DELEGATION IN MOSCOW.

The Finnish delegation of industrialists and bankers that has arrived in Moscow also contain representatives of the metal and paper trusts and the Vice-Minister for Trade and Industry in Finland, M. Hovilaniu.

The Finnish delegation proposes in the near future to furnish large supplies of agricultural implements, rotari paper, and various kinds of metals.

For Soviet Russia it is of very great importance to have the possibility of unloading in Finnish ports the goods purchased abroad. This would clear the road uniting Russia with Yamburg and the coast.

Finland, on the other hand, is in dire need of raw material, particularly flax and hemp.

The negotiations between the Commissariat for Foreign Trade and the Finnish delegation are progressing well, and there is reason to hope that they will yield tangible results very shortly.

The establishment of regular trade relations with Finland will finally break the ring of the blockade set up round Russia by the Imperialists of the Entente.

Moscow, JUNE 11th.

A BRILLIANT ACCOMPLISHMENT.

The Manager of the Shurovsky Cement Works, V. N. Young, for the first time in Russia successfully applied a new experiment for the burning of calcium in cement rotary furnaces, heated and dried with Moscow small coal. The experiment gave excellent results. The calcium was burned in two hours, while, in the regular Hoffman and other furnaces with a steady supply of wood or peat, 12 hours were required to burn the same amount of calcium.

The calcium after the burning in the rotary ovens was of an excellent quality.

With a normal supply of raw material and with the operation of only one rotary furnace, the Cement Works can furnish about 3,000 poods of calcium, at the same time avoiding the employment of the more expensive fuels, by using the Moscow small coal which is abundant in the Moscow Coal Basin.

Taking into consideration the needs of the Republic in building materials and for sanitary requirements, in view of all kinds of epidemics, this technical accomplishment is of great significance, and

engineer Young must be given full credit for his discovery and the support of the masses of the cement factory who helped this great experiment to develop on a large scale, must also be duly recognised.

Moscow, JUNE 12th.

SOVIET FARMS IN SARATOV.

There are 161 Soviet farms in the Saratov Gubernia, with a total area of 515,000 desiatins. These farms form 216 groups, which are controlled by a group executive having at its disposal agricultural and technical experts.

The chief undertakings of these farms are agriculture, cattle breeding, and vegetable gardening. Recently, in view of a proposal circulated by the Chief management Board of Soviet Farms, it is hoped to establish a number of farms for experimental purpose. It is proposed to establish 23 of these farms throughout the gubernia, six for cattle breeding, four for agriculture, four for horticulture, four for vegetable gardening, three for technical improvements, and two for the cultivation of meadows.

The organisation of the Soviet Farms for cultivating medicinal herbs since last spring is worthy of attention.

The Soviet Farms have cultivated the following areas of land this year. 16,545 desiatins of fields, 1,807 desiatins of vegetable gardens, and have prepared 13,608 desiatins for winter crops for 1921—1922.

In spite of many difficulties, the above-mentioned area has been almost fully worked and sown.

The attitude of the peasants to the Soviet farms was hostile at first, they treated them as they formerly treated the property of the landowner, possibly because the Soviet farms were organised on the former estates. But later suspicion disappeared, the peasants were generously supplied with pedigree stock, their sowing materials were improved, their agricultural machinery was repaired in the Soviet farms' workshops, schools and small workshops were opened, and help was given to the stricken population.

The enmity of the population towards the Soviet farms disappeared with the building of clubs, theatres, libraries, the reading of lectures, etc., in the villages near these farms.

Besides, the farm workers themselves, a great deal in this respect was played by the political commissars sent to different Soviet farms and groups, and the workers of the Ouezd and Gubernia Executives did considerable work in the establishment of good relations between the farms and the villages.

Moscow, JUNE 12th.

The COMMUNIST REVIEW

THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

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Review of the Month

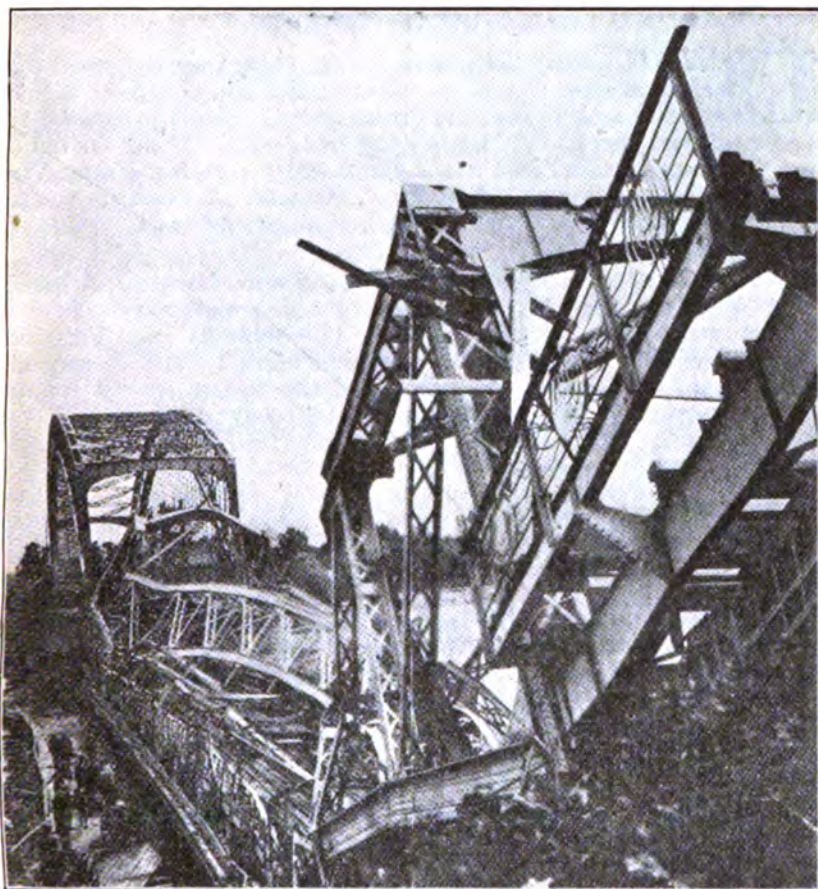
The Third Congress

IN this issue of the COMMUNIST REVIEW we have devoted a great deal of space to several very important statements submitted to the Third Congress of the Communist International, which has just closed at Moscow. The one thing that distinguishes the Communist International and the Red Trade Union International from every other international organisation of Labour is their serious attempt to grapple with every aspect of the class-struggle. The Third Congress critically re-examined the revolutionary tactics which had been elaborated by the first and second Congresses. By doing this the Communist International showed that it was its own most unsparing and relentless critic. This is the best method to adopt in building up an organisation to be at once healthy and virile.

The Russian Famine

THE most serious news which we have received for some time from Russia is that dealing with the famine. It was only to be expected that the reactionary press of this country would seize the opportunity to use the Russian food crisis as something for which the Soviet Government is directly responsible. Need we remind our readers that the British Government spent over one hundred million pounds in a desperately criminal war which had for its aim an attempt to paralyse all Soviet agriculture and to smash Russia's transport system? We publish in this issue a few photographs, out of many hundreds, which clearly show *one* reason why the Soviet Government is handicapped in dealing with the present crisis. The war policy of Winston Churchill which was directed against Russia, in conjunction with the blockade, made it impossible for the Soviet Government to import agricultural machinery, otherwise it could have been in a position to cope with any famine that came along.





Notice to Foreign Press

IN order to make our international survey of the Socialist and Communist movement as comprehensive as possible for the readers of THE COMMUNIST REVIEW, we invite the various movements and revolutionary groups, in other countries, to send us a copy of their official journal. We also desire to receive such papers in order to file them in our reference department.

Any Socialist or Communist paper desiring to be put upon our exchange list, might please communicate with the Editor of THE COMMUNIST REVIEW, 16, King Street, Covent Garden, London, W.C. 2.

A Black Winter

DESPITE all the optimistic reports regarding the good time that is in store for the workers of Britain, it is both significant and sinister that the Press is now beginning to cautiously prepare the masses for a very bad winter. And on top of the warnings of the Press comes the statement of Mr. Frank Vanderlip, the well-known American financial authority, to the *Manchester Guardian* (August 2nd), that Britain was "going to have rather a bad time."

The brutal truth is now forcing itself upon honest and intelligent observers that Capitalism has reached the stage where it cannot even feed its own slaves. Undoubtedly the Versailles Treaty, with its reparations and indemnities, accelerated the development of poverty and deepened the pit of misery for the British workers. We must remind the wage-earners that the capitalist and jingo demand for indemnities, which means the intensified exploitation of the German masses, was supported by the Labour Party. The leader of the I.L.P., Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, also outlined an indemnity policy for the imperialists during his recent election campaign in Woolwich. This was one reason, out of many, why the Communist Party opposed him. Members of the I.L.P. who are still doubtful whether MacDonald actually advocated such a reactionary and anti-international policy, as the payment of indemnities, may refer to the columns of an I.L.P. journal, the *Glasgow Forward*, which severely rapped him over the fingers, and exposed his false jingo economics.

We recommend our readers to study the bold declaration of the Communist International, published in this month's **COMMUNIST REVIEW**, in the statement on "Revolutionary Tactics," where the indemnity theory is cleverly exposed and shown to be an imperialist weapon for the subjugation of the international proletariat.



Thomas the Royalist

THE recent controversy between Northcliffe and Lloyd George, showed the servile position occupied by the monarchy in carrying out the instructions of the Cabinet, as illustrated in the visit of the King to Ireland. The flare-up served to bring several facts to the front. To the working class the most important part of the discussions was *not* that the propertied interests, operating through their control of the State, carry the King in their pocket. Of much greater importance was the declaration by Mr. J. H. Thomas, a leader of the Labour Party, in the House of Commons, that:

**If the party to which I belong came into power tomorrow
we all believe that His Majesty would accept our advice
as he readily accepts that of the present Government.**

(Hansard)

Mr. Thomas also spoke like a true leader of the Second International, and seemed to try and follow in the footsteps of his brilliant colleague, Mrs. Philip Snowden, when he declared that:—

**His Majesty recognises no distinction between classes or
creeds and he realises that the interests of the whole
people are his first and paramount consideration.**

(Hansard)

No wonder the hard-faced profiteers and imperialist reactionaries in Parliament cheered the speech of Thomas. No wonder Lord Milner declared that he did not fear the advent of a Labour Government. But where were the bold parliamentarians of the I.L.P., and the daring fighters of the Two-and-a-Half International when Thomas threw the Labour Party at the feet of the King, as a guarantee of its servility? Did the I.L.P. *Labour Leader* denounce Thomas for pledging the betrayal of the Labour Party in advance? Not a word! On this matter the I.L.P. has been criminally and cowardly silent. Not one of its leaders, nor one of its papers dared to repudiate Thomas for praising the Monarchy in the name of Labour. After all, what could we expect? It was the I.L.P. leaders who protected the reactionaries like Thomas and Henderson, etc., by using their *majority control* in the Labour Party N.E.C. to keep the Communists out of that organisation. Their reason for preventing the Communists from entering the Labour Party was because they realised that we would unmask Thomas, Clynes, and the others to the masses.

Thomas, Clynes, and the other Labour reactionaries are the greatest traitors of the working class in this country. They defend capitalism and attack the Communists. And it is the I.L.P. majority in the N.E.C. of the Labour Party who defend these traitors against the well-merited criticism which the Communists would not fail to direct against them were they inside the Labour Party.



True to Breed

MANY members of the working class movement were perhaps amazed to hear a leader of the Labour Party, one who is in the running for the Labour Premiership, deliver a speech in favour of Royalty. It must not be forgotten that Mr. J. H. Thomas—like Adamson, Brace, Clynes, Henderson and Hodge—is a Privy Councillor. In order to become a Privy Councillor one must take an oath, which demands the preservation of the modern social system. For the sake of showing to what depths of treachery the leaders of the Labour Party can descend in their efforts to defend Capitalism, we reproduce the oath which every member of the Privy Council must take:—

PRIVY COUNCILLOR'S OATH.

"You shall swear to be a true and faithful servant unto the King's Majesty, as one of His Majesty's Privy Council. You shall not know or understand of any manner of thing to be attempted, done, or spoken, against His Majestys' Person, Honour, Crown, or Dignity Royal; but you shall let and withstand the same to the uttermost of your power, and either cause it to be revealed to His Majesty himself, or to such of his Privy Council as shall advertise His Majesty of the same. You shall, in all things to be moved, treated, and debated, in Council faithfully and truly declare your mind and opinion, according to your heart and conscience, and shall keep secret all matters committed and revealed unto you or that shall be treated of secretly in Council. And if any of the said Treaties or Councils shall touch any of the Counsellors, you shall not reveal it unto him, but shall keep the same until such time as by the consent of His Majesty, or of the Council, publication shall be made thereof. You shall to your uttermost be in faith and allegiance unto the King's Majesty; and shall assist and defend all jurisdictions, perminences, and authorities granted unto His Majesty and annexed to the Crown by Acts of Parliament or otherwise, against all Foreign Princes, Persons, Prelates, States or Potentates. And generally in all things you shall do as a faithful and true servant ought to do to His Majesty. So help you God and the Holy Contents of this Book."

[From *The Governance of England*, pp. 32-33, by Sidney Low.]

Do the MacDonalds and Snowdens denounce these Labour Leaders? Certainly not. But no language is too slanderous for them to use when talking about the Communist Party or of our valiant comrades in Russia.

The Prize-fighters of the Proletariat

DURING the discussion on the Railways Bills, in Parliament, a motion was moved by a group of railroad magnates demanding compensation for any directors who might be scrapped in consequence of the amalgamation of the various railway companies. Here was a chance for Mr. J. H. Thomas, as the leader of the railwaymen in the House of Commons. Did he rise to the occasion? Let us frankly admit that he played his traditional part in his own characteristic way. He made a speech in which he pleaded for compensation for the *directors!* His actual words, according to *Hansard* (August 1st), were:—

“I want justice done to the director and also to the redundant platelayer. This Clause will give compensation to the director who, at the same time, would be equally as redundant as the platelayer.”

During the debate, an ordinary upholder of Capitalism, Mr. T. Thomson, said that he objected to comparisons being drawn between platelayers and directors. He also contended:—

“When you are dealing with a railway director, you are dealing with a man whose livelihood is not dependent, in the great majority of cases, upon the fees which he gets as a director. . . . I protest against what is nothing more or less than a compensation of vested interests. I submit that there is no comparison between the position of a man whose livelihood is taken away and that of a director who has only two or three years to run.”

When the vote was taken, several Labour Members voted for the directors, including Will Thorne, the famous social-democrat who went to Russia in 1917—in a fur coat presented to him by the present Lord Chancellor—to try and betray the proletarian revolution. No doubt Kautsky will be pleased to hear about the revolutionary and dare-devil activity of the English social-democrats.



Out of their own Mouths

ACCORDING to the July issue of the *Labour Gazette*, a government publication, at the beginning of that month, twenty-three out of every hundred members of those trade unions that make unemployment returns were unemployed.

But—

WE WON THE WAR.

Eighteen out of every hundred persons registered under the National Health Insurance Act were unemployed at the same figures. But—

WE BEAT THE GERMANS.

Two million, one hundred and seventy-eight thousand British workers were receiving unemployment benefit at this period, and an additional eight hundred and thirty thousand workers were receiving benefit for working systematic short time. Coal miners on strike are not included in any of these figures. But—

THE HUNS ARE PAYING FOR THE WAR.

These figures are greater than any records for any month of any year since the government started keeping records.

During the first six months of this year *seventy-seven million working days were lost in Britain in trade disputes*. Cost of living was 119 per cent. higher than in July, 1914. But—

ISN'T THIS WORTH FIGHTING FOR?

The live register of the unemployment exchanges show at the moment 22,418 disabled ex-service men, and 463,193 non-disabled ex-service men seeking work. But—

WE DON'T WANT TO FIGHT, BUT BY JINGO, IF WE DO!!!

During June, 1921, wages of 1,060,000 workpeople were reduced, making a reduction in the weekly wage bills of £420,000 from the wages of the workers. But it's—

A LAND FIT FOR HEROES TO LIVE IN.

In no case was the working week for any class of workers reduced, but in three cases the working week was increased by 4, 4 and 5½ working hours.

Three hundred and twenty persons in every ten thousand of the population were in receipt of poor law relief in any one day in June, 1921. *This is an increase of over a hundred per cent. on a year ago*. Altogether four hundred and fifty-five thousand, three hundred and fifty-nine persons were in receipt of outdoor poor law relief during this month. But—

THE WORLD IS NOW SAFE FOR DEMOCRACY.

During the year 1920, one thousand, one hundred and eighty-four workers were killed in mines and quarries in Great Britain, and 122,061 workers had non-fatal accidents disabling them for more than seven days.

There may be doubts as to who won the war, but the British working class was certainly badly defeated.

Tactics of the Russian Communist Party

*VERBATIM REPORT OF LENIN'S FAMOUS SPEECH TO
THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST CONGRESS.*

I.

International Situation

I DO NOT propose to deliver a report, but to limit myself to supplementing the theses, which have been distributed to you, by a few explanations and remarks. In order to establish the tactics of our party, we must commence with a review of the international situation. The economic position of world capitalism, has already been reviewed by the Congress, and I referred to this question in my theses briefly and exclusively from the political standpoint. In reviewing the International position of our Republic, one must take into consideration the fact that, at the present moment, a certain equilibrium of forces seems to have been established, true, of course, of two hostile forces, ready at any moment to commence an armed struggle. Such an unstable position may result in a crisis any day, and for this purpose there is sufficient inflammable material in capitalist countries, as well as in the colonies and semi-colonies. As, however, all the military efforts of the International bourgeoisie to suppress Soviet Russia have ended in failure, we can speak of the establishment of an unstable equilibrium. The bourgeoisie is much stronger than our Republic, and it is only the peculiarities of the situation that prevents it from conducting war against us. During the last few days, however, we have witnessed new attempts at intervention in the Far East, and there is no doubt that such attempts will be repeated in the future. What is important to establish, however, is that we must take advantage of the breathing space of this equilibrium, and to adapt our tactics to the present peculiar situation, without for one moment forgetting the necessity of being prepared for open battle. The approach of this unstable equilibrium signifies for us that the revolutionary movement has advanced a long way ahead, but that during the past year it has not developed along that direct road that we presumed it would. When we made our revolution, we said that either the international revolution would come to our assistance, and in that case victory would be assured, or we will carry on our modest revolutionary work with the firm conviction that even our defeat will clear the road for the next revolution. In spite of our clear understanding that victory for us is impossible without an international revolution, and in spite of all obstacles, we did everything in order to consolidate the Soviet System. We acted, not only for the sake of our own interests, but for the interests of the International Revolution.

Although revolutions have not yet been made in the highly developed capitalist countries, nevertheless, we can assert with

pleasure that they have developed over the whole world; and it is precisely because of that, that the International bourgeoisie cannot suppress us—in spite of being military and economically a hundred times stronger than we are. The revolution is not developing along the direct line that we expected; nevertheless, the prerequisites for it have proved much more numerous and significant than we supposed. Our present task is carefully to prepare revolutions in the capitalist countries and to study the concrete conditions of their development. The more developed and organised is



N. LENIN

the proletariat in the advanced countries, the more care and preparation does history demand of us, and the more energetically must we win the majority of the organised working class to our side. The International bourgeoisie would be absolutely unable to maintain power were it not for the counter-revolutionary support of that section of the working class, which is organised by the Second and Second-and-a-half Internationals.

I must also lay emphasis on the significance of the movement in the colonies. All the old parties including the petty bourgeois parties of the Second and Second-and-a-half Internationals continue to maintain their sentimental attitude towards

the enslaved colonial and semi-colonial countries. As a matter of fact, from the beginning of the 20th century millions and hundreds of millions, actually the vast majority of the population of the world, have come on the scene as independently operating factors. It is important to emphasise that we were the first to raise the concrete task of preparing and developing this movement. The obstacles to this are tremendous, but progress has been made. The masses of workers and peasants, in spite of their backwardness, will play a great revolutionary part in the future phases of the International Revolution.

II.

Position in Russia

IN order to understand the internal political position of our Republic it is first of all necessary to deal with the relations of classes. The task of socialism is to abolish classes.

Exploiters in the first place consist of large landowners and capitalists. In this case the work of abolition is easy, and may be carried out within several months, if not within several weeks. We expropriated our landlords and capitalists completely. They had no organisation during the war, and were simply vassals to the militant forces and the international bourgeoisie. Now that we have repelled the military attacks of the international counter-revolution, organisations of Russian bourgeoisie have been formed abroad by all Russian counter-revolutionary parties. All these parties from the landlords to the Mensheviks have their connections with the bourgeoisie in all countries from whom they receive money for their press, and we have abroad a "free" press representing everything, from socialist-revolutionist and mensheviks, right down to the most avowed reactionaries. All this shows that the consciousness and instinct of the dominating classes are still higher than that of the enslaved classes, although in this respect the Russian Revolution has done more than any other revolution. It will be very instructive for our foreign comrades to observe the manœuvres of the Russian counter-revolution. In some respects we can learn from our enemies. These counter-revolutionary *émigrés* are bold, well organised, have good strategists, and therefore, to observe how they organise would be of great propagandist importance for the working class.

Besides this class of exploiters, there exists in every country, with the exception, perhaps, of England, a class of small producers and small peasantry. One of the greatest questions of the revolution is the struggle against these two classes. In order to emancipate ourselves from these two classes, we must apply other methods than those which we applied to capitalists and landlords. In this case we cannot simply expropriate and disperse them. The significance of the period into which we, in Russia, are entering from the international point of view, and regarding the revolution as a single process, consists in this—that we are confronted with the practical question of solving the relations of the proletariat to the last capitalist class. For Marxists the solution of this question theoretically is easy, but theory is one thing and practice is another.

For the first time in history there is a Soviet State in which there are only two classes, the proletariat and peasantry. The latter represents the large majority of the population and is very backward. The question is: who is to lead this peasantry—the proletariat or the bourgeoisie? How did we approach the question? We concluded an alliance with the peasantry. The proletariat will emancipate the peasantry from the exploitation and influence of the bourgeoisie. The peasantry will unite with the proletariat for the purpose of jointly conquering the exploiter. The Mensheviks say: 'We are pure democrats; the peasants are in the majority, and the majority must decide. But as the peasantry is not independent this leads practically to the revival of capitalism.'

When we speak of an alliance, we infer, of course, the consolidation of the proletariat. The first step was towards military unity. The struggle against the exploiters and the land owners was easily understood by the peasantry. The peasants were on our side, and our propaganda easily affected them in spite of their colossal ignorance. This proves that the masses at large, are more easily educated by practical means than by books. This practical education of the peasants was conducted over a tremendous area of Russia with the result that some portions were more fully developed than others. In Siberia and the Ukraine, the counter revolution was temporarily successful, because the peasants supported the bourgeoisie. But it only required a short interval to show the peasants the real state of things.

They learnt by experience that the Constituent Assembly was followed by the white guard, who in turn was superseded by the landowner. The mensheviks also benefit by this alliance, but they do not recognise, that a single alliance is not sufficient. A military alliance is impossible without its economic counterpart, and without its economic unity we could never have beaten the bourgeoisie. Of course this economic unity was very simple, the peasant was given land, which we defended against the landowner for him on the condition that he gave us food. This alliance was somewhat original, and different to the usual relationships between producer and consumer. Our peasants grasped the situation quicker than our heroes of the Two and a half International. This alliance was, of course, primitive and it resulted in many mistakes; but we had to act quickly, we had to organise our food supply. The civil war, meanwhile, cut us off from the granaries of Russia.

Our position was terrible, and it was miraculous how the Russian working class managed to survive in order to reach victory.

III.

The New Policy Towards the Peasants

AFTER the civil war our problem, however, changed. The peasants became independent; we had to take steps to show them that we were prepared to radically change our policy; and we had to show every single peasant that the Bolsheviks wished to alleviate his intolerable condition at any price. Hence we changed our economic policy; we have replaced the requisitions by a food tax. We always said that revolution demands many sacrifices. A revolution differs from an ordinary

fight, because it embraces many hundred times more people, and demands sacrifices not from a single person or even a single party, but from an entire class. The Dictatorship of the Proletariat demands more sacrifice from the proletariat, than has been demanded from any other class in any historic movement. Our industrial policy became more and more fruitful each year, and undoubtedly, as the situation improved, the Russian peasant gained far more from the revolution than the working class. This is absolutely unquestionable. Theoretically, of course, this means that up to a certain period our revolution was bourgeois. Undoubtedly, it would have been a bourgeois and not a social revolution, if the land had not been expropriated and divided. But we were the only party which led the bourgeois revolution to its logical conclusion, and this made the social revolution much easier. The Soviet system which we created is the institute of a Socialist State.

The improvement in the peasants' status, as has oft been repeated, was done at the expense of the working class, resulting from the fact that the Dictatorship was primarily in the hands of the workers. Without this improvement we could not have managed to exist. And now, that the peasant is somewhat worse off, it is our duty to go to his help. This means further sacrifice for the workers, but in the interests of the workers' Dictatorship it is essential that all our energy be exerted in helping the peasant at all cost. Some of our more advanced workers have not grasped this. They are too exhausted.

They regard it as an opportunistic step, a mistake. They say the peasant is our exploiter, he receives all his heart desires whilst the worker starves. Is this not opportunism, they say? But without an alliance with the peasant the political power of the proletariat is untenable. The only way we could approach the peasant was the change to a food tax. Practically it has not been fully tried, but theoretically this is the only possible way of approaching the economy of a Socialist Society, wherein the small peasant forms the majority.

It is true that the food tax means free trade. Free trade signifies freedom to capitalism. We say this quite frankly. But this is a new form of capitalism—State Capitalism.

State Capitalism in a Capitalist Society, and State Capitalism in a Proletarian Society are two entirely different things. In the first case, it means that Capitalism is recognised and controlled by the State, in the interests of the bourgeoisie, and against the proletariat. In the second case, it is promoted in the interests of the proletariat. With this the question of concessions crops up. It is regarded with suspicion by some sections of the working class. Have we chased our capitalists out—they ask—in order to invite new ones? But in spite of this, economically, it is easily explained to the working class. The seven years war nearly ruined us. The recovery of our industry will take several years. We have now to pay for our backwardness and weakness, because, when we wish to learn we have to pay. At the same time we exist in the midst of capitalist States. We are alone, just now, and until the revolution in highly developed industrial countries has freed us from this we are compelled to pay toll to international capitalism. We will thus win time, and this means winning everything!

IV.

Russia and the World Revolution

AT the same time we must not forget the only foundation of our economic policy is the large engineering industry. He who forgets this is not a Communist. We have not only to do this in theory, but we have to set ourselves down to practical problems.

Modern large industry implies the electrification of the country. Sweden, Germany, America, have accomplished this while still under the capitalist régime. We have formed a special commission for that purpose composed of our best economists, and technical forces of our country. We have already worked out the plan of electrification. More than 200 specialists took part in that work. In spite of the fact that nearly all of them were against the Soviet Régime, they nevertheless became interested in the work, having to admit from the point of view of science, that it was the only way to enable the country to emerge from the economic crisis, and to save the peasantry from want and starvation. To accomplish this plan is not so simple, it requires no less than 10 years for its initial work to be carried out. In comparison with Western European countries, what we have managed to do in that direction is insignificant, but the peasant is learning from even that meagre measure. He can see that something new is being achieved, where everyone is not working for himself but where the whole State is working. There is no need to regret that we shall have to pay the capitalists hundreds of millions of kilograms of oil, for their help to electrify our country.

In conclusion, let me say a few words on "pure democracy." As far back as 1884 Engels wrote that the united reaction, not only of the Bourgeoisie, but also of the 'Feudal element,' is grouping round 'pure democracy.' To analyse the Russian social-revolutionists and the mensheviks, not according to their words, but according to their deeds, they represent a purely petty-bourgeois democracy.

The wiser leaders of the Russian bourgeoisie who have now adopted the slogan 'Soviets without Bolsheviks,' present an extremely original spectacle of defence of the Soviet Power by Cadets, against the social-revolutionists. Such is the practical dialectic of our Revolution. The Cadets are defending the Soviets without Bolsheviks, because they fully realise that the social-revolutionists and the mensheviks are the people whom they must now aid in the struggle against us, because they hope to establish their rule on the backs of the social revolutionists and the mensheviks. A dictatorship is a state of acute war, and we are now in such a state. If at the present moment, there is no armed bourgeois expedition against us, it is due to the fact that the broad masses of the working class although not yet under the banner of Communism, nevertheless have advanced so far that they would not permit further intervention. While at war we act in a martial fashion. We do not promise freedom, nor democracy, we do not tell the peasant that he can choose between us. We are ready within limits to grant them concessions, so as to retain power in our hands, and thus lead them to Socialism or to open civil war. All the rest is nonsense, the purest demagogy.

The Irish Situation

By WM. PAUL

MANY people are perplexed at the recent dramatic turn in the Irish situation. The problem is as tantalising as it is complex and subtle. To thoroughly grasp it a whole series of factors must be carefully analysed and co-ordinated.

I.

The Capitalist North

IN Ireland there are as many conflicting political currents at work as there are different economic interests. It is in the North where there is the greatest opposition against the policy of separation, in any form, from Britain. Economically, the North is dominated by an imperialistic group made up of great land-owners and industrial magnates, who have enlisted the political services of legal luminaries whose careers have been conspicuous only in their venal vassalage to the propertied interests. The linen and engineering products of the North are not sold in any quantity in the Irish market. These are, in the main, exported to those markets which are under the protection and domination of the Union Jack. Thus, the economic interests of the capitalists of Ulster are inseparably entwined with the imperialist interests of Great Britain. The economic needs of the predominating political groups of the North are identical with the needs of British finance-capital.

Finance-capital can only expand its control and extend its interests by means of the State power of the Empire. Finance-capital thus demands the support of a large Empire State to advance its influence, and, likewise, every Empire State demands the support of finance-capital to maintain its power. It is this indispensable and mutual relationship between finance-capital and modern Empire-States which explains why the wealthy political elements in the North of Ireland enthusiastically proclaim their loyal devotion and adherence to the union with imperialistic Britain.

The purely economic basis of the political attitude of the North has been obscured by religious fanaticism. An examination into the temporal ground-work of religions clearly shows that they reflect definite economic forms and respond to particular class interests. Thus, capitalism, in a general way, presupposes Protestantism, whereas systems of land tenure tend to show a striking partiality for the Catholic Church. While, on the surface, the Irish question would seem to be a conflict between two religious forms, it is in reality a determined struggle between definite economic interests. Men tend to *idealise* their economic interests and aspirations. Many an Irishman, to-day, is fighting heroically and honestly on behalf of a certain religious creed, even carrying its fundamental tenets to the ballot box, without imagining that any other motive is prompting his actions. It is in the North, where

Capitalism is most highly developed, and where, therefore, the potentialities of the class struggle are greatest. It is there that the propertied interests have used religion as a political factor in blinding the working class; and they have used it to create a psychology which finds expression in extreme reaction and blind bigotry.

Whatever compromise takes place regarding the situation between Britain and Ireland, the imperialistic groups of the North will do their utmost to prevent any settlement which will cut them off from the interest of what they call "The Mother Country." But in the North the class struggle cuts across the political and economic interests of the capitalists.

II.

The South

IN the South of Ireland Capitalism is relatively weak, while large financial magnates are scarce, small business men are prolific, particularly the small farmer. These middle-class elements have a traditional hatred for England. And small wonder! It is questionable if history can match the centuries of ruthless outrage which has been the normal conduct of England towards Ireland. The ruling class of Britain became proficient in the art of subduing and crushing native races through the practise which they got by their policy in Ireland. The historic manoeuvre of the English merchant class, ever since the days of Cromwell, of ruining other countries by relentlessly paralysing their trade, has been consistently applied against Ireland for hundreds of years. The geographical situation of Ireland gave it many points of vantage for building up considerable commercial relations. It also contained a virile and industrial population living on a fertile land. But every endeavour of the Irish to launch into overseas commerce or to develop their trade was promptly strangled by the jealous propertied interests of England who moulded that country's policy towards Ireland. Not only was Ireland's commercial potentialities crushed, but the pitiless attitude of Britain reacted upon agriculture and practically ruined it, thus causing untold suffering to the peasant masses. It is, therefore, easy to comprehend why the people in the Southern districts of Ireland have been passionate in their hate against England. But this hatred created a psychology which manifested itself by producing an ultra-nationalist movement. Hatred of England reacted by creating a passionate devotion to Ireland.

Up until recent times, the political activities of the Southern Irish were in the hands of the Middle Class Nationalist Party, better known in England as the United Irish League. The members who were sent to the English Parliament were drawn from the middle class. They neither understood nor sympathised with the Labour problem in Ireland. They sat for years in the English House of Commons, and although generally opposed to the Government were extremely unsuccessful in their policy, based as it was upon political compromises.

III.

The Middle Class in Politics

THE middle-class political leaders of Irish nationalism displayed that universal weakness which may be seen in every political movement in the world dominated by the petty-bourgeoisie. The middle class, in the structure of Capitalism, occupy a peculiarly unfortunate economic position, inasmuch as they are continually vacillating between the capitalist class and the proletariat. Suspended between the upper and lower class, and yet being neither of one nor the other, there is created for them a situation of appalling insecurity. This economic insecurity is of a different character from that which haunts the wage worker. Whatever disasters overtake the average labourers—in the shape of unemployment, strikes or lock-outs—these neither alter their economic status nor their class relationship under Capitalism—they remain proletarians. But the economic insecurity of the middle-class man rests upon the fact that any minor industrial crisis may hurl him into *another* class—into the proletariat. Such an occurrence transforms both his economic status and his class relationship within Capitalism. The result of this vacillating economic position produces a peculiar mental outlook—the petty-bourgeois outlook. The most significant thing about this outlook is that it views every aspect of the social question, which deals fundamentally with class interests, in an irresolute and wavering manner. This explains why the middle class, and all those inspired by their ideas, are the greatest compromisers, *par excellence*, in the political world. The political history of the middle class demonstrates that they have never, unaided, *as a class*, carried out any heroic or bold political revolution. While other classes in history have died in great numbers fighting for certain political ideals, the middle class have always sought to reach their political objective by intrigue or compromise. History also demonstrates that the middle class have never, single-handed, put up a determined fight against the political organisation of any other class which they opposed. The middle class have certainly destroyed the political movements of other classes. This destruction, however, was never accomplished by either a heroic class struggle or in open political combat. It was always achieved by insidiously *undermining* their political opponents. The great middle-class political leaders like Gladstone, Chamberlain, or Lloyd George, are shining examples of statesmen who wavered and compromised upon the very principles which were the supposed lodestars of their careers. The same irresolute and undecided type of middle-class leaders may be seen—unfortunately enough—in the Labour movement. The experiences of the last few years demonstrate that where the political instinct of the masses correctly demanded an uncompromising and straightforward struggle against their masters, they were discouraged, even betrayed, at a time when vigorous and bold action was imperatively necessary, by their compromising leaders who had been nurtured on middle-class ideas. It is, therefore, not surprising that it is the rank-and-file movements of Socialism—where the concrete realities of life clearly reveal the economic struggle and where the influence

of the middle class is almost negligible—which have enthusiastically rallied to the fighting and tenacious policy of the Communist International. Conversely, those socialist organisations dominated by the ideology of the middle class—such as the lamentable I.L.P. in this country—enthusiastically embraced the vacillating policy of angelic pacifism, which in action becomes class cowardice. Here and there individual members of the middle class have fought bravely and well, and have thus supplied those exceptional cases which prove every rule. But in every case where this happened, it was only possible because these exceptional individuals cast aside their petty-bourgeois outlook and viewed the world from the standpoint of the interests of the class which they championed.

As a class, the petty-bourgeoisie stand in history the acknowledged and unchallenged masters of political compromise. And unless this is clearly understood it may be difficult to grasp the influence it is at present exerting upon the Irish situation.

IV.

The National War and the Class Struggle in Ireland

EVEN the rise of Sinn Féin in Ireland did not mean, in the beginning, the inauguration of a bold or heroic policy. The leaders like Arthur Griffiths, undoubtedly very brilliant men, had to rely too much upon the middle class to get action of a daring character. Up until the beginning of the war, the Sinn Féin movement was not very powerful. During the transport workers strike in 1913, many of the Sinn Féin leaders were opposed to the demands of the strikers, but the strike introduced a new spirit into the Irish situation. It showed clearly for the first time, in Ireland, that, in addition to the national struggle, there was above all—the *class* struggle.

There were occasional outbursts of fierce class conflict in Ireland prior to the transport workers strike, but these never gave the masses a vision much greater than that of mere land redistribution. With the building up of the Transport Workers' Union, there was a new ideal placed before the Irish proletariat. This was mainly due to the magnificent communist agitation of James Connolly. He ruthlessly exposed the hollow pretensions of the Irish middle class leaders who were striving to get Home Rule. He showed the Irish workers that Home Rule, in itself, could only mean the exploitation of the Irish worker by the Irish capitalist. Connolly did not minimise the importance of the Irish workers agitating for national independence but he was always careful to show that their final aim would have to be for an Irish Workers' Republic. He, therefore, encouraged a vigorous agitation for national independence because he was a clever tactician and realised the value of always creating some ferment of revolt amongst the masses; and he saw the need for continually harassing Great Britain which, to him, was the symbol of world imperialism and reaction. Connolly grouped round him a band of dauntless men, who did not quail during the bold bid for power which was made during the Easter rising. The execution of Connolly opened the flood gate of enthusiasm for Connolly's ideals,

and impelled the Irish workers along the path of Communism. The brutality of the English Government towards Ireland, immediately after the Dublin rising, made thousands of Irish workers realise the truism preached by Connolly, that the imperialist class of Britain would submit to nothing but force. Nor do these workers to this day forget that the English Cabinet which executed the men of Easter week, was led by the notorious Asquith, and that one of his Cabinet colleagues was Arthur Henderson, one of the leaders of the Second International.

The heavy mailed fist of Britain, which has been so much in evidence in Ireland during the past few years, drove the workers, who had been influenced by Connolly, into a working agreement with the more militant elements in the Sinn Fein movement. This was an act of necessity imposed by the sheer need of self-preservation. It gave the Sinn Fein organisation a backbone. It was the proletarian rebels who, in the main, supplied the fighting force, which became the driving power in the Irish Republican army. Here again the influence of Connolly may be seen. It was he who first recruited the workers into the Irish Volunteer army, which he organised as a counter-blast to the armed and bombastic threats of the capitalists of the North.

The fusion of the revolutionary workers with the Sinn Fein movement made it a more vigorous organisation than it had hitherto been. The fusion also transformed the Irish movement for national independence from a respectable middle-class organisation into one pregnant with revolutionary possibilities. Within the space of a few years the old reactionary Nationalist Party—which used to adorn the benches of the House of Commons under the leadership of the late John Redmond—has been swept aside and has been replaced by a new vigorous element which scorns the idea of *begging* for freedom in London, but which has resolutely set itself the task of working out its own emancipation on Irish soil. The new policy led to the appointing of members of Parliament, not to sit in Westminster in London, but to remain in Ireland and attend to their own affairs. This tactic meant that all forms of British administration in Ireland had to be replaced by political institutions set up in Ireland and administered by the Irish rebels themselves.

When the Irish rebels set out to build up their own political and Governmental administrative organs, which were to replace the institutions that the British State had enforced upon Ireland, they actually created a revolutionary crisis. No government dare allow any rebel group to destroy its administrative institutions, because this means that *two powers* are seeking to govern the country. The State can only maintain its prestige by being the sovereign and unchallenged authority in the land. Hence, it was a revolutionary act when the Irish set up *their State*, in opposition to the sovereign power which the English State wielded over Ireland.

Bit by bit, the British administrative institutions were replaced by those created by, and administered through, the Dail Eirrean in Dublin. This struggle in reality led to open war. The British government viewed it as *civil war*, the Irish middle class viewed it as a

national war, in which they were attempting to expel a foreign invader. Viewing it as a civil war the British Government drafted in troops, organised their "black and tan" murdering and plundering brigades, suppressed free speech and the press. They outlawed active rebels and brutally enforced martial law. The history of Ireland during the last few years is the final reply to those labour leaders of the Second International who still fatuously prattle about "democracy." Because it must be remembered that in Ireland the democratic majority of the voters gave their support to the policy which the British State has dismally and ingloriously failed to suppress. Viewing the struggle as a national war, and looking upon England as an alien invader, the Irish rebels set up *their* army and set up *their* institutions, in order to drive the imperialist usurper from the land. And they adopted a system of tactics which ranged from the dislocation of all English institutions to the deliberate destruction of the Dublin Custom House building.

In addition to those in Ireland who viewed the conflict as a *national* one, there are great numbers among the masses, influenced by Connolly, and inspired by the recent rapid spread of Communist ideas, who see in a national war against British Imperialism, a splendid means of also conducting a *class war* against the propertied interests at home and abroad. These elements are striving to free Ireland from all forms of class enslavement. Their ultimate object is not so much an Irish Republic, as it is an *Irish Workers' Republic*. They are influential and have taken their stand beside the dauntless band of heroes who lead the fight in the Republican Army—the Republican *Might*—which has compelled the proud British Government—armed with its tanks, aeroplanes, bombs, and other democratic instruments of persuasion—to seek a truce with the leaders of the Irish Republic. The Connolly section in the Irish struggle has responded with magnificent courage to the defence of Ireland, and have placed their services at the disposal of the Republican leaders. But they are jealous lest their confidence be betrayed, or that the Republican figureheads compromise the situation. The Communists are growing more powerful every day, and it may happen that the petty-bourgeoisie groups in the Sinn Féin movement will yield to British Imperialism rather than yield to the revolutionary demands of the Irish workers. In the measure that the revolutionary proletariat grows strong in Ireland, so in the same measure the middle-class Republicans, fearing that the Governmental power may pass from their hands, may be tempted to seek some sort of compromise alliance with the British Government. Many middle-class elements are losing courage, but the cry of the workers to De Valera is "No compromise."

The history of Ireland during the past few years does not seem to suggest that there is a powerful and determined Labour movement in the country. This is due to the revolutionaries carrying out their plan that the immediate needs of the class struggle can be best served by throwing all their strength into the national struggle against the British reactionaries. The moment, however, that they realise that the interests of the working class are much more urgent and more important than the national war, then we

shall witness a new development in the Irish situation by the workers resolutely opposing those who are now their middle-class allies. At present, however, the biggest and most dangerous enemy is the British Government.

When the class struggle actually begins in Ireland, it not only will surprise many moderate Sinn Feiners in the South, but it will certainly startle the large capitalists of the North, who fondly imagine that their workers are the most docile and superstitious creatures in the world.

Whatever may happen in the future, there can be nothing but praise for the clever and courageous policy that De Valera and his colleagues have carried out, up to the present time, in their wonderful stand against all the savage measures enforced against Ireland by the most brutal and callous government of recent times. Their present peace parley with the British Government is in reality a triumph for them in so far as it enables the Republicans to rest and re-invigorate their brave forces and to continue, if need be, the most heroic struggle ever waged by a small nation against a cruel and swagging despotic imperialism.

V.

Lloyd George and Ireland

IT now only remains to explain the reasons that prompted Lloyd George, as the nominal political head of the British Government, to intervene in the Irish situation and to propose a compromise. He is, of all statesmen, the one with least principle, and what he lacks in character and honesty is counterbalanced by a superabundance of shallow, middle-class cunning. He is the unchallenged monarch of brazen prevarication. His guiding political creed is how to hold political power in the interests of the British Federation of Industries. At the present moment, his political future looks very black indeed. He sees every prospect of his Government being smashed, or at the best hopelessly weakened, by the political triumph of the Liberal-Labour Party, led by that enthusiastic monarchist—Mr. J. H. Thomas. The strong card of the Labour Party is the Government's policy in Ireland. Notwithstanding the fact that the Labour Party's attitude on Ireland has been one of characteristic cowardice and stupidity, it, nevertheless, hopes to secure the votes of those who are determined to register their protest against the policy of Lloyd George. The Liberal Party—that shoddy political remnant led by Mr. Asquith, the murderer of James Connolly—hopes to gain a few votes in consequence of the escapades of the Government's "black and tans." No one better realises the common hatred that exists in the country against the Government's Irish Policy than Lloyd George himself. Consequently, as the champion Jeremy Diddler of the present generation, he hopes, by making peaceful overtures to Ireland, to plunge the country into a general election and to make "Peace with Ireland" his party slogan. By adopting such an attitude, he would simply undermine both the Liberal and Labour parties and might return triumphantly to power.

Lloyd George does not intend to give Ireland peace. If he does, it will be because the slaughtering of the Irish will be too expensive to suit the Anti-Waste maniacs of the middle-class union, who see ruin for themselves in the increasing burden of taxation. Never, in his long and tortuous career, has Lloyd George ever taken a strong stand upon any political principle. Being typically middle-class, he meets every problem, not with a view of solving it, but of trying to discover the best way to avoid it. And he meets every demand of labour, and of Ireland, by granting only sufficient as will blunt the edge of their grievance.

No! The British Government will not grant freedom or independence to Ireland; no one knows this more clearly than the rebel proletarians of Ireland who realise that whatever they get will only come as a result of having the *power to take*—by tearing it from the blood-red fist of a rapacious imperialism. They do not forget the words of Connolly, who said:

“Tis Labour’s faith that Labour’s arm
Alone can Labour free.”

We, the Communists of the British Party, have a sacred duty to perform in connection with the Irish question. We must help Ireland in her struggle against Britain. But, above all, when the Irish proletariat decide to take power into their own hands, we must be prepared to render them all the assistance that is humanly possible. And we must promise them, here and now, that whatever cost we may have to pay, our life’s blood will be the test of our comradeship and the price of our solidarity.

It is the duty of every Communist to see that the Communist Review is in the local library

W. Hewlett's Last Speech

(Extract from Communist Congress Report)

Zinoviev: "The next speaker is a delegate of the Communist Party of Britain, who is also a member of the South Wales Miners' Federation, and has recently arrived from the field of battle where the miners' strike is in full swing.

"Comrade Hewlett has the floor."

Hewlett: "Comrades. In the name of the British Communist Party, I bring greetings to the Third International, and I want personally to thank you on behalf of the British miners, and I desire to thank especially the Russian miners for the magnificent support they sent to our British miners during their strike. Per-

Readers of our brilliant contemporary, "The Communist," will have read an account of how our comrade Hewlett, one of the delegates of the Communist Party of Great Britain to the Moscow Congress, was killed in Russia. Hewlett was one of the most loveable men that ever lived and no one ever served the cause of the working class better than he did. He now lies beside John Reed, beneath the Kremlin's Wall in the Red Square, Moscow.

We reprint his speech made at the opening session of the Third Congress of the Communist International, on June 22nd, at Moscow.

Zinoviev, who was in the chair, introduced comrade Hewlett to the Congress.

haps we in England to-day have less possibility for an open revolutionary demonstration of a real live revolutionary nature in the sense that revolutionary parties have manifested themselves in Europe, but notwithstanding this, as a member of the Communist Party, I am proud of the activities of our party up to date, I promise the Communist comrades to this Congress that there will be nothing left undone, that no stone will be left unturned in England, to force to their knees the most dangerous and imperialistic capitalist class there is in the whole world. I do not think it can be said by anybody that there is a more powerful propertied and reactionary group anywhere in the whole world than the British imperialists. We have the contradiction arising out of the war to destroy imperialism, but which instead developed a

stronger imperialism than ever in England; to-day that contradiction is making itself manifest all over the British Empire, and whilst we feel sure and are sure that sooner or later the same catastrophe will overtake British Imperialism as has overtaken Russian Imperialism, yet the danger is that at this moment British Imperialism will rally its forces and gather itself together until it not only menaces but destroys the peace of the world.

"It is with considerable reluctance that I speak to a gathering at which so many dauntless Russian comrades are present, because I happen to come from the country that has made itself notoriously infamous for its reactionary imperialism. We can remember with shame the actions of Churchill, Balfour, and Lloyd George, and the part they have played towards the greatest revolution in the world, that of Soviet Russia, and it is with considerable reluctance that we dare face a Russian audience. There is only one compensating fact; whilst we know the activities and whilst we have seen all the activities coming out of the 1917 revolution in Russia, England, on the other hand, has become famous for her Imperialist aggression, but she has also won a bit of fame which should not make the imperialists happy. She should be famous for having clothed the Russian soldiers—thanks to the efforts of Winston Churchill—and that is some compensation, even to British Communists.

"The last three years have been a period of the most feverish activity on the part of British imperialists to strangle the young Soviet Republic of Russia, and whilst as I previously stated, we may not be able to face, just yet, that same struggle that you faced here in 1917, yet I do wish to assert that the British Communists have already been able to and are largely responsible for preventing a war between England and Soviet Russia at the time when a war was waged against Soviet Russia by Poland, backed by British and French imperialism, and for that alone the activities of the British Communists—in conjunction with the determination shown by our industrial workers—have been justified.

"I may be expected to refer more to the battle that is being waged in England to-day, than to the general situation. That has been largely covered before. In 1914 the British workers were told all kinds of pretty stories. They were asked to decorate themselves in khaki and to carry on a war to make the world safe for democracy. They were promised, by those who spoke from the military platforms, a new world when the war was over, and everything that would make life better. To-day the class-conscious workers know that one of the greatest crimes, one of the greatest lies ever told by the bourgeoisie, was told then. What did they see? A new world being built by these people? I just want to give you a brief picture. March 31st last saw the commencement of the greatest battle in the history of the British working class. We were promised many things which many of us never expected to receive, but even we were surprised when on the 31st of March: one and a quarter million men were thrown upon the streets, locked out by the British bourgeoisie. They told the country which they had promised nationalisation—and they had promised the workers almost everything—they told the country that this huge reduction

in wages must take place in order for capitalism to re-establish itself. I want you to recognise, comrades, that we have in England 1,260,000 workers in the mines, and the mines are owned by just over 9,000* out of our more than 40,000,000 people. It may be interesting for some of you to know these figures. During the sitting of the Commission on the nationalisation of mines, it was shown that in the four years from 1914 to 1918 the coal-owners in England took out no less than £160,000,000 of money. The whole capital invested was taken plus £25,000,000, and yet these British people were trying to crush Russia, and are still attempting to crush the militant masses, and are even attacking the revolutionists in Germany. We want all the comrades here to recognise the world wide importance of England in politics, and to understand the world-wide importance of England in the revolutionary movement. It must be recognised what a gigantic octopus we, the British workers, have to face, and how much we must depend on the **workers of other countries.**

“ I want to make a further statement: Unless the workers of Europe and the world unite and come closer and closer together with the British workers, then British imperialism will re-establish itself and become more stable than ever. **There can be no two** ways about it. If you want to get the full significance of what that means, you have only to take into consideration that Britain is an island, and that the colonial question means more to England than to any other country in the world. British imperialism has gone around the world, and into every corner of it. India, Africa, Egypt, Ireland, all these countries which are colonies—and when we take into consideration their international relationship—the British Communist movement may be understood only then. England is an island which can no more move forward to complete revolution without the colonies than the Empire can exist without them. English Communists can no more move forward into a revolution without the rest of the world than they can fly. And we of the British delegation are extremely anxious that this fact shall be taken into consideration, and that in view of the trend of the world struggle to-day, you will remember the need for co-operation and a closer relationship between communists everywhere.

“ I want just briefly to refer to the activities of the Communist Party. It has been in existence for a little under twelve months. And in that time many of our comrades have been arrested and are now serving from three months and upwards in prison. That is not much, we grant, when taking into consideration many of the other factors and the longer terms of imprisonment you in Russia suffered before the revolution. But when considered in view of the length of time the party has been in existence, and when you realise what a binding force our organisation has become to all **revolutionary elements** in Britain, we feel a little proud of its activities and achievements. In England one of the great traditions is the hundreds of years of parliaments they talk about. That is one of the huge forces that has got to be broken down by the Communist Party. But that question is rapidly being brought to a solution.

" I want to add a word about the great betrayal of the miners. The Communist Party had in England a number of members whom it deemed its best men. It took an intelligent estimate of their work and gave them positions of trust. They were working in the midst of the great struggle and one of these comrades who was decorated in Russia last year betrayed us. Need I tell you that we immediately expelled him? I mention only Thomas and Williams, and I say with shame that they left the miners to fight alone, to fight a losing fight. But the latest information we have received is that the miners are still fighting and will continue to fight. And, comrades, I am glad to hear that our American comrades gave Thomas a cool reception when he went there.

" But all these Mensheviki, and social-patriots, and those who betrayed the movement, shall be cleaned out of the ranks of the conscious working class.

" In conclusion, comrades, I pledge my word and the word of the Communist Party of Great Britain, I pledge the revolutionary masses moving forward towards the workers' revolution of the world, that the British Communists will move forward and will not lay down their arms until the battle is won, and until the proletariat has triumphed over the whole world.

" All honour to the Russian revolution! All honour to the Communist Parties of the world, and to the proletarians of the world! "

Those interested in industrial problems should read

THE WORKER

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Weekly

Revolutionary Tactics

This historic statement was placed before the Third Congress of the Communist International by the Bureau of the Russian Delegation, and was signed by Zinoviev, Lenin, Trotsky, Bucharin, Radek, and Kamenev.

I

Definition of the Problem

THE new international labour organization is established for the purpose of organizing united action of the world proletariat, aspiring toward the same goal:—the overthrow of capitalism, the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and of an International Soviet Republic, for the complete elimination of classes and the realisation of Socialism as the first step toward the Communist Commonwealth." This definition of the aims of the Communist International, laid down in the statutes, distinctively defines all the questions of tactics to be solved. They are the tactical problems of our struggle for the proletarian dictatorship. They deal with the means of winning over the majority of the working class to the principles of Communism, of organising the socially important elements of the proletariat in the struggle for its attainment, the attitude to be assumed toward the proletarianised, petty-bourgeois elements, the way and means of disrupting the organs of bourgeois power and destroying them, and finally, with the ultimate, international battle for the dictatorship. The problems of the dictatorship, *per se*, as being the only way to victory, constitute no part of this discussion. The development of the world revolution has proved beyond any doubt that there is only a single alternative in the given historical situation: either capitalist or proletarian dictatorship. The Third Congress of the Communist International is proceeding to renewed investigation of the problems of tactics at a time when the objective situation in a number of countries has grown critically revolutionary, and a number of communist mass parties has come into being, none of which, however, outside of Russia, can claim to possess the actual leadership of the majority of the working class in the real revolutionary struggle.

II.

On the Eve of New Battles

THE world revolution, the decay of capitalism, the concentration of the revolutionary energy of the proletariat, and the growth of its organisation into an aggressive, victorious power, will require a prolonged period of revolutionary struggle. The varying sharpness of the antagonism, the difference in their social structure and the bourgeoisie in the capitalist countries of Western Europe and North America, offered no reason to presume that the world war would end in the immediate victory of the world revolution. On the contrary, the Communists declared, while

the war was still raging, that the period of imperialism was making for an epoch of social revolution, *i.e.*, of a long series of civil wars in a number of capitalist countries, and of wars between the capitalist states on one side and proletarian states and exploited colonial peoples on the other side.

The world revolution is not a process following absolutely straight lines; on the contrary, the periods of the chronic decay of capitalism and the daily, revolutionary, undermining, activity become at times acute, and develop into severe crises. The course of the world revolution was also retarded by strong labour organisations and labour parties, such as the Social Democratic parties and the trade unions, which, established by the proletariat for the conduct of its struggle against the bourgeoisie, were turned into organs for counter-revolutionary agitation and paralysed the proletariat during the war, and continued these practices after the war had ended. This made it easy for the world bourgeoisie to master the crisis during the period of demobilisation, and to raise new hopes among the proletariat, during the sham prosperity of the years 1919 and 1920, of a possible improvement of their conditions under capitalism. To these causes may be attributed the defeat of the revolts during 1919, and the protracted tempo of the revolutionary movements during 1919 and 1920.

The universal economic crisis, which began in the middle of 1920, and has since seized the entire world in its talons by increasing unemployment on every hand, is proof to the international proletariat that the bourgeoisie is powerless to reconstruct the world, even capitalistically, that is, on the basis of exploitation. The aggravation of all international political conflicts, the French campaign to despoil Germany, the English-American and American-Japanese opposition of interests, and the consequent rivalry in the augmentation of armaments—all these facts show that the moribund capitalistic world is tumbling headlong into new world wars. Even the league of nations, the international trust of the victor-states for the exploitation of their vanquished competitors and the colonial peoples, has been disrupted by the English-American rivalry. The illusion by which international social-democracy and trade union bureaucracy restrained the labouring masses from entering the revolutionary struggle, the illusion that they could gradually and peacefully attain the economic power and consequent independence by the renunciation of all attempts to conquer political power in revolutionary combat, is being rapidly dissipated.

The socialization farces in Germany, by the aid of which the government of Scheidemann-Noske endeavoured to keep the working class back from the attack in March, 1919, have come to an end. Socialization chatter has made room for *Stinnesation*, namely, the subjection of German industry to a capitalist dictator and his allied groups. The attack by the Prussian government, led by the Social-Democrat, Severing, on the miners of Middle Germany, is merely the prelude to a general attack by the German bourgeoisie, for the reduction of the wages of all German workers. In England all the nationalization schemes have evaporated into thin air.

Instead of executing the nationalization plans of the Sankey Commission, the British Government employs military force to support the lock-out of the miners. In France, the government can only put off its inevitable bankruptcy by a predatory expedition against Germany. There is no question in France of any systematic economic reconstruction. In fact, the reparation of the ruined regions in Northern France, as far as it is being accomplished, only serves the enrichment of private capitalists. In Italy, the bourgeoisie, aided by the white bands of the Fascisti, is waging an offensive against the working class. In every country bourgeois democracy has removed its mask—in the old states as well as in the new ones that have arisen out of the imperialistic ruins. White guards and dictatorial powers of the government in England against the miners' lock-out; Fascisti and Guardia Regia in Italy; Pinkertons, ejection of the Socialist representatives from Congress and Lynch-Law in the United States; white terror in Yugo-Slavia, Roumania, Finland, Hungary and the Balkan States; anti-communist legislation in Switzerland, etc. On every hand the bourgeoisie is attempting to burden the working class with the consequences of the increased economic chaos: to lengthen working hours and reduce wages. On every hand it receives assistance from the leaders of social democracy and of the Amsterdam trade union international. And yet, while these may succeed in temporarily retarding the awakening of the labouring masses to new strife and to the approach of new revolutionary waves, they cannot stem the tide. Even now we see the German Proletariat preparing for the counter-attack, and the English miners valiantly persisting for weeks in their battle against the mine-owning capitalists, in spite of the treachery of their trade union leaders. We see how the experience gained by the Italian proletariat with respect to the vacillating policy of the Serrati group, is developing in its front ranks the will to fight, finding expression in the erection of the Communist Party of Italy. In France we see how the Socialist Party, after the split by which the social-patriots and the centrists were eliminated, begins to proceed from Communist agitation and propaganda to mass demonstrations against imperialistic piracy. In Czecho-Slovakia the political December strike is going on, embracing a million workers in spite of the complete lack of unity in organisation, while a Czecho-Slovakian Communist mass party is being formed. What may be expected is *not* the waning of the star of the world revolution, *not* the ebb of its waves, but on the contrary: the aggravation of social antagonism and social struggles, and the transition to open civil war.

III.

The Important Task of the Present

IN view of these imminent new struggles, the question of the attainment of decisive influence among the most important portions of the working class, in short, the leadership of the struggle, is the most important question now confronting the Third International. For, despite the present objective revolutionary situation, economic and political, wherein the acutest revolutionary crisis may arise suddenly (whether in the shape of a big

strike, a colonial upheaval, a new war, or even a big parliamentary crisis), the majority of the working class is not yet under the influence of Communism. This is true, particularly in such countries where, owing to the mighty organization of finance capital, large strata of workers are being corrupted by capitalism, and the real revolutionary propaganda among the masses has only just begun. From the very first day of its establishment, the Communist International distinctly and unambiguously devoted itself to the purpose of participating in the struggle of the labouring masses, of conducting this struggle on a Communist basis, and of erecting, during the struggle, great revolutionary communist mass parties, waiving the idea of the formation of small Communist sects for the attainment of influence upon the working class solely by agitation and propaganda. In the very first year of its existence the Communist International disavowed all sectarian tendencies, by calling upon all the parties affiliated to it, however small they might be, to fight the reactionary trade union bureaucracy from within, in order to transform the trade unions into revolutionary mass organizations of the proletariat, and into efficient organs of its struggle. In the very first year of its existence, the Communist International called upon the Communist parties not to confine themselves to propaganda, but to utilise every possibility which bourgeois society is compelled to leave open, for agitation and organization of the proletariat. We instructed them to use the free press, the right of association, and the bourgeois parliamentary institutions, however worthless they be, and to forge them into a weapon, into a tribune, into a gathering ground for Communism. At its Second Congress, the Communist International publicly repudiated sectarian tendencies, by the resolutions it adopted on the questions of trade unionism and the utilization of parliamentarism. The experience gained in the two years' struggle of the Communist Parties has completely corroborated the justness of this standpoint of the Communist International. By its tactics it has succeeded in separating the revolutionary workers in a number of countries not only from the open reformists, but also from the centrists. The erection by the centrist elements of a Two-and-a-Half International, steering towards a moderation of policy regarding the world-revolution on the eve of further great battles, and combining openly with the Scheidemanns, Jouhaux's and Hendersons on the basis of the Amsterdam Trade Union International, will only make the battleground more easily surveyable for the proletarian masses, and merely facilitate the struggle. Thanks to the policy of the Communist International, German Communism, which, in the struggles of January and March, 1919, represented only a political tendency, grew into a great revolutionary mass party. The influence it has gained in the trade unions has obliged the trade union bureaucracy to taint itself with the odium of having brought about a split in these organisations. In Tchecko-Slovakia, the Communists have succeeded in rallying to their colours the majority of the politically organised workers. As a result of its undermining activities in the trade unions, the Polish Communist Party, in spite of the untold persecutions which have driven it to work exclusively "underground," has not for a moment lost its contact with the masses, but has, on the contrary, greatly augmented

its influence. In France the Communists secured the majority of the Socialist Party. In Britain, the process of consolidation of the Communist groups on the basis of the tactics of the Communist International is proceeding rapidly, and the growing influence of the Communists has forced the social-traitors to attempt to close the doors of the Labour Party against them. The sectarian groups, on the contrary, have been unable to attain even the slightest success on their paths. The theory of the strengthening of Communism solely by propaganda and agitation and the erection of separate communist industrial unions, has met with complete failure. Nowhere has a Communist Party of any influence arisen in this way.

IV.

The Situation in the Communist International

THE Communist International has not made progress along the road of creating communist mass-parties everywhere. Nay, in two of the most important countries of victorious capitalism there is yet everything to be done in this direction.

In the United States of North America, where on account of historical circumstances there was a lack of any broad revolutionary movement even before the war, the communists are still before the first and simplest task of creating a communist nucleus and connecting it with the working masses. The present economic crisis, which has thrown five million people out of work, is very favourable soil for this kind of work. Conscious of the imminent danger of a radicalised labour movement and its becoming subject to communist influence, American capital tries to crush and destroy the young communist movement by means of barbarous persecution, forcing it into unlegalised existence under which it would, according to capitalist expectations, in the absence of any contact with the masses, dwindle into a propagandist sect and lose its vitality. The Communist International draws the attention of the United Communist Party of America to the fact that the unlegalised organisation must not only form the ground for the collection and crystallisation of active communist forces, but that it is their duty to try all ways and means to get out of their unlegalised condition into the open, among the wide masses; that it is further their duty to find the means and form to unite these masses politically, through public activity, into the struggle against American capitalism.

The English Communist movement has fallen short of becoming the Party of the masses as yet, despite the concentration of their forces. The continued disorganization of English industry, the unprecedented activity of the strike movement, the growing discontent among the widest masses of the people with Lloyd George's régime, the possibility of a Labour and Liberal victory at the next General Election—all these circumstances open new revolutionary perspectives in Britain's development, and confronts the Communists there with questions of the utmost import.

The first and foremost task of the English Communist Party is to become the Party of the masses. The English Communists must take the firmest stand upon the actually existing and ever

developing mass-movement, permeating all its concrete manifestations and converting desultory and partial demands of the workers into the point of issue for their own untiring agitation and propaganda.

The mighty strike movement puts to the test the ability, reliability, steadfastness and conscientiousness of the trade unionist apparatus and leaders in the eyes of hundreds of thousands and millions of workers. Under these circumstances the work of the Communists within the trade unions becomes of decisive importance. No party influence from the outside can compare with the influence which is exercised by communist groups working in factories, mills, etc., where they come in daily contact with the masses, and where they can influence the workers by persistently unmasking and discrediting the traitors and betrayers of trade unionism, which in England more than in any other country has become the political tool of capitalism.

While in other countries the task of the communist parties which have become mass-parties consists in seizing to a great extent the initiative in mass action, the task of the Communist Party in England consists first of all in proving and demonstrating to the masses, on the basis of their actual experience of present-day mass actions, that the communists can correctly and courageously realise the interests, needs, and sentiments of these masses.

The communist mass-parties of Middle and Western Europe are in the process of evolving the necessary methods of agitation and propaganda, in the process of evolving the methods of organization which would correspond to the nature of their struggle, and in the process of transition from communist propaganda and agitation to action. This process is hindered by the fact that in a number of countries the revolutionisation of the workers, in going over to the communist camp, took place under the guidance of leaders who either have failed to overcome their centrist tendencies and are incapable of conducting a real popular communist agitation and propaganda, or are simply afraid because they know that this agitation and propaganda will lead the workers to revolutionary struggles.

These centrist tendencies have caused a split in the party in Italy. The Party and trade union leaders of the Serrati group, instead of transforming the spontaneous action of the working class, and their growing activity, into the conscious struggle for power for which the situation was ripe in Italy, allowed these movements to become stranded. And because they were afraid of the struggle, they were compelled to dilute their communist propaganda and agitation and lead it into the straits of centrism. In this manner they have strengthened the influence of the centrists, like Turatti and Troyes in the Party, and like d'Aragona in the trade unions. Because they didn't differ from the centrists either in word or in deed, they wouldn't part from their company. They preferred to part company with the communists. The Serrati policy, while on the one hand increasing the influence of the reformists, on the other hand increased the influence of anarchists and syndicalists, among whom the masses, found many leaders in the struggle against

capital, and introduced anti-parliamentary, radicalistic, tendencies within the Party. The split at Livorno, the forming of the Italian Communist Party, the rallying of all the really communist elements on the basis of the decisions of the Second Congress of the Communist International into a united Communist Party will make of Communism a live force among the masses in Italy, if the Italian Communist Party will only maintain an unbroken, unbent front against the opportunistic policy of the Serrati school, while at the same time succeeding in identifying itself with the masses of the proletariat in the unions, in strikes, in fights against the counter-revolutionary Fascisti, in consolidating their movements, and in converting their spontaneous actions into a carefully planned struggle.

In France, where first the chauvinist poison of "national defence" and where the noise of Victory was stronger than in any other country, the reaction against war developed much slower than in the other countries. This enabled the French Socialist Party, especially its majority, to evolve in the direction of Communism, even before being confronted by the development of events with questions of resolute revolutionary action. The French Communist Party will be able to make the best and fullest use of these great advantages in as much as it will be able to liquidate in its own ranks—particularly among the leading circles—the remnants of national-pacifist and parliamentary-reformist ideology. The Party must reach the masses and their most oppressed strata in a far larger degree than has been done in the past, or is being done at present; it must give clear, complete and uncompromising expression to the sufferings and needs of these masses. In its parliamentary activity the Party must decisively break with all the ugly, lie-sodden formalities of French parliamentarism, which have been deliberately nurtured and supported by the bourgeoisie in order to muzzle, intimidate, and hypnotise the representatives of the working class. The communist parliamentarians must tear from every question its national-democratic, republican, traditionally revolutionary veil, and present it point-blank as a question of class-interest and irreconcilable class-struggle.

The agitation in the press must assume a more concentrated, strenuous and energetic character. It must not dissolve itself in the changeable and variable political situations and combinations of the day. It must draw the same revolutionary fundamental conclusions from all events, big and small, bringing them home to the most backward working masses. Only by such a truly revolutionary attitude will the Communist Party avoid the appearance—as well as the reality—of being a mere left-wing of that radical Longuet block which with ever-increasing energy and success places itself at the services of bourgeois society, to protect the latter against those upheavals which are made inevitable in France by the sheer logic of events. These decisive revolutionary events may come sooner or they may come later, but a determined revolutionary Communist Party can even now, during the preparatory stage, inspired by a revolutionary will, mobilise the working masses on economic and political grounds, broadening and clarifying all their present struggles.

The attempts of revolutionarily impatient and politically inexperienced elements to apply extreme methods, which by their very nature are methods of decisive proletarian revolution, upon simple questions (*e.g.*, the calling upon the recruits of the year 1919 to resist mobilisation, the proposal for the forcible prevention of the occupation of Luxemburg, etc.), contain elements of most dangerous adventurism, and if applied would put off for a long time the real revolutionary preparation of the proletariat for the conquest of power. That adventurism, which by its very nature, forms no clear conception of the purposes of mass-action and the difficulties in the way, and instead of the birth of revolution merely brings sickly and oftentimes deadly premature travail. It is the duty of the French Communist Party, and indeed, of any other party, to reject such highly dangerous methods.

To increase the union of the Party with the masses means above all the closer alliance with the workers' organizations. The task does not at all consist in mechanically and outwardly subjecting the unions to the Party and thereby denying them the autonomy required by the very nature of their work, but that the truly revolutionary communist elements within the unions give them that direction which answers the general interests of the proletariat in its struggle for the conquest of power. In view of these considerations, it is the duty of the French Communist Party to criticise in a friendly but firm and unmistakeable manner those anarcho-syndicalist tendencies which reject the Proletarian Dictatorship; who do not admit the necessity of uniting its vanguard in a centralized leading organization—the Communist Party—and also those transitory syndicalist tendencies which under the cloak of the Charter of Amiens, drawn up eight years previous to the war, now refuse to give any clear and outspoken answer to the fundamental questions of the new, *post-bellum* epoch.

The amalgamation of the revolutionary syndicalistic groups within the unions with the Communist elements as a whole is an indispensable preliminary condition for every real and serious struggle of the French proletariat.

To make harmless and remove those adventurous tendencies, and to overcome the nebulous principles and organised separatism of the revolutionary syndicalists, it is imperatively necessary that the Party itself—as already said—should by a true revolutionary handling of every question of daily life and struggle make itself the irresistible centre of gravitation for the working masses of France.

In Czecho-Slovakia, the workers in the course of two and a half years have freed themselves from a great deal of reformist and nationalistic illusions. In September of last year the majority of the social-democratic workers broke away from their reformist leaders. In December already a million workers out of Czecho-Slovakia's three and a half-million industrial workers stood in the midst of revolutionary mass-action against the Czecho-Slovak capitalist government. In May, of this year, the Czecho-Slovak Communist Party of 350,000 members was formed, in addition to the German-Bohemian Communist Party which numbers 60,000 members. The

communists thus, not only represent a great portion of the Czecho-Slovak proletariat, but also of the entire population of the country. The Czecho-Slovak Party now stands before the task of gaining the adherence of even wider working masses through real communist agitation, to train them by clear and uncompromising communist propaganda, to form a solid front by a union of the workers of all the peoples of Czecho-Slovakia, against the nationalists who are the main instrument of the bourgeoisie in Czecho-Slovakia, and to make the proletarian force thus created, strong and invincible in all its future struggles against the oppressive tendencies of capitalism and the government. The quickness with which the Czecho-Slovak Communist Party will master these tasks depends upon the clearness and determination with which it will do away with all centrist traditions and moods which found their expression in the Smeral policy. By following the advice given by their imprisoned comrades, Munsh, Kuls, Sabototsky, and by the Communist International, and by conducting such a policy as will educate and revolutionize the masses, it will be able to organize and equip them for action and a victorious consummation.

The United Communist Party of Germany, formed by a union of the Spartakusbund with the left Independent working masses, although already a mass-party, stands before the great task of raising and strengthening its influence among the workers, winning the proletarian mass-organizations—the trade unions—and dispelling the influence of the social-democratic party and of the trade unionist bureaucracy. This main task demands that the Party base its whole agitation—propaganda and organisation work—upon acquiring the sympathies of the majority of the workers, without which in the presence of strongly organised capital no communist victory in Germany can be either thought of or accomplished. For this task the Party is not quite ripe as yet, both regarding the scope of its agitation and its contents. Nor did it know how to consistently continue the road it had started upon when it published the "Open Letter," the road of opposing the practical interests of the Proletariat to the treacherous policy of the social-democratic parties and the trade unionist bureaucracy. Its press and its organisation are still rather too strongly marked by the stamp of scattered associations, not of militant organs and solid organisation. Those centrist tendencies which manifested themselves in the organisation, and which are unsubdued as yet, forced the Party to the necessity of throwing the gauntlet without due preparation for the battle, and on the other hand rather obscured the necessity of close spiritual association with the non-communist masses. The problems of action which are soon to confront the United German Communist Party, through the process of disintegration of German economy, and through the offensive started by capital against the very economic existence of the working masses, can be solved only if the Party will not consider the problems of agitation and organisation as opposed to those of action and deeds, but will rather make its agitation a real popular force, building its organisation in such a manner that the Party by its close association with the masses shall develop the ability to constantly and carefully weigh the military situation and carefully prepare for the struggles.

The parties of the Communist International only become revolutionary mass-parties, if they overcome the remnants and traditions of opportunism in their ranks by seeking close association with the struggling toilers, drawing their problems from the practical struggles of the proletariat, which act as an antidote to opportunistic clouding of irreconcilable social contrasts, rejecting all revolutionary catch-phrases which obstruct the view into the real co-relation of the contending forces and which permit them overlook the difficulties of the struggle. The communist parties have arisen from the breaking up of the old social-democratic parties. This break-up resulted from the fact that these parties have betrayed the interests of the proletariat in the war and have continued the betrayal after the war, by alliances with the bourgeoisie or, by conducting a tame policy and shirking the class fight. The fundamentals of the Communist Party form the basis upon which the working masses can reunite, because they express the necessities of the proletarian struggle. It is because of this fact, that the social democratic parties and tendencies seek the division of the proletariat—while the communist parties are a uniting and rallying force. In Germany, it was the centrists who broke away from the majority of their Party after the latter had embraced the flag of communism. Fearing the uniting influence of Communism, the German social-democrats and independent social-democrats, in league with the social-democratic trade unions, refused to join with the communists in common actions for the defence of the simplest interests of the proletariat. In Czecho-Slovakia again it was the social-democrats who fled the old party on perceiving the triumph of Communism. In France the Longuet group seceded from the majority of the French socialist workers, while the Communist party acts as a rallying ground for socialist and syndicalist workers. In England it was the reformists and the centrists who drove the communists out of the Labour Party, and who refused to permit the Communist Party to affiliate with it for fear of their influence; and even now they continue sabotaging the unification of the workers in their struggle against the capitalists. The Communist Parties thus become the standard-bearers of the unifying process of the proletariat, on the basis of the struggle for its interests, and from this consciousness of their rôle they draw and will gather new forces.

V.

Part Struggles and Part Demands

THE development of the communist parties can only be achieved through a fighting policy. Even the smallest communist units must not rest content with mere propaganda and agitation. In all proletarian mass organisations they must constitute the vanguard, they must teach the backward, vacillating masses how to fight, by formulating practical plans for direct action, and by urging the workers to make a stand for the necessities of life. Only in this manner will Communists be able to reveal to the masses the treacherous character of all non-communist parties. The Communists must prove that they are able to lead in the practical struggle of the proletariat, and by promoting these

conflicts, the Communists will succeed in winning over great masses of the proletariat to the struggle for the dictatorship.

The entire propaganda and agitation, as well as the other work of the Communist parties, must be based on the conception that no lasting betterment of the position of the proletariat is possible under capitalism; that the overthrow of the bourgeoisie is a pre-requisite for the achievement of such betterment, and the rebuilding of the social structure destroyed by capitalism. This conception, however, must not find expression in the abandonment of all participation in the proletarian struggle for actual and immediate necessities of life, until such a time as the proletariat will be able to attain them through its own dictatorship. Social-democracy is consciously deceiving the masses, when, in the period of capitalist disintegration, at a time when capitalism is unable to assure to the workers even the subsistence of well-fed slaves, it has nothing better to offer than the old social-democratic program of peaceful reforms to be achieved by peaceful means within the bankrupt capitalist system. Not only is capitalism, in the period of its disintegration, unable to assure to the workers decent conditions of life, but the social-democrats and reformists of all lands are also continually demonstrating that they are unwilling to put up any fight, even for the most modest demands contained in their programs. The demand for socialisation or nationalisation of the most important industries, is nothing but another such deception of the working masses. Not only did the centrists mislead the masses by trying to persuade them that nationalisation alone, without the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, would deprive capitalism of the chief industries, but they also endeavoured to divert the workers from the real and live struggle for their immediate needs, by raising their hopes of a gradual seizure of industry, to be followed by "systematic" economic reconstruction. Thus they have reverted to the minimum social-democratic program of the reform of capitalism, which once an illusion, has now become open counter-revolutionary deception. The theory prevailing among a portion of the centrists, that the program of the nationalisation of the coal, or any other industry, is based on the Lassallian theory of the concentration of all the energies of the proletariat on a single demand, in order to use it as a lever in revolutionary action, which in its development may lead to a struggle for power, is nothing but empty words. The suffering of the working class in every country is so intense, that it is impossible to direct the struggle against mere capitalist blows, which are coming thick and fast, into narrow doctrinarian channels. On the contrary, it is essential to make use of all the economic needs of the masses, as issues in the revolutionary struggles, which, when united, form the flood of the social revolution. For this struggle, the Communist Parties have no minimum program for the strengthening of this reeling world structure within the system of capitalism. The destruction of this system is the chief aim and immediate task of the parties. But in order to achieve this task, the Communist Parties must put forward demands, and they must fight with the masses for their fulfilment, regardless of whether they are in keeping with the profit system of the capitalist class or not.

What the Communist Parties have to consider is, not whether capitalist industry is able to continue to exist and compete, but rather, whether the proletariat has reached the limit of its endurance. If these communist demands are in accord with the immediate needs of the great proletarian masses, and if they are convinced that they cannot exist without the realisation of these demands, the struggle for these demands will become an issue in the struggle for power. The alternative offered by the Communist International in place of the minimum program of the reformists and centrists is:—the struggle for the concrete need of the proletariat, for demands, which, in their application, undermine the power of the bourgeoisie, which organise the proletariat, and which form the transition to proletarian dictatorship, even if certain groups of the masses have not yet grasped the meaning of such proletarian dictatorship.

As the struggle for these demands embraces ever-growing masses, and as the needs clash with the needs of capitalist society, the workers will realise that capitalism must die if they are to live. The realisation of this fact is the basis of the will to fight for the dictatorship. It is the task of the communist parties to widen, to deepen and to co-ordinate these struggles which have been brought into being by the formulation of concrete demands. As the part struggles of isolated groups of workers are gradually merging into a general struggle of labour *versus* capital, so the communist party must also alter its watchword, which should be—"uncompromising overthrow of the adversary." In formulating their part demands the communist parties must take heed that these demands, based on the deeply rooted needs of the masses, are such as will organise the masses and not merely lead them into the struggle. All concrete watchwords, originating in the economic needs of the workers, must be utilised to focus and stimulate the struggle for the control of production, which must not assume the form of a bureaucratic organisation of social economy under capitalism, but of an organisation fighting against capitalism through the workers' committees as well as through the revolutionary trade unions.

It is only through the establishment of such workers' committees, and their co-ordination according to branches and centres of industry, that communists can prevent the splitting up of the masses by the social-democrats and the trade union leaders. The workers' committees will be able to fulfil this rôle only if they are born in an economic struggle, waged in the interests of the masses of workers, and provided they succeed in uniting all the revolutionary sections of the proletariat, including the communist party, the revolutionary workers, and those trade unions which are going through a process of revolutionary development.

Every objection to the establishment of such part demands, every accusation of reformism in connection with these part struggles, is an outcome of the same incapacity to grasp the live issues of revolutionary action which manifested itself in the opposition of some communist groups to participation in trade union activities and parliamentary action. Communists should not rest content with teaching the proletariat its ultimate aims, but should

lend impetus to every practical move leading the proletariat into the struggle for these ultimate aims. How inadequate the objections to part demands are and how divorced from the needs of revolutionary life, is best exemplified by the fact that even the small organisations formed by the so-called "left" communists for the propagation of pure doctrines have seen the necessity of formulating part demands, in order to attract larger sections of workers than they have hitherto been able to muster, or else they have been obliged to take part in the struggle of wider masses of workers in order to influence them. The chief revolutionary characteristic of the present period lies in the fact that the most modest demands of the working masses are incompatible with the existence of capitalist society. Therefore the struggle, even for these very modest demands, is bound to develop into a struggle for Communism.

While the capitalists make use of the ever increasing army of the unemployed as a lever against the organised workers for the forcing down of wages, the Social-Democrats, the independents and official trade union leaders maintain a cowardly aloofness from the unemployed, considering them mere objects of state and trade union charity, and despising them politically as *Lumpen-Proletariat**. The communists must clearly understand that under the present circumstances the unemployed represent a revolutionary factor of gigantic significance. The communists must take upon themselves the leadership of this army. By bringing the pressure of the unemployed to bear upon the trade unions, the communists must seek to effect the rejuvenation of the latter, and above all their liberation from the treacherous leaders. By uniting the unemployed with the proletarian vanguards in the struggle for the social revolution, the Communist Party will restrain the most rebellious and impatient elements among the unemployed from individual desperate acts and enable them to actively support, under favourable circumstances, the struggle of the proletariat, thus developing beyond the limits of present conflict and making this conflict the starting point of the decisive offensive. In a word, the unemployed must be transformed from a mere reserve army of industry into an active army of the Revolution.

The Communist parties, in energetically supporting the unemployed workers (now low down in the scale of labour) must do so in the interests of the proletariat as a class, and thus prevent them from being betrayed by the counter-revolutionary leaders in the interests of the labour aristocracy. The more workers who are unemployed, or only partly employed, the quicker their interests become transformed into the common interests of the entire working class. The momentary interests of the labour aristocracy must be subordinated to those common interests of the masses. Those who plead the interests of labour aristocracy, in order to arouse their hostility to the unemployed, or in order to leave the latter to their own devices, are splitting the working class and are acting in a counter-revolutionary manner. The Communist Party, as the

*A German term denoting the "tramp" element in the lowest ranks of the masses.

representative of the common interests of the working class, cannot rest content with merely recognising those common interests and using them for propaganda purposes. To effectively represent the workers, the party must, under certain conditions, undertake to lead the bulk of the most oppressed and downtrodden workers into action, in order to break down the resistance of the labour aristocracy.

VI.

Preparing for the Struggle

THE character of the transition period makes it imperative for all Communist Parties to be thoroughly prepared for the struggle. Each separate struggle may lead to the struggle for power. Preparedness can only be achieved by giving to the entire Party agitation the character of a vehement attack against capitalist society. The Party must also come into contact with wide masses of workers, and must make it plain to them that they are being led by a vanguard, whose real aim is—the conquest of power. The Communist press must not consist of organs which publish theoretical proofs that communism is right. They must be clarion calls of the proletarian revolution. The parliamentary activity of the Communists must not consist in debates with the enemy, or in attempts to convert him, but in the ruthless unmasking of the agents of the bourgeoisie and the stirring up of the fighting spirit of the working masses. Our organising work in the trade unions, as well as in the party organisations, must not consist in mechanically increasing the number of our membership. It must be imbued with the consciousness of the coming struggle. It is only in becoming, in all its forms and manifestations, the embodiment of the will to fight, that the Party will be able to fulfil its task, when the time for drastic action will have arrived.

Wherever the Communist Party represents a mass power, wherever its influence is felt among large sections of the workers, it becomes its duty to rouse the masses to action. Mass parties can not rest content with criticising the shortcomings of other parties and opposing their demands by communist demands. They, as a mass party, are responsible for the development of the revolution. Wherever the position of the workers becomes increasingly unbearable, the communist parties must do their utmost to make the working masses join in the struggle for their own interests. In view of the fact that in Western Europe and in America the workers are organised in trade unions and political parties, and hence spontaneous movements are for the time being out of the question, it is the duty of the Communist parties to endeavour, by means of their influence in the trade unions, by increased pressure on other parties connected with the working masses, to bring about the struggle for the achievement of the immediate needs of the proletariat. Should non-communist parties be pressed into this struggle it will become the duty of communists to warn the masses in good time against the possibility of betrayal by the non-communistic elements in later stages of the struggle, and to make the conflict

as acute and far-reaching as possible, in order to eventually be able to carry on the fight independently. Refer to the open letter of the V.K.P.D.*, which may provide an example of the prerequisite of direct action.

Should the pressure of the Communist Party in the Trade Unions and the press not be strong enough to rouse the proletariat to a united front, it will become the duty of the Communist Party to endeavour to lead the masses into the struggle. The latter policy will be successful and will lead to the awakening of the backward masses, when it will become clear to them that our aims are their aims, although they are not yet able to put up a fight for them.

However, the Communist Party must not rest content with merely warding off the dangers threatening the proletariat and meeting the blows directed against it. In the period of world Revolution, its rôle consists in attacking and storming the strongholds of capitalist society. Its duty consists in transforming every defensive into an offensive against capitalist society. Wherever circumstances permit, the Communist Party should also do its utmost to assume the leadership of the working masses in such attacks.

Such circumstances are, first and foremost the growing strife and dissensions in the ranks of the national and International bourgeoisie. Should these dissensions bring disintegration into the enemy's ranks, then it would become the duty of the Communist Party to take the initiative and lead the masses to the attack, after careful political and, if possible, organisational preparation. Strong ferment in the ranks of the more responsible and important workers, would also justify the Party to assume the leadership of the offensive against a capitalist government on a wide front. Whilst it is the duty of the Communist Party to inspire and lead the masses to attack, it should also bear in mind that, in the event of retreat, it becomes imperative for the Party to prevent panic, and to lead the workers out of the fray in perfect order.

The attitude of the Communist Party on the question of offence and defence depends entirely on concrete circumstances. What really matters is, that it should be animated by the fighting spirit which will overcome the centrist spirit of "wait and see" in the foremost ranks of workers, by means of agitation, organisation and readiness to fight. This fighting spirit and the will to attack, must be a feature of the communist mass parties, not only because it is their duty to lead in the fight, but also because of the present decay of capitalism and the ever-growing misery of the masses. It is essential to shorten the period of decay, in order to prevent the destruction of the very material basis of Society itself—upon which alone Communism can be erected—and in order to preserve the energy of the working masses.

*This was an open letter, drawn up by the United German Communist Party and addressed to the whole Labour of Germany, appealing for joint action on the immediate needs of the masses.

VII.

The Lesson of the March Struggle in Germany

THE action of last March was forced upon the V.K.P.D. (United German Communist Party) by the Government's attack upon the proletariat of Middle Germany.

In stoutly defending the workers of Middle Germany, the V.K.P.D. has shown itself to be the Party of the revolutionary proletariat of Germany. In this first great struggle, which it had to sustain immediately after its formation, the V.K.P.D. committed a number of mistakes, of which the chief one was that they did not clearly understand the defensive nature of the struggle, but by the call for the attack gave the opportunity to the unscrupulous enemies of the proletariat—the S.P.D. and the U.S.P.D.—to denounce the K.A.P.D. (German Communist Labour Party) in the eyes of the proletariat as the aggressor. This mistake was further amplified by a number of Party theorists who represented the offensive as the principal means of the campaign of the K.A.P.D. on that occasion. This mistake has already been repudiated by the official party organs, notably by its chairman, Comrade Brandler. The Congress of the Communist International considers the March action of the K.A.P.D. as a step forward. It is of the opinion, that in order to ensure greater success for its mass actions, the K.A.P.D. must in the future better adapt their battle-cry to the actual situation, giving the most careful study to the situation and conducting their actions in the most uniform manner.

For the purpose of carefully weighing the possibilities of the struggle, the K.A.P.D. must attentively listen to the voices which point out the difficulties of the actions and carefully examine their reasons for urging caution. But as soon as an action is decided upon by the Party authorities, all comrades must submit to the decisions of the Party and carry out the action. Criticism of the action must commence only after its completion and be practised only within the party organisations, giving due consideration to the situation wherein the Party had found itself in the face of the enemy. Since Levi did disregard these self-understood demands of party discipline and the conditions of party criticism, the Congress approves his expulsion from the Party, and declares it inadmissible for any members of the Communist International to co-operate politically with him.

VIII.

The Forms and Means of Direct Action

THE forms and means of action, its extent, and the question of the offensive or defensive, are bound up with certain conditions which cannot be created at will. The experience of the revolution has shown us various forms of partial actions.

1. The partial actions on the part of sections of the proletariat (the action of miners, railway men, etc., in Germany, and of land workers in England, etc.).

2. The partial actions of the whole proletariat for limited objects (the action in the days of Kapp Putsch, the action of the English miners against the military intervention of the British Government in the Russo-Polish war).

These partial actions may extend over separate districts, over whole countries and over a series of countries simultaneously. All these forms of action will in all countries be intermingled in the course of the revolution. The Communist Party cannot discard actions which are limited to a certain area, but it must strive to turn every important local proletarian action into a universal struggle. Just as we are bound to raise the whole working class in defence of the struggling workers in a single branch industry wherever possible, we are also bound to rouse the workers of all the industrial centres to lend their help to the struggling workers of a whole district or area. The experience of revolution teaches us that the greater the area of the struggle, the greater the prospect of victory. The bourgeoisie relies, in its struggle against the rising world revolution, partly on the white guard organisations, and partly on the fact that the working class is scattered, and that its front is built up very slowly. The greater the number of workers who join in the battle, the greater the fighting area, the more must the enemy divide and scatter his forces. Even when the other sections of workers, who are anxious to help the oppressed part of the proletariat are temporarily not in a position to support it with all their might, their very movement forces the capitalist to divide his forces, for the latter are unable to fathom to what extent the other part of the proletariat will be able to take part in the struggle and render it more acute.

In the course of the past year, during which we saw the ever-increasing arrogance of the capitalist offensive against the workers, we observed that the bourgeoisie in all countries, not satisfied with the normal activity of its state organs, created legal and semi-legal though state-protected white-guards organisations, which played a decisive part in every big economic or industrial conflict.

In Germany it is the Orgesch, backed by the government, which includes all party colourings from Stinnes to Scheidemann.

In Italy it is the Fascisti, whose depredations effected a change in the mood of the bourgeoisie, giving the appearance of a complete change in the respective strength of the contending political forces.

In England—to combat the miners during the recent lockout—the Lloyd George government appealed for volunteers, whose task it was to defend property and so-called “free labour,” by means of blacklegging upon the masses involved in the dispute.

In France the leading semi-official newspaper *Temps*, inspired by the Millerand clique, conducts a vigorous campaign for the reinforcement of the already existing *Civic Leagues*, and for the introduction of Fascisti methods to French soil.

The organisations of strike-breakers and cut-throats, which are an old-time embellishment of American democracy, have now

acquired a new force in the so-called *American Legion*, made up of the flotsam and jetsam of the war.

The bourgeoisie, though apparently conscious of its power and actually bragging about its stability, knows quite well through its leading governments, that it has merely obtained a breathing spell and that under the present circumstances every big strike has the tendency to develop into civil war and the immediate struggle for the possession of power.

In the struggle of the proletariat against the capitalist offensive it is the duty of the communists not only to take the advanced posts and lead those engaged in the struggle to a complete understanding of the fundamental revolutionary tasks, but it is also their duty, relying upon the best and most active elements among the workers, to create their own labour legions and militant organisations which will resist the pacifists and teach the "golden youth" of the bourgeoisie a wholesome lesson that will get them out of the strike-breaking habit.

In view of the extraordinary importance of the counter-revolutionary shock-troops, the Communist Party must, through its nuclei in the unions, devote special attention to this question. It must organise a thorough-going educational and communicational service which shall keep under constant observation the military organs and forces of the enemy, his headquarters, his arsenal; the connection between these headquarters and the police, the press and the political parties; and work out all the necessary details of defence and counter-attack.

The Communist Party must in this manner influence the widest circles of the proletariat by word and deed, that every economic or political conflict, given the necessary combination of circumstances, may develop into civil war, in the course of which it will become the task of the proletariat to conquer the power of state.

With regard to the acts of the white terror and the fury of bourgeois justice, the Communist Party must warn the workers not to be deceived, during crises, by a hypocritical appeal to their leniency by the enemy, but to demonstrate proletarian morality by acts of proletarian justice, in settling with the oppressors of the workers. And in times when the workers are only preparing themselves, when they have to be mobilised by agitation, by political campaigns and strikes, armed force may be used solely to defend the masses from bourgeois outrages. Individual acts of terrorism, may demonstrate the revolutionary rancour of the masses, and however justified they may be as acts of retribution against the lynch law of the bourgeoisie and its social-democratic flunkies, these must be condemned because such deeds will not raise the workers to a higher level of organisation, or make them better prepared to face the struggle. Acts of sabotage are only justified when used for the purpose of hindering the despatch of enemy troops against the workers, or for conquering important strategic points from the enemy in direct combat.

IX.

The Relation to the Semi-Proletarian Elements

IN Western Europe there is no other important class besides the proletariat, which might become a determining factor in the world revolution. But it is different in Russia, where the peasantry, owing to the war and lack of land, were predestined to become a determining revolutionary fighting element in conjunction with the industrial working class. But even in Western Europe a part of the peasantry, a considerable section of the petty-bourgeoisie in the towns, the numerous so-called, "new middle-class," the office workers etc., are sinking into ever worse conditions of life. Under the pressure of the high cost of living, housing difficulties, and the insecurity of their positions, these elements are beginning to pass through a process of fermentation, which draws them out of their political inactivity, and drags them into the revolutionary and counter-revolutionary struggle. The bankruptcy of imperialism in the defeated countries, the bankruptcy of pacifism and social reform in the victorious countries, drives a part of these middle-class elements into the camp of open counter-revolution, and others into the revolutionary camp. The Communist Party is bound to bestow increasing attention on these elements. The winning over of the small farmers to the ideas of Communism, and the organisation of the agricultural workers, are prerequisite conditions for the victory of the proletarian dictatorship. For then we shall be able to bring the revolution from industrial centres down to the country districts, and this will enable us to capture the most important strongholds, and thus solve the food question, that vital question for the revolution. The acquisition of large groups of technical employees and intellectuals would make it easier for the proletarian dictatorship to master the problems of technique and organisation in the transition period from capitalism to Communism. It will cause disintegration in the enemy ranks and will do away with the traditional notion that the workers are isolated. The Communist Parties have to keep alive the fermentation of discontent among the petty-bourgeoisie, in order to utilise them in the most appropriate way, even though they do not lose their petty-bourgeois illusions. Those of the intellectuals and employees who free themselves from these illusions must be taken up in the proletarian ranks, and made use of for the purpose of organising such petty-bourgeois groups.

The economic ruin and consequent disorganisation of national finance, force the bourgeoisie to smash the basic support of its governmental apparatus, owing to the growing impoverishment of the middle and lower officials. The economic movement on the part of these elements affects the very root of bourgeois society, and though this movement may temporarily abate, it will be as impossible for the bourgeois state to preserve this administrative foundation (the officials), as it is impossible for capital to grant fair conditions to its wage slaves while insisting on the preservation of its system of exploitation. The Communist Parties, by espousing the cause of the lower and middle officialdom, and by helping it economically, irrespective of the state of public finance, will do

most effective preliminary work for the destruction of bourgeois institutions and the preparation of the elements requisite for the superstructure of the proletarian state.

X.

International Co-ordination of Action

IN order to break the front of the international counter-revolution, in order to make use of the combined forces of the Communist International, and bring nearer the victory of the revolution, we must strive, with all our energy, for united international leadership in the revolutionary struggle. The conditions essential to this are the political and centralised organisation of the component elements of the Communist International, the doing away with the autonomy-trickery of the opportunist, the creation of an appropriate political organisation of the executive of the Communist International and of its entire machinery. The Congress believes that the Communist International action must not confine itself to mere demonstrations on a world-wide scale, as advocated by the Two-and-a-half International, and launched by certain sections of the Communist International under the same slogans. As the situation in various countries becomes acuter, Communist International must strive to co-ordinate and combine the action of all the affiliated sections or of any group of sections with the working masses which they control. *The Congress takes into account the national peculiarities according to countries, the differences in the conditions under which the struggles take place, the strength of the enemy, and the fighting ability and strength of the revolutionary forces.* But the nearer we get to uniform international fighting leadership, the more necessary it becomes to harmonise the forms of organisation and tactics of the affiliated sections.

The Communist International imposes on all Communist Parties the duty to support each other most energetically in the struggle. The growing economic conflicts demand the immediate intervention of the proletariat of other countries. The Communists must carry on diligent propaganda in the trade unions, to prevent not only the importation of black-legs, but also the exportation of goods of those countries where a considerable part of the workers are engaged in battle. In cases where the capitalist government of one country perpetrates outrages against another country by trying to plunder or subjugate it, the Communist Parties must not only protest, but do all in their power to prevent such a pillaging campaign. The Third Congress of the Communist International welcomes the demonstration of the French Communists as a beginning of their action against the counter revolutionary predatory aspiration of French capital. **It reminds them of their duty to work assiduously in this direction, to make the French soldiers in the occupied territories realise that they are playing the part of watch-dogs of French capital, and to induce them to rebel against the disgraceful duties imposed on them. It is the duty of the French Communist Party to make the French nation conscious of the fact that by suffering the formation of a French army of**

occupation, and tolerating its permeation by a nationalistic spirit, it forges its own chains. In occupied territories troops are being drilled, in order to be subsequently let loose against the working class, and to murder it in cold blood. The French Communist Party is faced by the special problem of the presence of black troops in France and the occupied territories. The French comrades are thus able to approach these colonial slaves, to explain to them that they are serving their oppressors and exploiters, to rouse them to a fight against the regime of the colonisers, and to establish connections with the colonial peoples through this medium. The German Communist Party must clearly explain to the German workers, that no struggle against spoliation by Entente capital is possible without the overthrow of the German capitalist government, which in spite of all its outbursts against the Entente, is the taskmaster and agent of the Entente capital. The V.K.P. of Germany will only be able to induce the workers of France to fight their imperialism if it takes up the dauntless, ruthless, struggle against the German Government and thereby proves that it is not anxious to provide a loop-hole for bankrupt German imperialism, but wishes to clear the ruins of German imperialism out of the way.

The Communist International, which denounced the indemnity demands of the Entente capitalism as a campaign spoliation directed against the workers of the vanquished countries, and which brand-marked the cowardly capitulation to Bourse interests by the Longuet followers in France, and which denounced the Independents in Germany who were pleading that this spoliation be done in a gentler fashion and less painfully for the workers, now indicates to the French and to the German proletariat that the only way to the reconstruction of the devastated provinces, to the indemnification of the widows and orphans, is by calling the proletariat of both countries to the common struggle against their exploiters.

The German working class can help Russia in its hard struggle, if by a victorious combat it will precipitate the union of agricultural Russia with industrial Germany.

It is the duty of Communist Parties in all countries which are taking part in the subjugation and partition of Turkey, to do their best toward revolutionising the armies used for this work. The Communist Parties of the Balkan countries must strain all the efforts of their mass organisations to hasten their victory. The victory of the Communist Parties of Bulgaria and Serbia would cause the downfall of the shameful Horthy régime in Hungary; would facilitate the liquidation of Roumanian Boyar rule; and would create an economic basis for the Italian Revolution and protect it against a blockade by England. The unconditional support of Soviet Russia is still the main duty of the Communists of all countries. Not only must they act resolutely against any attacks on Soviet Russia, but they must also struggle to do away with all the obstacles placed by capitalist States in the way of Russia's communications with the world markets, and of all other nations. If Soviet Russia succeeds in reconstructing economic life, in mitigating the terrible misery caused by the three years of imperialist war and three years of civil war, only when Soviet Russia will have contrived to raise

the efficiency of the masses of its population, will it be in a position, in the future, to assist the western proletarian States with food and raw material, and protect them against being enslaved by American Capital. The International political task of the Communist International consists not in demonstrations on special occasions, but in the permanent increase of the international relations of the Communists, in their ceaseless struggle in close formation. It is impossible to foretell at what front the proletariat will succeed in breaking the capitalist lines—whether it will be in capitalist Germany, with its workers who are most cruelly oppressed by their own and the Entente bourgeoisie, and who are faced by the alternative of either winning or dying, or in the agrarian south-west; or it may be in Italy, where the decay of the bourgeoisie has reached an advanced stage. It is therefore the duty of the Communist International to intensify its efforts on all sectors of the workers' world-front, and it is the duty of the Communist Parties to support, with all their means, the decisive battles of each section of the Communist International. This must be achieved by immediately widening and deepening all internal conflicts in every other country, as soon as a great struggle breaks out in any one country.

XI.

The Decline of the Second and Two-and-a-Half International

THE third year of the Communist International witnesses the further decline of Social Democratic Parties, and the decrease of influence together with the unmasking of the reformist Trade Union leaders. During the last year, however, these moderate Socialist elements have attempted to re-organise themselves, and proceeded to attack the Communist International. In England the leaders of the Labour Party and the Trade Unions proved, during the coal strike, that they consider their only task to be the premeditated destruction of the workers' front, which is in the process of formation, and the conscious defence of capital against labour. The breakdown of the Triple Alliance is proof that the reformist Trade Union leaders do not even wish to struggle for the improvement of the labour conditions within the limits of the present capitalist system.

In Germany, the Social-Democratic Party, after withdrawing from the Government, proved that it was no longer able to carry on ordinary agitational opposition of the pre-war kind. Its every oppositional action was carefully contemplated not to elicit any struggles of the working class. Although apparently in the opposition in the Reichstag, social-democracy organised a campaign in Prussia against the Middle-German miners, for the confessed purpose of provoking an armed combat before the Communist battle-front could be organised. In the face of the capitulation of the German bourgeoisie to the Entente, in the face of the undeniable fact that the German bourgeoisie is only able to carry out the dictates of the Entente by making the living conditions of the German

proletariat absolutely unbearable, the German social-democracy re-entered the Government in order to aid the bourgeoisie in turning the German proletarians into helots. In Czecho-Slovakia, social-democracy is mobilising the military and police, to deprive the Communist workers of their houses and institutions. By its policy of prevarication, the Polish Socialist Party is abetting Pilsudsky in the organisation of his predatory campaign against Soviet Russia. It lends its services to the Government by throwing thousands of Communists into prison and, attempts to drive them out of the trade unions, in which they are gaining more and more hold, in spite of all persecutions. The Belgian Socialists retain their seats in a government that is participating in the enslavement of the German people.

The centrist parties and groups of the Two-and-a-half International are no less crass examples of counter-revolutionary organisations. The German Independents brusquely refused to respond to the appeal of the German Communist Party for unity of action, in spite of all differences, in the battle against the impoverishment of the working class. During the March revolt they took a decided stand on the side of the white guard movement against the Middle German workers, only to raise a hypocritical howl about the white terror, after they had aided in securing a victory for it; they denounced the proletarian vanguard, before the eyes of the bourgeoisie, as thieving, plundering, "gutter" proletarians. Although they pledged themselves, at the Congress of Halle, to support Soviet Russia, their press is replete with calumny against that country. They stepped into the ranks of the entire counter-revolutionary congregation, from Wrangel and Miliukov to Burtseff, by supporting the Kronstadt revolt against the Soviet Republic, a revolt that signified the commencement of a new policy of international counter-revolution against Soviet Russia. This revolt was organised to overthrow the Communist Party of Russia and thus to destroy the soul, heart, marrow, and the nervous system of the Soviet Republic, in order to sweep away its corpse. The French Longuetists joined the German Independents in this campaign, thus publicly joining the French counter-revolutionary forces, who have proved to be the sponsors of this new policy against Russia. In Italy the tactics of the centrists, of Serrati and D'Aragona, the policy of avoiding any struggle, has revived the courage of the bourgeoisie and enabled it to control the life of Italy by means of its white Fascisti guards.

Although centrism and social democracy differ only in phraseology, the union of both in a single International has not yet taken place. In fact, the centrist parties united last February in an international association of their own, with a separate political platform and constitution. This shoddy Two and a half International is attempting to oscillate, on paper, between the policies of democracy and proletarian dictatorship. It not only lends practical service to the capitalists in every country by nurturing a spirit of irresolution in the working class, but in the face of the destruction caused by the world bourgeoisie, in face of the subjugation of a large part of the world by the victorious capitalist states of the

Entente, it concocts plans for the bourgeoisie as to the best means of executing its exploitation projects without unloosing the revolutionary forces of the proletarian masses. The only distinction between the Two and a half International and the Second International resides in the fact that, besides their common fear of the power of capital, the former is absolutely afraid to lose the last vestiges of its influence upon the still un-class-conscious, though in spirit revolutionary masses, by a clear formulation of its standpoint. The political sameness of character of the reformists and centrists is revealed in their common defence of the Amsterdam Trade Union International, the last bulwark of the world bourgeoisie. By uniting with the reformists and trade union bureaucrats in the battle against Communism wherever they still possess any influence in the trade unions, by responding to the attempts at revolutionising the trade unions by expelling the Communists, and by splits in the trade unions, the centrists prove that in common with the social democrats, they are resolute opponents of the proletarian struggle and peacemakers of the counter-revolution.

It is the task of the Communist International to wage relentless war against the Two-and-a-half International as well as against the Second International and the Amsterdam Trade Union International. Only by means of such an unrelenting struggle, daily proving to the masses that the social-democratic and centrists are not only unwilling to fight for the overthrow of capitalism, but are afraid to struggle for the simplest and most urgent needs of the working class, will it be possible for the Communist International to liberate the working class from the grip of these lackeys of the bourgeoisie. It cannot wage this struggle successfully except by nipping in the bud every centristic tendency or inclination in its own ranks, by giving constant daily evidence of its being the International of Communist deeds, not of Communist phrases or theories. The Communist International is the only organisation of the world-proletariat capable of conducting its struggle against Capitalism on the basis of its principles. Our task consists in so improving its internal cohesion, its international leadership, and its activity, that it will, in reality, attain the aim it has set itself in its statutes:—"The organising of united action by the proletarians of all countries, aspiring toward the same goal, the overthrow of capitalism, the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat and of an International Soviet Republic."

FOR THE BUREAU OF THE RUSSIAN DELEGATION:

G. Zinoviev,

N. Lenin,

L. Trotsky,

N. Bucharin,

K. Radek,

L. Kamenev.

Why are YOU not a member of
the Party?

The Communist International and the Red International of Trade Unions

(THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE YELLOW TRADE UNION INTERNATIONAL).

By G. ZINOVIEV

This comprehensive statement by the President of the Communist International was submitted to the Communist International Congress

I.

No Politics in the Union

THE bourgeoisie is holding the working class in subjection, not only by means of violence, but also by the most refined deception. The school, the church, parliament, art, literature, the daily press—all of them represent powerful means of deceiving the working masses, and of imbuing the proletariat with the ideas of the bourgeoisie.

One of the bourgeois ideas, which the ruling classes have succeeded in inculcating among the working masses, is the idea of trade union neutrality, that is, the idea of the non-political and non-party character of the trade unions.

For the last decades of modern history, and especially after the close of the imperialist war, the trade-unions throughout Europe and in America have become the largest proletarian organisations, in some countries almost embracing the entire working class.

The bourgeoisie is fully aware that the near future of the capitalist system depends on the extent to which the trade unions are going to free themselves from middle-class influences. Hence their frantic efforts and that of their myrmidons, the social-democrats, throughout the world, to keep the trade unions at any price in the thrall of bourgeois social-democratic ideas.

The bourgeoisie cannot very well invite the trade unions, quite openly, to support the bourgeois parties. It is, therefore, urging them not to support any party, especially the revolutionary communist party, but this in reality means that the trade unions must not support the party advocating communism.

The doctrine of neutrality (or of the non-political and non-party character of the trade-unions) is not of recent growth. For decades this bourgeois idea has been inculcated in the trade unions of Great Britain, Germany, America, and other countries by the representatives of the priest-ridden Christian trade unions, as well as by the leaders of the bourgeois Hirsch-Duncker trade unions. The same idea was preached by the leaders of the pacific and old-fashioned British trade unions; the representatives of the so-called free trade unions of Germany; and by many representatives of syndicalism. Legien, Gompers, Jouhaux, etc., have been preaching neutrality to the trade unions for decades. But in reality the trade

unions have never been and could never be neutral. Not only is neutrality harmful to the trade unions, it cannot positively be maintained. In the struggle between capital and labour no mass organisation of workers can remain neutral. Consequently, it is impossible for the trade unions to remain neutral in their relations to the bourgeois parties and to the party of the proletariat. This the leaders of the bourgeoisie know full well. But just as it is imperative for them that the masses should believe in an after life, it is imperative for them that the trade unions should maintain neutrality with regard to politics and above all with regard to the workmen's Communist Party. For the exploitation of, and the mastery over the workers, the bourgeoisie needs not only the priest, the policeman and the general, but also the trade union bureaucrats, the "leaders" who preach to the workers neutrality and non-participation in political struggles.

The fallacy of the neutrality idea had become more and more apparent to the advanced proletariat of Europe and America even before the imperialist war. This fallacy became still more apparent as the class contrasts became more acute. When the imperialist mass-murders began in good earnest, the old trade union leaders were obliged to drop the mask of neutrality and to side quite openly with their respective bourgeoisie.

During the imperialist war those social-democrats and trade unionists who had been preaching neutrality to the trade unionists for many years, while driving the workers into the service of the most dastardly murder policy, these recent advocates of neutrality, unblushingly assumed the rôle of agents for certain political parties, not, of course, the parties of the working class, but for those of the bourgeoisie.

After the imperialist war these same social-democratic and trade union leaders have again been trying to put on the mask of trade union neutrality, etc. Now that the abnormal war conditions are at an end, these agents of capitalism are trying to adapt themselves to the new circumstances and want to lure away the workers from the path of revolution to the only path which is profitable for the bourgeoisie.

Economics and politics are closely connected together. This connection becomes especially evident in such epochs as the present. There is not a single important question of political life which affects the political Labour movement but also reacts on the trade unions, and *vice versa*. If the French imperialistic government orders the mobilisation of a certain class for the occupation of the Ruhr basin and for the strangulation of Germany in general, can it be said that this purely political question does not concern the French trade unions? Can a truly revolutionary French trade unionist remain neutral, and take up a non-political attitude on such a question? Or to use another illustration—if there is in England a purely economic struggle as the late lock-out of the miners, can the Communist Party declare that this does not concern it—that it is a purely trade union question? At a time when the struggle against misery and poverty is the order of the day for millions of workers, when the requisitioning of bourgeois houses is imperative

for the solution of the housing problem of the proletariat, when the practical experiences of life force the workers to interest themselves in the question of the arming of the working class, when the seizure of factories by the workers is taking place in various countries, can it be asserted that in such a period the trade unions must not take part in such a struggle and must remain neutral, which really means that they must serve the bourgeoisie?

Despite the numberless political parties in Europe and America, these may be divided into three groups with regard to their nature:—(1) Parties of the bourgeoisie. (2) Parties of the petty bourgeoisie, chiefly the social-democrats; and (3) The party of the proletariat. All trade unions which proclaim themselves to be non-party, and declare their neutrality with regard to the above-mentioned party groups, are practically supporting the parties of the petty-bourgeoisie and the bourgeoisie. ♣

II.

Neutrality in Practice

THE Amsterdam Trade Union International represents the organisation in which the Second International and Second-and-a-Half International meet each other and join hands. The whole international bourgeoisie looks upon this organisation with assurance and confidence. The principal idea of the Amsterdam Trade Union International is the idea of the neutrality of Trade Unions. It is not mere chance that this watchword is used by the bourgeoisie and their lackeys, the social democrats, as well as by the Right Wing Trade Unionists to unite the wide masses of workers in Western Europe and America. While the political Second International openly took the side of the bourgeoisie and experienced a complete collapse, a certain success may be noted in regard to the Amsterdam International Trade Union that wants to act under cover of the idea of neutrality.

Under the flag of neutrality the Amsterdam Trade Union International undertakes the execution of the dirtiest and most difficult commissions of the bourgeoisie. The strangling of the miners in England was accomplished by the well-known J. H. Thomas, who is connected with the Second International, and one of the best known leaders of the Amsterdam Yellow Trade Union International. The decrease of wages and the organised plundering of the German workers for the sins of Wilhelm and the German Imperialists, etc., is made possible by the efforts of Noske, Hoersing, Albert Thomas, Jouheaux, J. H. Thomas, Wissel, Bauer, and Robert Schmidt—all leaders of the Amsterdam Trade Union International. They all manage to proclaim with the same breath the neutrality of the trade unions in the political struggle and at the same time act as ministers of bourgeois governments.

At the present moment the Amsterdam Trade Union International represents the chief support of International Capital. Whoever does not fully understand the necessity of the fight

against the wrong idea of non-political and non-party character of the Trade Unions cannot fight successfully against this capitalist fortress. In order to decide upon the most efficient fighting methods to be used against the Yellow Amsterdam International, it will be necessary to clearly and definitely ascertain the mutual relations between the Communist Party and the trade unions of each country.

III.

The Party and the Unions

THE Communist Party is the vanguard of the proletariat. It clearly recognises the ways and means to be used for the liberation of the proletariat from the capitalist yoke, and consciously accepts the Communist programme.

The Trade Unions represent mass organisation of the proletariat which develops into organisations uniting all the workers of a given branch of industry. They include not only the conscious communists but also the medium and backward ranks of the proletariat, who through the lessons taught by their life's experience are gradually educated to understand communism. The part played by the trade unions before all power is secured by the proletariat is different in many respects from the part it plays while this power is being secured and after it has been accomplished. But throughout the different periods the trade unions represent a wider organisation, uniting a greater mass of people than the party; and the relations between the party and the unions must be the same as between the centre and the periphery. Prior to the securing of power the truly proletarian trade unions have to organise the workers principally on an economic basis to fight for the improvements that can be obtained before capitalism is completely defeated. Their principal object, however, must be the organisation of the proletarian mass fight against capitalism and for the proletarian revolution.

During this revolution the truly revolutionary trade unions conjointly with the party organise the masses for the immediate attack on the forts of capitalism and undertake the laying of a foundation for a social revolution.

After the power has been secured by the proletariat the trade unions must concentrate the greatest part of their activity to the organisation of the economic conditions on a socialist basis.

During all these three phases of the campaign, the trade unions must support the proletarian vanguard, the Communist Party, which takes the lead throughout the proletarian fight.

In order to achieve this end the communists, together with all sympathising elements, must organise communist units within the trade unions, which must be completely under the control of the Communist Party.

The tactics adopted by the Second Congress of the Communist International in regard to the formation of communist units in every trade union, have been proven to be correct and have yielded splendid results during the course of last year in Germany, England, France, Italy, and a number of other countries. The

principles of the Communist International, respecting the participation of communists in the trade union movement, must not be influenced by the circumstance that considerable numbers of politically inexperienced workers have lately left the "free" social democratic trade unions, not expecting to have any direct advantage from membership in the same (as has lately been the case in Germany). It is the task of the communists to explain to the proletarians, that they will not find salvation in leaving the old trade unions before creating new ones, as this will only turn the proletariat into a disconnected mob. They must be told that it is necessary to revolutionise the trade unions, to expel the spirit of reformism together with the treacherous reformist leaders, and thus convert the trade unions into a real support of the revolutionary proletariat.

IV.

Unity of Forces

THESE considerations will define the mutual relations to be established between the Communist International on the one hand, and the International Council of Red Trade Unions, on the other.

The task of the Communist International is not only to direct the political struggle of the proletariat in the narrow sense of the word, but to guide its entire struggle for liberation, whatever form it may acquire. The Communist International must be not only the arithmetical total of the central organisations of the Communist Parties of different countries. The Communist International must stimulate and co-ordinate the work throughout the class struggle of all proletarian organisations, and work within the purely political organisations, trade unions, the Soviet, and cultural organisations, etc.

Quite unlike the Yellow International, the International Council of Red Trade Unions will in no wise adopt the point of view of non-partyism or neutrality. Any organisation which would wish to remain neutral with regard to the Second, the "Two-and-a-half," or the Third International, must unavoidably become a pawn in the hands of the bourgeoisie. The programme of action of the International Council of the Red Trade Unions which the Communist International will lay before its first Congress will be defended, in reality, by the communist parties alone, and by the Communist International. On these grounds alone, if we are to succeed in carrying out the new revolutionary tasks of the trade unions, the red trade unions will have to work hand in hand and in close contact with the Communist Party, and the International Council of Red Trade Unions will have to bring each step of its work into agreement with the work of the Communist International.

The prejudices of neutrality, of "independence," of non-party and non-political tactics, with which certain revolutionary syndicalists of France, Spain, Italy, and other countries are infected, are objectively nothing more than a tribute paid to bourgeois ideas. The Red Trade Unions cannot conquer the Yellow Amsterdam International, and consequently capitalism, without

repudiating the bourgeois ideas of independence and neutrality once for all. From the point of view of economising forces and concentrating blows, the formation of a single, united proletarian International would unite in its ranks political parties and all other forms of labour organisations. The future will undoubtedly belong to this type of organisation. However, in the present transitional period, given the actual variety of trade unions in the different countries, it is unavoidably necessary to create an International Association of Red Trade Unions, which will on the whole stand for the platform of the Communist International, but which will admit members much more freely than is done by the Communist International.

The Third Congress of the Communist International promises its support to the International Council of Red Trade Unions which is to be organised on these lines. To bring about a closer union between the Communist International and the International Council of Red Trade Unions, the Third Congress of the Communist International proposes that it should be represented by three members on the Executive of the International Council of Red Trade Unions and *vice versa*.

The programme of action which in the opinion of the Communist International should be accepted by the Constituent World Congress of Red Trade Unions runs approximately as follows:

V.

Programme of Policy

DURING the next epoch the principal task of all communists will be to concentrate their energy and persevere on winning over to their side the majority of workers in all labour unions. They must not be discouraged by the present reactionary tendency of the labour unions, but take part actively in the daily struggles of the unions and win them over to the cause of Communism in spite of all resistance.

The real test of the strength of every communist party is the actual influence it has on the workers in the labour unions. The Party must learn how to influence the unions without attempting to keep them in leading strings. Only the Communist units of the union are subject to the control of the party, not the labour union as a whole. If the communist units persevere; if their activity is devoted and intelligent, the party will reach a position where its advice will be gladly and readily accepted by the unions.

In France the labour unions are now passing through a wholesome period of fermentation. The working class is regaining strength after a crisis in the movement and is learning to recognise and punish the past treachery of the reformist socialists and trade unionists. Many of the revolutionary trade unionists of France are still unwilling to take part in a political fight, and are prejudiced against the idea of a political proletarian party. They still pay reverence to the idea of neutrality as expressed in the well known *Charte d'Amiens* of 1906. The point of view of this fraction of the revolutionary trade unionists may be regarded as a source of

great danger for the movement. If this fraction should gain control of the majority in the unions, it would not know what to do with this majority. It would be helpless against the agents of capitalism, the Jouhaux and the Dumoulins.

The revolutionary trade unionists of France will remain without definite lines of demarcation as long as the Communist Party itself lacks such lines. The Communist Party of France must strive to work in friendly co-operation with the best elements of revolutionary trade unionism. It is, however, essential that the party should only rely solely upon its own elements. Sections should be formed wherever three communists are to be found in a trade union branch. The party must at once undertake a campaign against neutrality. It must point out in a friendly but decided manner the defects of such a policy in revolutionary trade unionism. This is the only possible way to revolutionise the trade union movement in France and to establish close co-operation between it and the party.

In Italy the situation is very peculiar. The majority of the trade union members are revolutionary, but the leadership of the Conf. del Lavoro is in the hands of reformists and centrists whose sympathies are with Amsterdam. The first task of the Italian Communists will be to organise a persevering daily struggle in every section in the trade unions; to endeavour systematically and patiently to expose the treachery and indecision of these leaders; and to wrest the trade unions from their control. In regard to the revolutionary trade union elements of Italy, the Italian Communists will have to adopt the same measures as the Communists in France.

In Spain we have a strong revolutionary trade-union movement, which still lacks a clearly defined final purpose, and a young and relatively weak Communist Party. In view of the existing conditions, the party must do everything possible to secure a firm foothold in the Trade Unions. It must support the unions in word and deed, and exercise a clarifying influence on the whole trade union movement. It must likewise establish friendly relations with the unions and make every effort to organise the class struggle in common.

Important developments are taking place in the British trade union movement, which is rapidly becoming more and more revolutionary. The mass movement is growing, and the influence of the old trade union leaders is on the wane. The Party must do its utmost to establish itself firmly in the great Trade Unions (miners, etc.). Every member of the Party must work actively in some trade union, and must endeavour to make Communism popular through active and persevering work. Every effort must be made to get into closer contact with the masses.

The same process is taking place in America, although at a slower rate. Communists must on no account leave the ranks of the reactionary Federation of Labour. On the contrary, they should get into the old trade unions in order to revolutionise them. Co-operation with the best sections of the I.W.W. is imperative; this does not, however, preclude an educational campaign against the prejudices of the I.W.W.

In Japan a great trade union movement has rapidly come into being, but it lacks an enlightened leadership. The communistic elements of Japan must support this movement and use every effort to direct it in Marxian channels.

In Tchekho-Slovakia, our party is backed by the majority of the working class, but the trade union movement is, to a great extent, still in the hands of the social patriots. This is because the party itself has lacked organisation and clearly defined principles. The party must make a great effort to put an end to these conditions, and to get control of the leadership of the trade unions.

In Austria and Belgium the social patriots have with great cunning succeeded in getting control of the trade union movement. The trade union movement is the chief field for revolutionary action in these countries. That is why it should have received more attention from the Communist Parties.

In Norway the party which has the majority of the workers behind it, must become more influential over the trade union movement.

In Sweden the Party has not only to contend with reformism, but also with petty bourgeois tendencies in the socialist movement.

In Germany the Party is gradually getting control of the trade union movement. On no account should concessions be made to the partisans of the "Leave the Trade Unions" movement.

This would play into the hands of the social-patriots. All attempts to expel communists from the Unions must be met by constant and energetic resistance if we are to win over to Communism the majority of the organised workers.

VI.

Programme of Action

THE acute economical crisis spreading all over the world, the catastrophical fall of wholesale prices, the overproduction of goods combined with an actual lack of sale, the militant policy of the bourgeoisie towards the working class, the tenacious tendency towards the reduction of wages and the throwing of the workers far backwards; the growing exasperation of the masses on one side and the impotence of the old trade unions and their methods on the other—impose new problems on the revolutionary class trade unions all over the world. New methods of economic struggle are required. Called forth by the decomposition of capitalism, a new aggressive economic policy for the Trade Unions is necessary in order to parry the attack of capital, strengthen the old position, and to pass over to the offensive.

2. The basis of the tactics of the trade unions is direct action of revolutionary masses and their organisations against capitalism. The gains of the workers are in proportion to the degree of direct action and revolutionary activity of the masses. Under "direct action" we mean all forms of direct pressure of the workers upon the employers and the State: boycott, strike, street demonstrations, seizure of factories, uprisings, and other revolutionary activity,

which tend to unite the working class in the fight for socialism. The aim of the revolutionary trade unions is, therefore, to turn direct action into a weapon of education and to stimulate the fighting ability of the working masses for the social revolution and the institution of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

3. The last year of the struggle has shown, with a particular vividness, the inability of strictly trade union organisations. The fact of the workers in one concern belonging to several unions produce a weakening effect on the struggle. It is necessary—and this should be the starting point of a tenacious struggle—to pass from a strictly trade union, to an organisation of trade unions for the struggle for control of production. “One union for one industry”—this is the militant motto in the organisation structure. The fusion of related unions into one union should be effected in a revolutionary way, putting this question directly before the members of the unions in the factories, mills, etc., and also before district and regional conference, as well as before the national congresses.

4. Each factory and each mill should become a citadel of the revolution. Old forms of communication between rank and file members of the union and the union itself, such as money collectors, representatives, proxies, and others should be substituted by the formation of factory committees. The factory committee must be elected by the workers engaged in the given enterprise, independently of the political creed they profess. The problems imposed upon the supporters of the International of Red Trade Unions is to involve all the workers of a given concern into the election of their representative organ. The attempt to elect the factory committee exclusively among adherents of the same party, and the casting aside of the broad non-party rank and file workers should be severely condemned. This should only be a nucleus and not a factory committee. The revolutionary workers should influence and act upon the general meeting, as well as committee of action and their rank and file members.

5. The first question to be put before the workers and the factory committee—is the maintenance of the workers, discharged on account of unemployment, at the expense of the enterprise. It should not be permitted that workers should be thrown out into the streets without the enterprise being in the least concerned with it. The owner must be compelled to pay full wages to the unemployed and the communists should approach these workers and explain to them at the same time that the problem of unemployment is not to be solved within the capitalist régime, and that the only way to abolish it is the social revolution, and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

6. By closing down their mills and factories; by curtailing the workers' hours; the capitalists are able to clear out of their establishments all revolutionary workers and at the same time maintain those reactionary labourers who are thus used as a lever to lower wages, to increase the working day, and to assist in depriving the masses of the right to strike. Lock-outs are becoming more and more definitely the form of direct action on the part of the

employers. For this purpose special controlling committees, composed of workers, should be instituted with regard to raw material, orders, in order to verify the quantities of available raw material, necessary for the production, as well as money resources in the banks. Specially elected controlling committees must investigate in a most careful manner the financial co-relation existing between the given enterprise and other concerns, and the practical task of abolishing the commercial mastery should be imposed upon the workers for this purpose.

7. One of the ways of struggling against such closing of concerns for the purpose of a reduction of wages and standard of life should be the taking hold, by the workers, of the factories and mills and proceeding with production by themselves despite the owners.

Owing to the lack of goods it is highly important to proceed with production and the workers should therefore oppose the pre-meditated closing down of factories and mills by the owners. In connection with local conditions and the condition of production, the political situation, the tension of the social struggle—the seizure of the enterprises may and should be followed by other ways of pressure upon capital. When taking hold of the mills, etc., the management of the same should be conferred to factories and workshops committees and a representative of the union specially appointed for the purpose.

8. The economical struggle should follow the motto of an increase in wages and of the improvements of the labour conditions to a much higher degree compared with pre-war period. The attempts to bring back the workers to the pre-war conditions of labour must meet with the most resolute revolutionary resistance. The exhaustion of the working class during the period of the war must be compensated by an increase in wages and the improvement of the labour conditions. The reference of capitalists to foreign competition should by no means be taken into consideration. The revolutionary trade unions are bound to approach the question of wages and labour conditions not from the point of view of the competition between rapacious capitalists of different nations; but solely from that of the preservation and the defence of the living labour force.

9. The tendency of reducing wages adopted by capitalists during an economic crisis should be met by the revolutionary trade unions in their endeavours to prevent the reduction in wages by turn in each separate concern, in order not to be defeated in parts. The workers engaged in the enterprises of public welfare such as the mining, railroad, electric, gas concerns, and others, should be drawn in at once in order that the struggle against the onslaughts of capital should touch the very nerve of the economic organism.

All ways of resistance from a separate intermittent strike up to a general strike embracing all large fundamental industries on a national scale are in such a case not only advisable but strictly necessary.

10. The trade unions must consider it their practical task to prepare and organise international action in each separate industry. The interruption in transport or coal mining on an international

scale is a mighty weapon in the struggle against the reactionary attempts of the world bourgeoisie.

The trade unions must attentively study the course of events all over the world, choosing the most appropriate moment for their economic action, not forgetting for a single instant that international action is possible only in the case of real revolutionary class-conscious trade unions, on an international scale, being formed, and having nothing in common with the Yellow Amsterdam International.

11. The belief in the absolute value of binding contracts and agreements between Labour and Capital, propagated by the opportunists of all countries, must be met with a resolute and keen resistance from the part of the revolutionary trade union movement. Such a policy is nothing more than an armistice. The owner always violates these collective compacts when the smallest opportunity presents itself for doing so. The respectful attitude toward such agreements only shows that the bourgeois conceptions are deeply inrooted in the minds of the leaders of the working class. The revolutionary trade unions without rejecting as a rule the contract stipulation must realise its relative value and clearly define the methods to abolish these stipulations when they cease to be profitable to the working class.

12. The struggle of the labour organisations against the individual and collective employer, while adapting itself to the national and local conditions, should utilise all the experience acquired during the previous periods of the struggle for the liberation of the working class.

Therefore, every large strike should not only be well prepared but simultaneously with the declaration of it, there must be organised special detachments for the struggle against scabbing and for counter action, as well as the provocative movement on the part of all kinds of white guard organisations, encouraged by the bourgeoisie and the government. The Fascists in Italy, the Technical Aid in Germany, the civil white guard organisation consisting of ex-commissioned and non-commissioned officers in France and in England— all these organisations pursue the aim of disorganising and forestalling all the actions of the workers with the purpose not only to replace the strikers by scabs, but to materially destroy their organisations and kill the leaders of the labour movement. The organisation of special strike militia and special self-defence detachments, is a question of life and death to the workers under similar conditions.

13. These militant organisations should not only struggle against the attacks of the employers and all strike breaking organisations, but take the initiative by stopping all the freight and products transported to their respective factory, and all other enterprises, and the Union of Transport Workers ought to play a specially prominent part in this case; the task of stopping the transportation of freight has fallen on their shoulders, can be realised by the unanimous support of all the workers of the given locality.

14. All the economical struggles of the working class should gather around the slogan of the control over the industry, which control ought to be realised as soon as possible without waiting for

the ruling classe and the government to prevent an initiation of the same. It is necessary to carry on a merciless struggle against all attempts of the ruling classes and reformists to establish intermediary labour affiliations and intermediary control committees, when that control is operated directly by the workers themselves, only then the results will be definitive. The revolutionary trade unions ought to fight resolutely against that perverted socialism and graft which the leader. of the old trade unions, aided by the ruling classes are practising. All the talk of these gentlemen about the peaceable socialisation of industry is done with the sole aim to withdraw the attention of the working class from revolutionary action and the social revolution.

15. In order to withdraw the workers from their direct problem and instil in them the petty bourgeois aspirations, the middle-class minded trade union leaders advance the idea of workers participating in the profits, which means the return to the workers of an insignificant part of wealth created by them, which is called additional wages. This slogan, only meant for the demoralisation of the workers, should be met by severe and rigorous criticism: "Not the participation in the profits, but the entire elimination of capitalistic profit" is the slogan of the revolutionary unions.

16. While carrying on the struggle for the improvement of labour conditions, the elevation of the living standard of the masses and the establishment of the workers' control, it is always necessary to remember that it is impossible to solve all these problems within the limits of the capitalistic forms of government. Therefore the revolutionary trade unions, while wrenching concessions from the ruling classes everywhere, and forcing them to legislate socialistic laws, should always clearly explain to the workers that only the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat can solve the social question. Therefore, every local uprising, every local strike and every small conflict should be guided by the above-mentioned principle. The revolutionary trade unions ought to make these conflicts general, elevating the consciousness of the workers to the comprehension of the inevitability of the social revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

17. Every economical struggle is also a political one, that is a general class struggle. Such a struggle can only be adequately organised, no matter what large element of workers it may comprise in each respective country, and carried through for the greatest benefit of the entire working class only then, when the revolutionary trade unions will act in perfect unity with the Communist Party in each respective country. To divide the theory and the practice of the struggle of the working class into two distinct parts is extremely detrimental especially at the present moment. Every uprising requires the maximum concentration of forces which is only possible by exerting the greatest revolutionary energy, it must not be divided into two separate policies, some for the Communist Party and some for the Red Trade Unions—such a policy is doomed to failure in advance. Therefore unity of action and the organic connection between the Communist Party and the Trade Unions is the preliminary condition leading to success in the struggle against capitalism.

Communism in South Africa

By DAVID IVON JONES

(Presented to the Executive of the Third International on behalf of the International Socialist League, South Africa).

(Continued from last issue).

Rural Movements

THESE is no white labour movement of any kind in the country districts of South Africa, excepting, of course, the attempts at organization in the townships wherever cheap white, coloured and native labour are engaged in local industries. The natives do nearly all the farm labouring. The sons of the Boer farmers, no matter how impecunious they may be, are generally too race-proud to labour on the land. In any case the cheap native labour tends to drive all but white proprietors to the towns. The laws of inheritance are measures of disinheritance. The farms are divided up amongst the children, calling for more intensive culture, to which the Dutch farmers have not been trained, the old system of pasturage enabled the farmer to sit on his stoep and smoke his pipe. Thus the farms fall to those who bring progressive methods of agriculture to bear on the land. There is a considerable class of landless Dutch Afrikaners. They eke out a living on the "bywoning" system, by which they are allowed to occupy a hut and pasture and cultivate a small corner of a farm in return for services to the farmer when called upon: a kind of servitude. But this system is falling into disfavour with the rich farmers. They prefer the "squatting" system, a species of sub-letting to natives on half shares. There is, therefore, a constant stream of landless Dutch to the towns. Large numbers are employed in gangs, called "poor white" gangs, on pay so miserable that they are in a constant state of semi-starvation. These cast-offs from the rural districts, spurned socially and economically by the very class of nationalist farmer whom they follow politically, help to make up the slums of Johannesburg. Vrededorp, the Johannesburg slum district, is a social cesspool where the Dutch, English, Indian, Coloured man, Kaffir and Hottentot all at last find equality in wretchedness, "equally of no account to the capitalist class." It would be hard to find a parallel for Vrededorp in any town in Europe. The rigorous anti-liquor laws, which make it a penal offence to give alcohol to natives in the Transvaal, find their victims in this class. Three-fourths of the white inmates of South African prisons are convicted of selling drink to natives; that last tempting resort of the destitute and miserable.

As a result of the migration to the towns, the urban workers are becoming increasingly Dutch. Before the war the Executive of the Mine Workers' Union was wholly of British descent. Now more than half are Dutch Afrikaners. The tramway systems and semi-skilled services are now largely run by Dutch workers, who soon develop into good trades unionists and loyal agitators for their class, always, of course, within the limits of their colour.

At a local strike on the Simmer Deep mine last year, when both British and Dutch miners stopped work as a protest against the dismissal of a German member of the Union, both sections tacitly dropped their respective nationalisms for the time being; and it was good to see the young Dutch workers, who a week before and perhaps the week after, sported their nationalist green and yellow, on this occasion proudly wearing their bits of Red as the only suitable emblem for such an occasion as a strike. The industrial system is also weaning gradually the Dutch workers from the most violent forms of colour prejudice. The traffic of Dutch workers to and fro is linking up town and country as never before; and the expropriated Dutch of the country districts will soon share in the inevitable change of outlook.

The South African Native

Speaking generally, the South African natives are a race of labourers. The bulk of the race is now found interspersed in white areas. Certain territories are still reserved for their tribal homes, such as Zululand, Basutoland, Swaziland and Bechuanaland. In these areas a sort of primitive communism exists as far as the land is concerned. What little government of local matters is required in a society where there is very little property is exercised by the chiefs, petty chiefs, and Headmen, always, of course, under the supervision of the police patrol. The perpetual sunshine renders maize the only prime necessity. Zululand, for example, is a land of free and rolling "savannah" with no property boundaries; dotted with the round straw huts of the Zulus, which are without windows or outlet for smoke, and with only a low hole in the structure to creep in and out. Round the huts are the small patches of maize chiefly dug by hand, or of idombis, a kind of Zulu potato. The natives in their tribal state live very closely to the soil, they and their habitations seem part of it, elemental in their simplicity of life. In Basutoland they are more affluent, owning horses and cattle; and of late an increase in cattle is to be observed in Zululand also, enabling their owners to plough at home instead of going to labour for the whites. In the Transkei, Cape Colony, a system of native small proprietorship was tried, known as the Glen-Grey settlements. But this is an exception to the general scheme of things. A recent clamour from white settlers that Zululand should be opened up for settlement for white farmers was answered by Minister Malan that this was out of the question, as it would increase the cost of native labour for the whole country. This, then, is the function of the native territories, to serve as cheap breeding grounds for black labour—the repositories of the reserve army of native labour—sucking it in or letting it out according to the demands of industry. By means of these territories Capital is relieved of the obligation of paying wages to cover the cost to the labourer of reproducing his kind.

Between the territories and the industrial centres there is a constant traffic to and fro of natives. What draws the native away from his home? The marriage customs are a cause. Wives are worth so many cows, and money must be got to buy them.

But the chief impulse is the hut tax specially levied for the purpose; besides which large numbers are allured to the towns by social instinct and the excitement of town life among so many of their own folk there, so that the first excursion from home in many cases becomes a permanent absence. For the native there is the prospect of learning to read and write; he has a keen desire for education. There is the native church in the towns, either as an adjunct of the white religious bodies or his own Ethiopian church, an institution frowned upon by the white Christians for its lack of respectable guidance in the interpretation of the gospels! There is the allurements of machinery. The native is captivated by a piece of machinery, and will seek out its inmost pulsations and tend it as a god. In the towns also there is freedom from the social interference of the chiefs, even if obtained at the cost of subservience to white society. For native women there is emancipation from the tribal marriage customs; tens of thousands of native women are detribalized by contracting free liaisons in the towns not sanctioned by tribal custom. The chiefs are benignant enough old institutions. But they bewail their disappearing authority, although they are useful to the capitalist for the recruiting of labour. In a prosecution in which we were involved for a Bolshevik leaflet addressed to natives as well as whites, the Crown Prosecutor continually referred to those town natives who no longer own allegiance to the chief as "the hooligan class of native," that is, they are no longer under official control. They have taken the step from tribesman to proletarian.

Outcast and outlawed the native may be, but no "hooligan." In the Transvaal and the Free State Province the native has no vote, no civil and political rights. A breach of labour contract is a penal offence. The natives on the mines work on a system of indenture, generally of one year's duration. They do not live in private dwellings, but are herded into "compounds" adjacent to the mines. Indeed, native housing in the towns is not fit for cattle. Most of the hundreds of thousands of natives who work in the towns are housed in backyards, tin shacks, stable lofts, the best way they can. Their level of existence is inconceivably low. Every native male must carry a passport: one to leave his tribe, another to seek work, a monthly pass while working, another pass when he wants to be out after nine o'clock curfew. A policeman may at all times stop a native and demand his pass. Hence most natives have been to jail at one time or another. This is a mere trifle to him with all the regulations that hem round his daily life. He is paid two or three shillings a day, with or without his ration of mealie meal, as the case may be. A rise of a shilling a day would create a panic on the gold market.

Yet in spite of it all, the Bantu is a happy proletarian. He has lovable qualities. "His joy of life and fortitude under suffering," to quote Lefargue's words on the negro; his communal spirit, his physical vitality, his keen desire to know, despite his intellectual backwardness, make him an object of lurking affection to the whites who come in contact with him.

Moreover, he is no fool. He has a certain naïve wisdom which goes to the root of things. It was the questionings of the Zulus

that led the celebrated Bishop Colenso to change his religious views. Arrested development of the native mind has been a theory very much resorted to by negrophobes. To the exploiters, the less a man has the more must be taken from him. Some bourgeois negrophiles, like Loram the Natal educationalist, have even gone to the pains of disproving this meaningless theory. To us it suffices that the native workers are the producers and are robbed of the products of their labour. The truth is that a radical difference in psychology exists. The native bends to capital, but capital also bends to his primeval instincts. See a gang of natives working on the roads or railways! On every possible pretext they will work in unison, raising and lowering the pick, with rhythmic flourishes thrown in, to the tune of their Zulu chants. Ever and anon the tune or the time changes, in an endless variety from the ancestral repertoire, in perfect harmony and rhythm—impromptu choruses of the wild, charming even the dullest. No gaffer can speed up such a gang. And when the same gang tries to sing a simple Christian hymn it makes a most discordant mess of it. Such is arrested development!

The Native Labour Movement

A formal statement of the various categories of native labour and the true Communist policy towards the native workers has been prepared by Comrade S. P. Bunting and accepted by the International Socialist League.

Before the war no trade union movement existed among the native workers, and such a thing as a strike was unknown. The first move in the direction of organised revolt was a strike of native workers on the dumping machinery of the Van Ryn Gold Mine in December, 1915. It was regarded as a novel affair by the white workers of the mine: but it appears that certain white men who engaged to keep the plant going were sneered at as blacklegs by their white fellow-workers. Prior to that, in the 1913 revolt of the white workers, appeals had been made to the native workers of the Kleinfontein mine to stop working, and it seems to have dawned then on the white workers' intelligence, or some of their most militant leaders like George Mason, that the native was really a kind of a workmate. In 1917, Comrade Bunting and other members of the I.S.L. made an attempt to form a native workers' union. A number of the more industrialized natives of Johannesburg were enrolled into the Union, which was named the "Industrial Workers of Africa" (an echo of the "Industrial Workers of the World"). It held meetings regularly, and the message of working class emancipation was eagerly imbibed for the first time by an ardent little band of native workers who carried the message far and wide to their more backward brethren. A manifesto to the workers of Africa was issued in collaboration with the I.S.L. written in the Zulu and Basuto languages, calling upon the natives to unite against their capitalist oppressors. This leaflet reached a still wider mass of native workers, and was introduced and read to the illiterate labourers in the mine compounds. For the native of Africa, and the white too, for that matter, the question is not yet "irrevocably put of bloody struggle or death." It is the era of

awakening to the consciousness of class. The emphasis of the League on the new power of industrial solidarity, which their very oppressors had put in their hands, had as its aim to draw away the native's hopes from the old tribal exploits with the spear and the assegai as a means of deliverance. The power of the machine dawned upon him. In 1918 the propaganda of the I.W.A., and the pressure of the rising cost of living, produced a formidable strike movement among the native municipal workers, and a general movement for the tearing up of passports. Hundreds of natives who had burned their passes were jailed every day, and the prisons became full to bursting. Gatherings of native men and women were clubbed down by the mounted police. The International Socialist League was charged with inciting to native revolt. Comrades Bunting, Tinker and Hanscombe were arrested at the instance of the Botha Government; but the chief native witness for the Crown broke down. He admitted that the evidence of incitement to riot had been invented for him by the Native Affairs Department, and the case collapsed. The moving spirits of the I.W.A. were driven out of Johannesburg by the police, some to find their way to Capetown, where a more permanent movement of native organization has since been formed. It has also spread to Bloemfontein, where Msimang, a young native lawyer, is active in native organization. In the Cape Province the natives are more advanced politically, and more permanently settled in the European areas. But the greater civil equality does not bring greater freedom to combine. Masabalala, the leader of the Port Elizabeth native workers, was imprisoned last August for his trade union activity. Trade unionism among the native workers makes the hair of the South African bourgeois stand on end. But the result of Masabalala's imprisonment was that his comrades rose *en masse* and tried to storm the prison. A massacre by the armed police ensued: and the "white agitators of the Rand" blamed as usual.

But the most portentous event so far in the awakening of the native workers was the great strike of native mine workers on the Rand in March, 1920. These mine natives are mostly raw recruits from the tribal territories, from Zululand, Basutoland, far-away Blantyre and Portuguese Africa, all are here. For the time being all the old tribal feuds were forgotten, and Zulu and Shangaan came out on strike together irrespective of tribal distinction, to the number of 80,000. Without leaders, without organization, hemmed in their compounds by the armed police, the flame of revolt died down, not without one or two bloody incidents in which the armed thugs of the law distinguished themselves for their savagery. The I.S.L. at the time was engaged in the general elections, printing literature on the Soviets and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat for its five candidates. The white workers were undecided as to their attitude towards the native strikers. The I.S.L. came out with an appeal in *The International* and in thousands of leaflets entitled "Don't Scab," calling upon the white workers to play the game towards the native strikers. These were distributed in the mine shafts by Communist sympathisers among the miners. One or two were made the object of a prosecution by the police, but released later owing to the difficulty felt, no doubt, of getting at the I.S.L. for propaganda

in the heat of an election. The Capitalist Press, thinking to damage our election prospects, gave still further publicity to our appeal by reproducing it in full as a proof of our criminality! The Mineworkers' Union Executive called upon its members to side with the masters and endeavour to run the mines, and publicly condemned our propaganda. But such is the division of labour in South Africa that whereas either black labour or white labour can stop industry, neither can properly start the wheels going again without the other.

Native Political Leaders

There exists a body known as The Native Congress, with sections functioning in the various Provinces and for the whole Union. This is a loosely organized body composed of the chiefs, native lawyers, native clergymen, and others who eke out a living as agents among their compatriots. This body is patronized and lectured by the Government. It has weekly newspapers in the various provinces: *Abantu Batho* in Johannesburg, *Ilangu Lasa Natal* in Natal, etc. These are subsidized by Government advertisements, which are often withdrawn when the Congress drops the rôle of respectable bourgeois which it normally tries to assume. It is satisfied with agitation for civil equality and political rights to which its members as a small coterie of educated natives feel they have a special claim. But to obtain these the mass cannot be moved without their moving in a revolutionary manner. Hence the Government is dubious about the Congress, and the Congress draws back timidly from the mass movements of its own people. The native workers of the I.W.A. quickly grasped the difference between their trade union and the Congress, and waged a merciless war of invective at the joint meetings of their Union with the Congress against the black-coated respectables of the Congress. But the growing class organizations of the natives will soon dominate or displace the "Congress." The national and class interests of the natives cannot be distinguished the one from the other. Here is a revolutionary nationalist movement in the fullest meaning of Lenin's term.

Native Education, etc.

Apart from work done by Christian missions, the natives are thrown largely on their own resources for their education. Reading and writing are not necessary to their industrial function, so they have to acquire these at their own night schools, those who have the ambition. Here is a grand field for Communist activity given the necessary personnel and the money. In the Cape and Natal there are voices heard in favour of education for the natives. Far-seeing bourgeoisie like Sir William Beaumont in Natal are advocates of votes for the native, with education, in order, as he says, that the native may be taught to vote as a good citizen, that is, as a good bourgeois. The mining industry has been wobbling in its attitude towards the educational and civil advancement of the natives, being hindered by political organizations, and the Frankenstein of race prejudice which it has itself conjured up,

from reducing working costs by opening the higher industrial employments to natives and coloured men. In the last few years *The Star*, the Chamber of Mines daily, has incessantly declared in favour of the civil advancement of the natives, vigorously attacking the white unions for their denial of equality of opportunity to the native worker. These appeals, made in the interest of lower working costs, are nevertheless unanswerable in logic from the Labour point of view. The native does not care what the motive may be. He sees in his economic exploiters the champions of his civil rights. Now that the capitalist parties are safely seated in the Government saddle we may look forward to steps being taken to realize the programme. After the native strikes of 1920 the Chamber of Mines issued a newspaper for distribution gratis, printed in the native languages. Its leading articles were chiefly devoted to discrediting the Socialists and white agitators generally. The I.S.L. had under consideration the issuing of a Communist sheet in counterblast, but found itself unable to do this in addition to *The International*. This attempt to debauch the mind of the native workers while it is in the process of awakening is one which the Communist movement is too weak to frustrate; and we can only call the attention of the Third International to the fact.

The I.S.L. and its Task

The International Socialist League, soon after it parted company with the Labour Party, declared for the solidarity of Labour irrespective of race, colour or creed. Imbued with the ideas of De Leon, as popularized in the splendid series of Marxian pamphlets issued by the S.L.P. of America and Great Britain, the League proclaimed the principal of Industrial Unionism, placing in the Parliamentary fight the fight to end parliaments, and to replace them by the class state of the workers functioning through their industrial unions. Therefore craft unions were declared odious as dividing the workers instead of uniting them on the larger basis of industry. And as part of this craft disunity the exclusion of the native workers from part or lot in the Labour Movement was denounced as a crime. To us, the rather mechanical formula of De Leon's Industrial Unionism (which was deemed capable of performing a bloodless revolution by "a lock-out of the capitalist class") was made a living thing by its application to the native workers. Later on the word became flesh in the Soviets, and we no longer worry overmuch about the craft or professional form which the older unions have taken.

The League having thus been captured by the De Leonites, the reform pacifists gave us the cold shoulder, and several slunk back into the Labour Party. The League also formed branches which have had fluctuating success in the Reef towns of Krugersdorp, Benoni, Springs and Germiston, also at Durban and Kimberley. Durban has also had for years a small group calling itself the Social Democratic Party, followers of Hyndman in war and peace. This body refused to link up with the I.S.L. on the excuse that we were only the Labour Party under another name. It was allowed to hold its meetings during the war by an arrangement with the

police that it would leave the war out of its propaganda. At this time the I.S.L. was being mobbed by the organized hooligans of the police and prosecuted for its class war propaganda. This S.D.P. outfit still follows Hyndman in sneering at the Third International and the Russian Revolution, and may justly be put down as of no account. The Social Democratic Federation of Capetown was also unwilling to link up for other reasons. It was composed of pro-warites and anti-warites, and the Jingo and Pacifists remained in peace together. The I.S.L. was reformist because it fought elections, and the "men from the north," as they called us, were accused of trying to sow disunity in the Federation by its neophyte enthusiasm for Karl Marx as the only authority! Comrade Harrison, one of the members of the S.D.F., carried on a valiant open-air propaganda on anti-militarism and what he calls "philosophical anarchy," for which he was repeatedly prosecuted. Latterly a body of young class war enthusiasts broke away from the S.D.F. and formed the Industrial Socialist League. Anti-political, they thought to emphasize the fact by the word "Industrial." It has now proclaimed itself the Communist Party of Africa. The I.S.L. itself also suffered a breakaway of anti-political anarchists for its persistency in fighting elections. This group also formed itself into a "Communist Party" in unison with the Capetown group. The I.S.L. has made attempts since the proclamation of the Moscow theses to unite these groups into the Third International. The reply of the Johannesburg group objected to the twenty-one conditions and "to the dictatorship of Moscow" (meaning the dictatorship of the Marxian principles). Comrade E. J. Brown, a member of the I.S.L. recently expelled from the Belgian Congo for trade union agitation there, has been more successful in Capetown in the matter of unifying the sound revolutionary elements, and forming a group anxious to fight under the banner of the Third International. The I.S.L. waits on these elements to fall into line before definitely transferring itself into the South African Communist Party of the Third International.

The number of Leagues and Parties all claiming to be revolutionary must not be taken as indicating a large revolutionary following. The I.S.L.'s election results have been very meagre indeed. The best poll was that of Comrade Andrews in Benoni in 1917 with 335 votes against 1,200 odd for the successful candidate. Since then the election results in Benoni have dwindled considerably. The mass of voteless native workers makes it impossible for us to win elections in South Africa. The necessity for propaganda, the need to keep the two streams of the proletariat theoretically one, the need to appeal on the political plane on class issues affecting the native, and above all the advisability of opening as far as possible the arena of civil right for the native struggle makes it imperative nevertheless that we fight elections. The League is by far the largest of the groups that I have mentioned, undoubtedly larger than all the rest combined, and the only one of any political significance. Any worker who puts up a fight for class solidarity in the Transvaal Unions is thereby deemed a supporter of the I.S.L. It has a large circle of passive sympathisers, as evidenced by the number that follow its banner in the May Day

procession, in which the trade unions co-operate. Nevertheless the League's membership has never exceeded four hundred at any time. And latterly the number of militants who have emigrated to Europe has weakened our organization. It is denied the support and inspiration of the great mass of the propertiless proletariat on which the European parties are able to draw. The revolutionary movement depends almost entirely on a few advanced spirits drawn from the thin upper crust of Labour aristocracy. Owing to the heavy social disabilities and political backwardness the natives are not able to supply any active militants to the Communist movement. The immediate needs of white trades unionism, in which a number of our members are actively engaged, tends to throw the more difficult task of native emancipation into the background. The white movement dominates our attention, because the native workers' movement moves only spasmodically, and is neglected. It requires a special department, with native linguists and newspapers. All of which require large funds, which are not available. The Jewish community, with its anti-war and pro-Russian sympathies, has given generous support to our funds. But as the revolution clarifies, this support is now confined to the Jewish revolutionaries proper.

It will thus be seen that the I.S.L. has a particularly heavy task falling upon the shoulders of a few militants who have stuck doggedly to it for over five years. The present writer, having also left Africa for the time being, feels it his duty to appeal for some reinforcement to the South African movement, and to urge that it should come more directly under the purview of the Third International. A few missionaries, revolutionists who need a spell of sunshine, would be very welcome. Primitive though they be, the African natives are ripe for the message of the Communist International. Speed the day when they too will march with "the iron battalions of the proletariat."

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I.W.W. Representative Returns from Russia

Submits Interesting Report

CHICAGO.—George Hardy, General Secretary of the Industrial Workers of the World, who has just returned from a six months' visit to Europe, where he attended the International Conference of Industrial Unions, held in Berlin some months ago, in a report to the thirteenth annual convention of his organisation, now being held here, recommends affiliation with the Industrial International and closer unity between the North American I.W.W. and I.W.W. and other revolutionary labour groups of Latin-America. He declares that no other organisation in the world has the same influence, from a revolutionary standpoint, as the I.W.W.

Touching upon home issues he urges greater efforts among the coloured workers of America and more co-ordination between the various parts of the organisation, from the job branch to the general office. He stresses the importance of industrial education and the carrying on of industrial research to the greatest possible extent, recommending that handbooks giving the facts on the various industries be written.

Hardy was detained in a German jail for a month, incommunicado, because he was without passports. He finally arrived in Russia, where he conferred with Lenin and active union men and visited factories. As a result of his observations in the Soviet republic Hardy reports, in comparing conditions there with conditions in this country, that those who control the economic organisations will control the revolution.

He said he found that in Russia there is a group of workers who believe that the industrial unions are capable of running the industries, irrespective of the government. The I.W.W. Secretary, however, states that the Communists were in the majority on most factory committees, notwithstanding the charge that they know little about factory management.

Of the movement of revolutionary bodies of workers in other countries Hardy has this to say:

"We have the support of the Italian Syndicalist movement, which is stronger and better organised than our own. The Italian Syndicalists look upon the I.W.W. as a leading revolutionary movement. . . . The Germans are also looking to the I.W.W. and take our papers. The Scandinavian countries have squabbles among themselves as to which is nearest the I.W.W. The Danes say they are, and the difference between the two is that the Danes have a centralised organisation, using the boring-from-within tactics. The Swedes are a federation organisation and decentralised."

Socialist Unity in South Africa

[We have published, in the columns of the *Communist Review*, the brilliant statement of Comrade D. Ivon Jones upon the development of Communism in South Africa. For the further information of our readers we publish the reply of the Durban S.D.P. to the attempt of the Communists to organise the whole South-African movement upon a revolutionary basis.]

THE Socialist Unity Committee has received the reply of the S.D.P., Durban, to the invitation to link up in a united South African Communist Party. It is as follows:

"That the Social Democratic Party adheres to its previous decision, namely, that the twenty-one points of the Third International, not being applicable to South African conditions, can in no way be accepted as a basis for Socialist Unity in South Africa."

The reasons given for this decision are as follows:

"The conditions of affiliation to the Third International are expressed in what is familiarly known as the Twenty-one Points. In our opinion, as far as they are calculated to apply to South Africa, they are impracticable.

"Their spirit, as well as their practicability, might have, with little dispute, been applicable and justifiable in Russia prior to the Russian Revolution, but, while there is room for doubt as to the wisdom of their applicability to Russia to-day, there is no room for doubt as to, not only their impracticability in South Africa, but their being a menace and a hindrance to intelligent socialist propaganda and organisation.

"The spirit of the 21 points, and the policy they represent, is not only hostile to the spirit, principle and policy of the Social Democratic Party, but they are foreign to the spirit and temperament of the people of South Africa.

"Unlike the Russian people, we have been accustomed to a degree of liberty, with the result that a spirit and temperament, fundamentally different to the Russian, has developed amongst us. To ignore this fact is to throw away our opportunity for intelligent socialist propaganda.

"Socialist propaganda can only be effective by dealing with our people and our institutions as we find them in South Africa, and not as they might be somewhere else.

"The Third International demands agitation be carried on in the country districts. To apply this to South Africa is to play with the seriousness of our work.

"It demands the denouncing of hypocritical and false social pacifism. Surely it is our business to explain why our opinions are right, and where the opinions of our opponents are wrong? Merely to denounce is to prove nothing.

"It demands ruptures within trade unions, co-operative societies, etc., because of its disagreement with their policy, and the influence of individuals who are not in agreement with the Third International. Such demands are not only unnecessary and ill-advised in South Africa, but they can only have the effect of creating a hooliganism within the whole of the working class movement. The most conscious enemies of the trade unions, etc., could not have devised a better scheme for smashing the only effective organisations the workers have.

"The Third International demands that these things be done quickly and without discussion. In making this demand the Third International is asking us to give up the thing we value most—the right to our opinion, and to advise when we think necessary.

"The Third International demands the expulsion of Imperialists from the Colonies. It might as well, and with more logic, demand that they be expelled from the face of the earth. It is asking us to waste our time.

"The Third International demands that its members fight the trade unions who are associated with the Amsterdam Trade Union International. When one considers this demand in conjunction with its other demands, and the spirit that is embodied in them, it is easy to predict that it must add to the already many difficulties that stand between the existing organisations and complete unity.

"The Third International demands that its members carry on a secret propaganda amongst the military forces. There is no necessity for such secrecy in South Africa. This demand makes it quite clear that those responsible for the 21 conditions had ever in their minds the conditions in Russia prior to the Revolution.

"It demands that there shall be periodical house cleanings of the Party to get rid of bourgeois and special interest elements. No one will deny that there should be no place for the self-seeker in the socialist movement, but, while no amount of rules and regulations can eliminate that element, nor keep the movement pure, it means constant suspicion, distrust, strife, and the stifling of all personal generosity within any movement imbued with the spirit of the Third International as implied in its 21 points.

"The contents, spirit and methods of the 21 conditions can in no way be calculated to inspire to self-reliance the believers and followers of the Third International.

"Its aim, perhaps unconsciously, is bureaucratic—authority centralised in the hands of officials—and must eventually become almost, if not entirely, unapproachable by any one single nation, and will make possible a dictatorship of the proletariat—not a

dictatorship 'by' the proletariat as many believe—which is contrary to the tenets and spirit of democracy as we understand it.

"The references, contained in the 21 points, to individuals whom it disagrees with, and the spirit of those references, disqualifies the Third International as a body competent to advise and inspire the international working class.

"As a result of our experience we have no hesitation in stating that, at least, the European workers of South Africa will neither take their lead from, nor accept the spirit of, the 21 points. They are not only not applicable to South Africa, but they are also not desirable.

"If we are to judge of the penalties for disagreement with the Third International by the spirit of its 21 conditions, then democracy is safer, with all our difficulties, for the development of its individuality under existing conditions, than it is likely to be under the dictatorship of Moscow.

"The religion of the Third International, and the spirit of the 21 conditions, is hate. It condemns but does not explain. It deals with conditions that have no existence, at least in South Africa. It provides for a dictatorship that means dragging the people into a particular groove which will prevent the making of a backward proletariat into an intelligent democracy.

"We are convinced that South African Socialist Unity can never be effectively brought about on the basis of the Twenty-one conditions of the Third International. The elements of dissention already exist amongst them who have declared whole-heartedly for it. For instance, Comrade Harrison, representing the United Communist Party of Capetown, proposed that the Twenty-one Points of the Third International be accepted unreservedly and objected to any tampering with them, yet, later in the day, he told the conference that he was a philosophical anarchist, and would not tolerate a dictatorship of any kind or form. There is no need for us to furnish further proof for our contention.

"In conclusion, while we are of opinion that the twenty-one conditions of the Third International will become historical, in the sense that they are a fair index of the feeling of millions of men and women in every part of the world who have been, and are being, crushed as a result of the private ownership of the means of life and the class rule which arises from it, but they will never be more than a monument to remind posterity of our inability and failure to appreciate the conditions necessary to a Social Revolution.

"As a result of the discussion on Socialist Unity, we are strengthened in our conviction that the policy of the Social Democratic Party affords the most effective means for taking part with the workers in the class struggle, which is going on now, as well as helping them to interpret it, without losing in any way its identity as a party working consciously for Socialism, or weakening in its conception of the Class War.

"For the above reasons the Social Democratic Party can neither accept the letter nor the spirit of the Twenty-one Conditions

of the Third International as a basis for Socialist Unity in South Africa.

"On behalf of the Durban Social Democratic Party, I am,

"Fraternally yours,

"J. RONBECK,

"Hon. Secretary."

Argentine

SINCE the exclusion from the Socialist Party of the Argentine of the left wing, the Communist Party has reached a total of 4,000 active and disciplined members. The Young Communist League has made splendid progress, and the membership numbers 2,000. The group of Communist students at the universities is affiliated to the League, and is producing a university review called *Insurrexit*. Many of the teachers in the ordinary schools are also in sympathy with the movement.

In the Trade Union movement of the Argentine, two Federations of Unions exist. One is called the "Federation of the Fifth Congress," because it holds to the principles laid down at the Fifth Trade Union Congress; it is essentially a Communist-Anarchist body. Its leaders are, in reality, only radical in their speeches, while the masses are instinctively revolutionary. The approximate number of its members may be estimated at 20,000 to 24,000. The other Federation, with a membership of about 90,000, is known as the Federation of the Tenth Congress, and is a reformist body. In practice, although it is entirely reformist, it is more advanced than the Swiss Syndical Union. The bureaucrats of the Yellow Trade Unions managed by a cunning stratagem, at the last Congress of the Federation, to avoid having to answer the proposals of the Communists, leading towards the change from Amsterdam to Moscow. All the same they were not able to avoid the formation of a unification committee of the two Federations, and of those groups which are not affiliated to either (about 40,000 workers in all), amongst whom are the Union of Motor Drivers, 15,000 strong. In this committee, elected directly by the Congress, the Communists are in a majority.

This result was achieved by the intense activity of the Communists, in spite of the fact that they were in a minority. The committee will work towards unification while looking forward to adhesion to the Red Trade Union International.

Avant Garde, 4th July, 1921.

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Germany

The Organisation of the German Communist

TO be a Communist in Germany means to be subjected to a most severe discipline and a crushing load of work. The details of the organisation of the Party have already been published. The following instructions have been given to the leaders of the smallest bodies, the groups of ten, and published in the German Communist press:—

“Comrades who are leaders of groups of ten ought to know thoroughly all the members of their group, in order to value them at their correct worth. Each individual has qualities and powers that can be useful to the party. Above all it is necessary to avoid those who cannot keep their mouths shut.

“You should go often to visit comrades who do not seem to be keen enough. If you do not succeed at once, you must not lose your courage—or your temper.

“You can confide in comrades who are discreet and do their jobs quietly, but with talkers you must be quiet.

“Do not consider yourself as being above the others. You are simply the responsible member of a group which must give all the abilities of all its comrades to the cause.

“Do not forget that the group of ten ought to be the cell in which the work of the party struggle must be organised. Your group must become a single unit.

“Every member ought to have definite work to do for the Party. In the tasks that affect the Party as a whole every member ought to participate. When the Party summons its members, all your little group ought to be present, punctually.

“If your group preserves discipline and is at the right place at the right moment, it is a sign that it is valuable and that you are a model leader.”

Humanité.

The Trial of Holtz

THE police and the military guards made the trial of Holtz an occasion for a real military parade. It was as if we were back again in the times of William II., on the day of a military review.

In the hall of the court there was a tightly-packed crowd, mostly consisting of gentlemen with monocles and pretty ladies longing for a new sensation.

Holtz's lawyer went to the prison to accompany him to the Court, in order to see that he was not killed “while attempting to escape” on the way, as was the fate of Liebnicht, Sylt, and so many others. Holtz came into Court at half-past nine, wearing the blue shirt that is worn by convicts.

He pleaded guilty proudly to the numerous charges brought against him, denying only the accusation of murder. In the details of the other charges he pointed out several inexactitudes. "I am not here," he said, "as the accused, but as the accuser of the bourgeois society of which you (turning towards the judges) are the representatives. You have called me here not in the name of justice, but in the interests of the bourgeoisie."

"Do you admit," asked the presiding judge, "that you took part in the rising in March?" "Of course," was the reply; "it was my duty as a revolutionary."

"Do you admit having signed an appeal inciting the people to set fire to every corner of towns that the government troops tried to occupy?"

"Yes!"—the word comes sharp and vigorous. Holtz shows openly his hatred of the bourgeoisie, in every line and movement of his body.

When the judge insinuated that the March insurrection was brought about by Moscow, Holtz replied: "Neither the Russian Communist Party nor the German aroused the insurrection. The workers were angered by the provocative actions of Hoersling. The German Communist Party limited itself to supporting the movement, which it was its duty to do. As to the Russian Communist Party, it had absolutely nothing to do with the outbreak of the movement."

"But Levy, who was the President of the German Communist Party, says the opposite."

"And that is why he is no longer a member of the Communist Party!"

Later there came the hearing of the doctors, during which Holtz's whole life was passed in review. The son of a peasant, he was a shepherd when a boy. At about the age of eighteen he went to England, where he educated himself at a Polytechnic, while earning his living by washing cabs at night.

He was conscripted during the war, and suffered an injury to his head due to a fall from his horse. While suffering from this injury he attempted to commit suicide; the prison doctor tried to prove by this that he was not responsible for his actions.

Later he explained how he came to join the Communist Party. While president of the Union of Unemployed he was hunted by the police, and a price was put on his head. He had to live in Germany, under a false name. After the Kapp "putsch" he fled to Czecho-Slovakia. For some months he was without lodgings. "I lived," he said, "amongst thousands of families of workers, who would share their last crust with me. The misery I saw amongst them, and their generosity made me the Communist that I am."

The judge tried to cut short a witness who was speaking of the brutalities and the assassinations committed by the police.

"That's right!" cried Holtz. "The jury is not interested in the murder of workers. It is not I who ought to be sitting here in

the dock, it is the murderers of the workers. But they take no risks. They can do what they like."

And suddenly the position seemed reversed. The accused became in truth the accuser. In vehement words he branded the course of the reaction. A cold shiver ran through the court. And the judge, feeling that things were going wrong, hurried up the end of the session.

Humanité, 20th June, 1921.

Switzerland

The Single Front of the Proletariat

THE idea of the constitution of a united front of the Swiss proletariat penetrates more and more into the organised masses, in spite of the violent campaign that the reformist T.U. Bureaucracy is leading against the Communists and this united front.

The first act of the Committee of Action, elected by the Olten-Trimbach Conference, in which the Socialist Party and the Swiss Syndical Union refused to assist, but at which were represented eleven workers' unions, and seven Federations, was to send out a new letter to the workers' organisations. This letter asked them to discuss amongst themselves the question of a united front, and the immediate convocation of a Congress of the Swiss Trade Union Council. The Committee of Action bases this convocation of Congress on Art. 5 of the Statutes of the U.S.S., which holds "that a third of the Federations affiliated, or a third of the T.U. groups comprising at least one-fifth of the members of the U.S.S. can demand the calling of an extraordinary Congress."

The Socialist papers and most of those of the T.U. Federations have violently opposed this calling of Congress. Their only argument, and a feeble one at that, is that the expense that such a Congress would entail would be 50,000 francs. (The truth is that the Reformist Socialists and Trade Unionists fear that the masses threatened everywhere by a reduction in wages, might arrive by instinct at the idea of a united front).

It must be pointed out that the members of the Socialist Party are not unanimously opposed to a united front. At Geneva the party was divided on this subject. At Saint Gall, in the Volkstimme a Socialist has made his party very indignant by suggesting that the united front was already realised by the General Strike of November, 1918. At Zurich the Party is equally divided.

In spite of the virulent campaign against the Communists the Congress will take place. The Committee of Action has already assembled the number of votes necessary for the calling of the Extraordinary Congress; thirty Workers' Unions and seven Federations have already pronounced in favour. The Committee of Action is now occupied in putting together the propositions. In a first meeting it was unanimously agreed that a complete change in tactics should respond to the present economic situation. The

creation of fighting funds, central and local, becomes a necessity. A member of the Committee has been charged with formulating the attitude to be adopted, and the consequent tactics and organisation arising therefrom. At the next meeting the Committee will discuss this report, and will present a complete order of the day of the Extraordinary Congress, and the demand for the calling of this conference to the Committee of the U.S.S.

While the organised masses leave it and pass it by, the Trade Union bureaucracy becomes exasperated. The Journal of the Woodworkers' Federation, published a grave declaration. It says that the Syndical Union should have taken the decision to sabotage the convocation of this Congress.

In any case, sabotage has already commenced. In a recent article appearing in *La Lutte Syndicale*, entitled "An Indispensable Divorce," Achille Gropierre calls for a split within the Trade Unions.

But the Committee of Action is taking all necessary measures so that sabotage may be prevented, and so that the Congress assembles legally and in an atmosphere of sanity.

Humanité, 23rd June, 1921.

The Criminal Laws in Switzerland

THE commencement of the so-called preventive arrests, which is but a foretaste of the Criminal Laws the Federal Council is preparing, was discussed recently by the National Council.

It gave place to a lively incident between our comrade Fritz Platten, who made a telling speech in condemnation of these arrests, and Emile Rysler, who lately joined the International Labour Office, directed by Albert Thomas.

Comrade Fritz Platten said: "Capitalists and Communists are separated by a whole world. The reactionary measures, dictated by the desire of maintaining the privileges of the bourgeois class—or, to put it briefly, the Capitalist State—show us that *any means are good enough* for this "democracy" in order to subjugate the proletariat and to prevent it rising against the oppression of which it is the victim.

"Will these rash measures be sufficient to calm or quell the revolution that surges in the Communist masses? No. *Neither dragooning measures nor even prison will prevent us from acting.* Our liberty of movement which they are trying to take away is as necessary as ever. Whatever will be impossible for us to obtain legally, we will obtain illegally if we are obliged to. We shall then work secretly. We shall reach the proletarian masses individually, in the workshops—everywhere. Will they be able to stop this activity? No. Unless they place a policeman at the side of every worker.

"The sympathies of the proletariat for us communists will be the more firm and all the more vigorous as the repression waxes stronger.

We will fight with all our forces the "initiative," termed preventive arrests, as we will do any legal project aimed at the Communists.

" This departure called ' preventive arrests, ' " adds Platten, " is the first action of the Swiss Fascisti. It would be naïve to think that these laws, even admitting their origin, will frighten us. *Quite on the contrary, they will stimulate the class war,* and will point out to the masses the necessity for overthrowing the present bourgeois organisation, and replacing it by the dictatorship of the Proletariat, and new economic measures. We know that it is impossible for us to persuade the bourgeoisie of the need for an immediate change in our economic status. It is for the proletarians to attend to this need, by a fight to the finish, even if it means the adoption of the same illegal methods the bourgeoisie wants to use against us.

" Our methods of combat will depend on the attitude of the capitalist power."

To the argument of individual liberty, handed out by the bourgeoisie, Platten replied :

" What do you mean by liberty ? The liberty to exploit the proletarian masses in order to enrich yourselves, while from time to time casting them a bone to gnaw ?

" If those who are half-starved by your fault acquire some of your effects in order to win back a particle of what is due to them, you cast them into gaol.

" Your conceptions of bourgeois liberty are translated by the laws of exception, and by prison. That is the reflex of your sentimentality. The democracy you invoke is nothing but pure exploitation. Hypocrites ! "

During the course of his speech, Platten made some highly justifiable remarks on the Socialist Party, on the manner in which the latter lead " the fight, " and developed the revolutionary conception of the Communist Party. Ryser, Albert Thomas's right-hand man believing himself watched, then began speaking by insulting the Communists and Platten in particular, thus placing himself clearly on the side of the bourgeoisie.

After having traced the history of the Zimmerwald and Kienthal movements, Ryser declared that it was since the " . . . unknown elements " had slipped into the ranks of the workers that division had commenced.

" We perceived in our ranks people who although doing very little work agitate the masses. Monsieur Platten is one of those. *To-day we do not know whether the money he possesses comes from Berne or from Moscow.* In any case, we have nothing in common with these people."

" From Berne " implies that the bourgeois agent, Ryser, considers our Comrade Platten as an agent provocateur in the pay of the Swiss Police.

The Socialist Press, with the exception of *La Sentinelle*, of Cheux-de-Fonds, have disassociated themselves with the words of Ryser. Grimm, in the *Berner Tagwacht* has declared that it was more honest to be in the service of the revolutionary party (Platten is one of the Secretaries of the S.C.P.), than to be like Ryser, in the pay of the bourgeoisie.

THE "INITIATIVE" IS REJECTED.

The National Council has been unanimous in rejecting the initiative of preventive anests. But it must not be concluded that the Swiss bourgeoisie is opposed to the Criminal Laws. It has rejected this measure because the Federal Council has prepared a revision of the penal code, in which will be introduced laws even stricter than those proposed in the "initiative." The debate on the actual Criminal Laws will continue after the Federal Council has sent its message to the National Council, and to the State Council.

Humanité, 29th July.

Spain

The White Terror in Spain

THE Spanish C.G.T. has sent the following appeal to the Spanish comrades working in France, and to all the workers. "We wish to make clear to everyone the circumstances in which three of our comrades have been treacherously assassinated. The three comrades were Boal, Secretary of the Confederation, Felin, the treasurer, and Dominguez. They had been imprisoned since March in the "Carcel Modelo" (the modern Bastille) at Barcelona. Here are the facts as to their murder:

On the 17th of June, the Mayor of Barcelona, while going towards his home, was set upon in James I. Street by three unknown men, who fired several revolver shots at him, wounding him slightly in several places. None of the men were arrested.

The Chief of Police, Arlegui, had already declared before witness that "for each bourgeois attacked and for each member of the free trade unions (that is to say, of the yellow, or more correctly, of the police unions), three of your people will die."

The attack on the Mayor took place at mid-day. At midnight Boal and his two comrades were asked to sign the roll of those about to be set at liberty. They did so at once, but contrary to custom ten policemen were put in charge of them, instead of their being set free at once. They were taken to the Prefecture of Police, and there beaten brutally, until it was impossible to recognise them. The criminal cowardice of these lackeys of the bourgeoisie did not end there. Each of the victims, as he left the Prefecture, was followed by two policemen, who forced them to separate after they had gone a few hundred yards.

And a few moments later several shots were heard. They were echoed by those in a neighbouring street, and followed later other shots in a third street.

When the authorities were ready, they sent to find out what was happening. Their agents were able to announce that our three comrades were dead. The bullets which struck them had been fired from behind, and had come out through their faces.

We have returned to the days of the Torquemada! When will this new Inquisition end? How far will these wild beasts go in their hateful tyranny?

What words could be strong enough to brand these deeds and mark our sorrow and our hate?

Workers of the world, help us in our fight against this barbarism!

THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE.

La Vie Ouvriere, 1st July, 1921.

Roumania

Communists and Social-Democrats

AT the Congress of the Roumanian Socialist Party, which took place some time ago, 432 delegates voted for the Communists and 111 for the Social-Democrats and the Independents. Two took part, but voted for neither one nor the other.

Immediately after this Communist victory in Roumania the government ordered the arrest of the whole Congress, and the closing down of the Peoples House. All documents and brochures were seized. The Social-Democratic representative Gregorowicz, from the Bukowina, dared not demand of the government, in the name of the workers (who it is true are not behind him) that the People's House should be put at the disposition of the existing Party. After the arrest of the Congress, the Social-Democrats and the Independents had the courage to call the workers of Bucarest to a meeting to demonstrate against the Communists.

Only 200 to 300 workers went to the great hall in the Via Karol. The working class has shown by that, that it no longer intends following the Social-patriotic monarchists of Roumania. The Roumanian working class protests energetically against the infamous White Terror, which rages in the country. Hundreds of comrades are the victims of this White Terror, and perish in the prisons. The Roumanian proletariat is to-day betrayed by the greater part of its leaders. The great reactionary papers wage a ferocious campaign in articles of several columns, paid for by the capitalists, against the Roumanian proletariat.

The only thing left for the Roumanian workers after the treason of their leaders, is the hope that they have in the international proletariat, which they hope will come to their aid in the fight against Roumanian reaction.

L'Avant Garde, 23rd June.

"Order" Reigns in Roumania

WE have spoken above of the arrest of all the delegates to the last Congress of the Roumanian Socialist Party, following on its adhesion to the Moscow International. The Party which henceforth will be called the Socialist-Communist Party of Roumania (R.S.C.I.) was declared illegal in order to justify the reactionary measures directed against the whole working class.

The Trades Union organs themselves have been dissolved, as a danger to the constitution. The capitalist press and the ministers in the Parliamentary Tribune have decreed the death of the Revolutionary movement in Roumania. They want to stifle Bolshevism in its embryo form.

Eppur si muove! At Kishineff (Bessarabia) 50 Communists have been discovered implicated in a "plot"; at Tighima 15; and a certain number at Bender. At Bairamc ea the local college has been closed by the police, the head master, several professors, all the pupils, and even the priest having been arrested; they all were part of a "vast communistic organisation." These discoveries have not been without dramatic echoes. At Tighima a young communist at the moment of his arrest cut his throat in order to escape the inevitable torture that awaited him. Four others were shot, "Just as they were trying to escape."

Justice in all these cases is exceedingly summary. It employs means whose savagery recalls the inquisition. The unhappy victims "avow" all the absurdities of which the judges and courts-martial accuse them.

Beneath such a barbarous expression it is not to be wondered at that the workers have resorted to desperate means of fight and vengeance. They blow up munition dumps and railway junctions (like Bessarabskaia, for example) throw bombs into the security-police stations, and put out of use the boilers in the factories. The prisons and fortresses are overflowing with Communists, men and women, amongst whom are the E.C. of the Party, the Parliamentary group, all the Congress Delegates, the Central Committee of the Trade Unions, and nearly all the committees and sections of the provincial unions.

The Deputy, Dragon, who dared to ask the Government the reasons for such repression, received from the Minister of the Interior, M. Argletoyanon, the following reply: "*If you also adhere to Moscow you will be imprisoned in Fort Tiliva before to-night like the rest.*"

The Social-Democrats Support the Bourgeoisie

At so difficult a moment for the proletariat and the peasants of Roumania the Social-Democrats cringe before the bourgeoisie. These traitors to the Revolution like corpse plunderers on the field of battle, have thrown themselves on the debris of the socialist and T.U. organisations in order to gain the fruits of the efforts and battles of those who are actually imprisoned. They have reunited at Czernowitz, a conference of the Bukowina Social-Democratic Party, in which they have endeavoured to create an atmosphere favourable to their programme.

And while the courts-martial prepare new communist processes, the Social-Democrats, those faithful agents of the bourgeoisie, prepare a general congress! at Ploesti for the definite constitution of their pan-Rouman Party. At the same time in order to foist themselves on the T.U. organisations, they have arranged in the same town and on the same date, a neutral conference. . . so as

to "regroup all salaried workers in the Trade Unions without fixing for them a determined political attitude . . ."

It is officially announced that the Minister of the Interior has authorised the assemblies of Trade Unions at Bucharest, in order to give them the opportunity of voting for the Social-Democratic Conference, which will take place during July at Ploesti. It is needless to remark that the Congress openly enjoys the support of the Government. The explanation of this fact is simple. After the arrest of the militant Communists the government has sought by all methods of seduction to exercise a pressure on the Trade Unions. It says to them: "Either rally to the Social-Democrats or you will be forbidden collective activity."

Bucharest, June 18th, 1921.

Poland

The Disintegration of the Polish Socialist Party

THE infamous treason of the Polish Socialist Party becomes more and more evident to its members. It disgusts them profoundly as well as the honest members of the administration. No month passes but where one cannot trace the course of a process of irresistible dissolution. We have before us two documents relating to this question.

One is a public declaration of the Deputy to the Sejm, Lancucki, on the subject of his resignation from the P.P.S., along with his fraction in the Sejm. It indicates why he, a sincere Socialist, has for a long time not been in agreement with the ideology of the P.P.S., above all with its tactics, which deny the necessity for the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat for the final aims of socialism. But he kept silent, hoping that the conference of the Party would bring a change, and that the chiefs would repent when they observed that the masses had no more confidence in the tactics adopted up till then by the P.P.S.

He did nothing, on the other hand, the E.C. of the P.P.S. ordered the party to be purged of doubtful elements:—

"What must be understood by doubtful elements?" asks Lancucki, ironically: "Would they be those who are members of the Party but who have nothing of the Socialist about them? Or perhaps the members of the Party who belong to the defensive (that is to say, the political police)? Are you going to purify the party of those people? No! the Party is to be purged of sincere Socialists, who give themselves completely to the Cause, solely because they are not in accord with the tactics of collaboration of the Party heads."

Lancucki's patience was at an end, he no longer wished to constrain his revolutionary conscience, which made him retire from the P.P.S., and join the Communist Party, and recently, for the first time, as a Communist Deputy, on the occasion of a discussion on the project of amnesty in the Sejm, he made an impressive speech against the bourgeoisie, and its government.

The second document is an energetic appeal to the Comrades of the Party belonging to an opposition group in the P.P.S., that has

marched with Lancucki, and has decided to fight the policy of treason of the leaders of the P.P.S.

Here are enumerated the outrages committed against the workers by the "Socialist" Government of Goraczewski, as well as by the coalition Government whose Vice-President was Dazynski. The hypocrisy and charlatanism of the leaders of the P.P.S., with their defence of democracy, is pitilessly demonstrated as "a pretext for the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie"; their nationalist incitements supporting the annexationist desires of Imperialism under the mask of national independence in the Ukraine, in White Russia, in Galicia, in Upper Silesia, and in the Teschen Territory are stigmatised.

The Polish proletariat is here inflicted with a great task. Poland is bordered on the East by Soviet Russia. So long as reaction masters Poland, the Social Revolution will be unable to develop, its development is only possible with the conquering of power by the Polish proletariat. The fight against the National Bourgeoisie for the Polish Social Revolution can only be waged when the whole proletariat is united under the revolutionary banners. But in marching with the White Guards in the defamation of Soviet Russia, the leaders of the P.P.S. destroy this unity of the workers, sow hate against the advance-guard of the working class, and are not even frightened at the destruction of the trades unions.

It has gone so far, that it is only the P.P.S. that the Minister Shulski has allowed to hold demonstrations. He has thus shown that he considers it as the support of the present Polish bourgeois government.

"We cannot permit—it is said by way of conclusion—that a Socialist Party be in the service of the propertied classes. We demand that a stop be put to the distinction of the revolutionary workers' movement. In face of the Bourgeoisie we must form a united front of the working class assembled around the standard of the social revolution. We ask you, comrades, to oppose strongly this policy of compromise of the leaders of the P.P.S. We call you to the fight for the Polish Soviet Republic, for the power of the working class, and for the revolutionary union of all proletarians."

Humanité, 9th July, 1921.

THE editor of the COMMUNIST REVIEW has had some artistic advertisement cards made which draw attention to the REVIEW. These are particularly suitable for branch rooms, workmen's clubs, factories, meetings, literature depots, etc. Anyone who wishes one of these cards should send their name and address to

THE COMMUNIST REVIEW
16 King Street, Covent Garden
London, W.C.2

Some Leaders of the Communist International

MANY students of the Socialist movement are only acquainted with the names, and pictures, of the leaders of the almost defunct Second International. They know about Kautsky, Longuet, Turati, Albert Thomas, etc., but they do not know very much about the new leaders of the revolutionary movement who are rapidly coming to the front. We, therefore, reproduce a few portraits of one or two of the active spirits in the Communist International.

Karl Radek



RADEK, although a young man, is one of the most active fighters in the Russian Communist Party. He is considered to be one of the greatest students of international politics in the world. His articles in the Russian Press are a series of exposures of the imperialistic ambitions of the great capitalist States. He foretells, with an almost miraculous accuracy, what Britain, France and Germany shall do in order to consolidate their power and safeguard the economic interests of their great financiers.

Everyone in Moscow knows Radek. He is easily picked out in a crowd by the number of books and newspapers that he carries. During debates and conferences Radek seems to be completely absorbed in his newspapers, but an indiscreet statement by any delegate brings him immediately to his feet. He is an extremely able and brilliant critic of the shortcomings of the revolutionary movement in Great Britain.

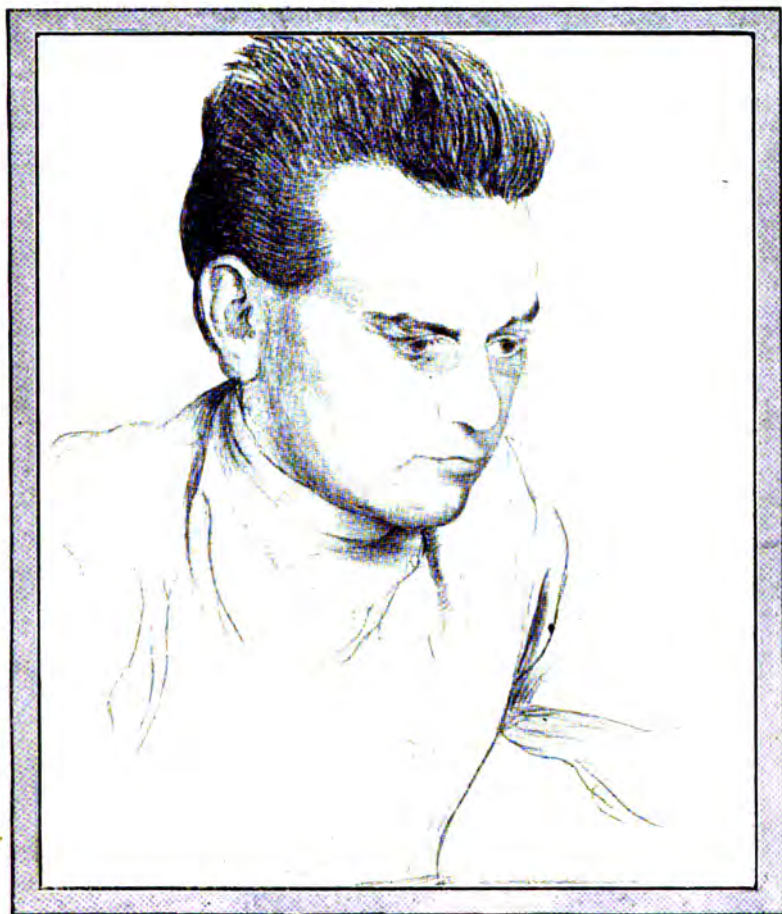
T. A.
1920-



Clara Zetkin

OUR Comrade Zetkin is one of the most respected women fighters in the international working class movement. For an old woman her energy is miraculously amazing, and no one doubts her heroism. She has always been an enthusiastic revolutionary Marxian. Her great anti-militarist fight in Germany during the war, side by side with Franz Mehring, Karl Liebknecht, and Rosa Luxemburg, is known to everyone who has taken any little interest in the history of the revolutionary movement. It was this dauntless quartette of fearless Communists who began the publication of the famous letters of Spartacus, which had such an influence over the militant proletariat, and which laid the foundation of the present (K.A.P.D.) United Communist Party of Germany.

One of the big discussions at the Congress developed round the attitude of Comrade Zetkin during the Communist rising in Germany last March.



Bordiga

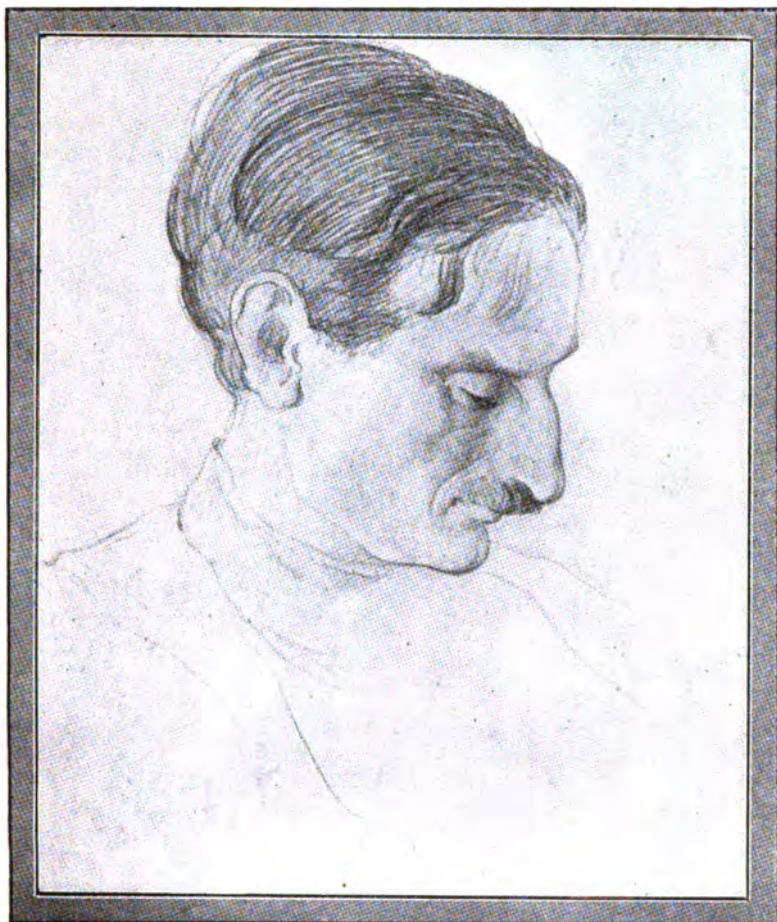
IT is generally assumed by superficial Labourists in this country that the Communist International is a movement directed from Moscow. It is perfectly true that the Communist International Executive—or the “Comintern” as the Russians, who have a passion for abbreviating long words, call it—has its headquarters in Moscow and it is also a fact that the last three International Congresses have been held in Russia. This, however, is because the European “Democracies” which are based on “free speech” and the “freedom of Assembly” would not permit the Communist International to meet in any of their cities. Thus the Congresses, and the Executive Committee of the Communist International, are compelled to go to “terror-ridden” Russia.

Comrade Bordiga, whose portrait we publish, is a young working engineer of Italy, and is one of the most energetic members of the Communist Party in that country.



Zinoviev

ZINOVIEV is the President of the Communist International. He is also at the head of the Soviet Administration of Petrograd. The strain of the terrific work of the past few years is telling upon him, and he looked very ill during the recent International Congress at Moscow. He is a splendid organiser and Petrograd is considered to be the best organised city in Russia. His great fight at Hallé last year, at the Congress of the German Independent Socialist Party, where he was matched against all the intellectuals of the German movement, was one of the greatest platform struggles in political history.



Rosmer

COMRADE ROSMER is a member of the French Communist Party. He is also a member of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, and is a most active worker in the Red Trade Union Bureau. Although not a robust man, Rosmer is a tireless worker. He is one of a little French group, at present situated in Moscow, which includes Jaques Sadoul, Henri Gilbeaux, and Rène Marchand. These three Frenchmen are recent converts to Communism. They visited Russia as opponents of Bolshevism, but were staggered when they discovered the official Communist policy of the Allies in Moscow. Sadoul was in the French Military Mission in Russia, and protested against the savagery of the plots of his government directed against the Soviets. Rène Marchand is a well-known French journalist; he was until recently a conservative and a regular contributor to *Figaro* and *Le Petit Parisien*.



Bela Kun

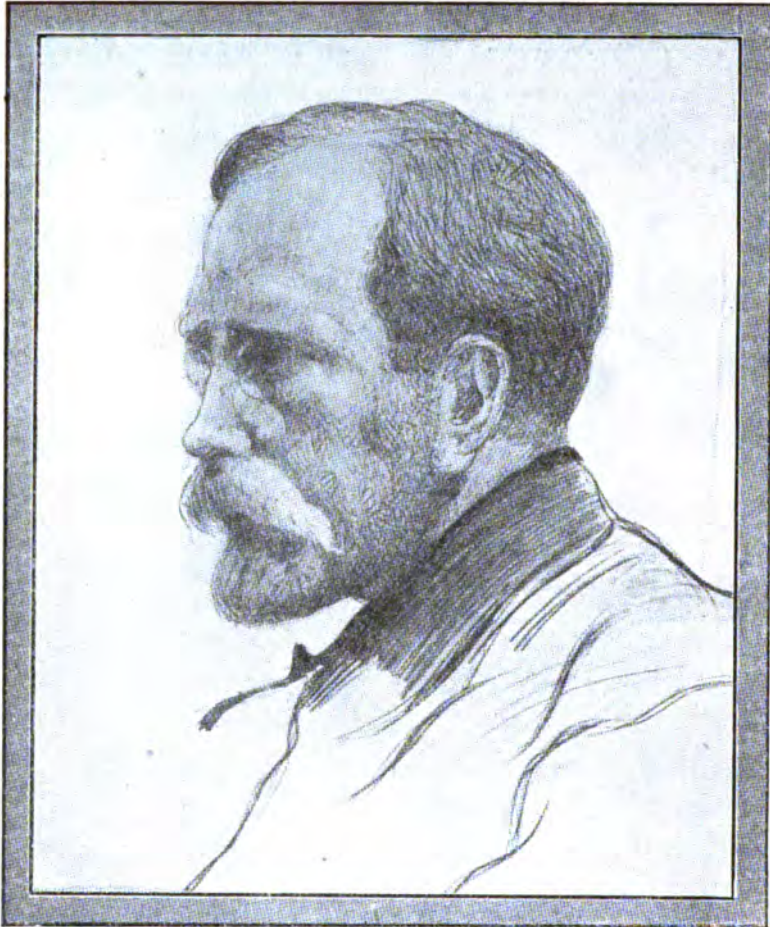
EVERYONE knows that Bela Kun was the head of the short-lived Hungarian Soviet Republic. The failure of the Hungarian Soviet Republic was directly due to the concentration of allied force which was hurled against it. Indirectly the failure of the Hungarian Communist to retain power was occasioned by the cowardice of the centrist Socialists in Austria who, with a little courage, could easily have carried through a revolution and placed political power in the hands of the masses. The effect of this upon Germany at that time, and upon other countries in Central Europe, would have been indescribable. It would have expanded the revolutionary battlefield; it would have absolutely destroyed and un-nerved the international reactionaries; it would have rallied millions of peasants and workers to the red flag; and it might have been possible to have linked a series of Soviet Republics right up to Russia.



Balabanoff

SINCE the Russian Revolution the Soviet has given every encouragement to women to take their place, side by side with the men, in the administrative affairs of the country.

The Russian revolutionary movement has always been very fortunate in so far as some of its best fighters have been women. Comrade Balabanoff is a fearless fighter, and she is well known to the working class of Italy, where she lived for some time. Balabanoff, like her woman comrade, Kollontai, is a splendid linguist. The women comrades of the Communist International are going to organise a special women's section inside the Communist Parties of the various countries. During the recent Congress in Moscow a special conference for women was held which was attended by active women comrades from all lands,



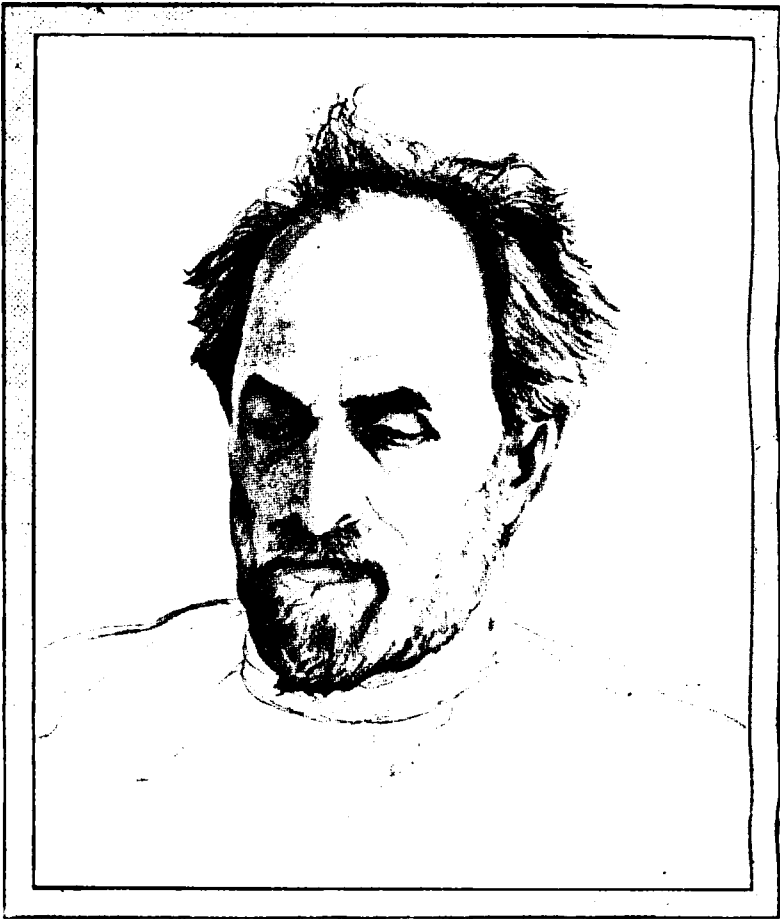
Kameneff

COMRADE KAMENEFF is well known in England. He came here last year on the Soviet Peace delegation, and left the country after a flare-up with Lloyd George. The English Press, in its usual servile manner, printed Lloyd George's statement, but gave a garbled and senseless report of Kameneff's speech. We can assure our readers, however, that Kameneff gave the Prime Minister a very uncomfortable time. The head of the British Government, which had spent over one hundred million pounds in its attempt to crush the Soviets, which had privately subsidised every White Guard murder gang in Russia, and which deliberately forged Soviet newspapers in order to provide "authentic" copy for the English Press campaign against Bolshevism—this government protested against Kameneff interfering in *their* internal affairs! Kameneff is the Chairman of the Moscow Soviet.



Losovsky

ALTHOUGH Comrade Losovsky is not so well known as Lenin, Trotsky, and other prominent members of the Russian Communist Party, he is, nevertheless, one of the finest agitators in the Communist International. He now replaces Tomski as leader of the Red Trade Union International because he is a specialist on industrial organisation. Losovsky is a brilliant speaker and good organiser. He was the head of the Russian Trade Union Delegation which was sent to Britain, but which was not permitted to land in this country. This incident vividly illustrated the pretentiousness of modern democracy which our sentimental friends of the Labour Party are so enthusiastic about. It may be remembered that the Soviet Government invited a British delegation to visit Russia. They even welcomed such avowed enemies of revolutionary socialism as Mrs. Snowden, Tom Shaw, M. P., Haden Guest, and other reactionaries of the British Labour movement.



Makaradze

COMRADE MAKARADZE is one of the leaders of the Georgian Communist Party which transformed Georgia into one of the Federated Soviet Republics. The leaders of the I.L.P. were rather enthusiastic about the "Independent" Republic of Georgia until it set up a Soviet Republic, and declared for the Proletarian Dictatorship. It did not matter to people like Mr. Ramsay MacDonald that the "Independent" State of Georgia—with its whole retinue of moderate, Menshevik, Socialists—was simply a subsidised tool in the hands of the Allied States to be used against Soviet Russia. Mr. MacDonald, after his return from Georgia last year, wrote an article in which he outlined a policy to be adopted by the government which, strangely enough, coincided with the reactionary and imperialistic designs of Earl Curzon, working on behalf of the oil interests

The COMMUNIST REVIEW

THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

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Review of the Month

A Word About Ourselves

THE COMMUNIST REVIEW is getting into its stride. So great was the demand for the last number that we were compelled to print 4,000 extra copies! With our present circulation the COMMUNIST REVIEW sweeps to the front as the most widely read monthly journal in the British Labour movement. We are pleased to observe that articles from the REVIEW are reprinted in many of the most important revolutionary journals of other countries. The result of this is that we are attracting some of the greatest writers in the Communist International, who have promised to send contributions to our pages.

In this month's issue we publish some very important articles dealing with the international situation. The splendid translation of Rosa Luxemburg's famous speech should settle for all time the childish anarcho-syndicalist prattle that she was an anti-parliamentarian. Rosa Luxemburg, like the leaders of the Communist International, recognised the agitational revolutionary value of combatting and unmasking the capitalist class and its Labourist defenders in the political National Assembly of the bourgeoisie.

Caerphilly

THE entrance of the Communist Party into the political arena in the Caerphilly section of the South Wales coalfield has achieved the result we set out to obtain. We had a much more important mission to perform in this election than merely to obtain votes. The gathering of votes is the beginning and the end, the one and all, of the professional parliamentarians of the Labour Party. It matters nothing to them how they mislead the masses so long as they can scrape in ballots for their candidate. The Communist Party participated in the Caerphilly parliamentary election, not to capture votes, but to spread the principles of Communism, to unmask the treacheries of the Labour Party, to ram home the lessons of the miners' lock-out, and to show the workers the road, the only road, to class power. Our real triumph is not determined by the return of a Communist to the House of Commons, but in the amount of revolutionary and agitational propaganda that we can do during the electoral struggle.

We contested Caerphilly because the Labour Party and Sir Basil Thomson sought to make our organisation an illegal one, and hoped to force us underground and crush us out of existence. Our entrance into the parliamentary struggle demonstrated to the masses that the Communist Party is a legal organisation, which seeks to carry on its many activities in the open where the masses can see it in action and where they can measure and test its work with that of every other Labour group in the country.

As the fight in Caerphilly developed the political issue became ever clearer. During the first few days of the contest the Labour Party and the I.L.P. claimed to be as good Communists as anybody inside the Communist Party. But when we elaborated our revolutionary tactics and explained to the miners that their emancipation could only be achieved by organised *Power*, and not by democracy, the Labour Party retreated so rapidly to the Right that their statements against Communism became more vindictive than those of the capitalist candidates and the open and avowed reactionaries. Another noticeable feature was that the I.L.P. began its campaign by directing all its attention and energy against the capitalist candidate and by treating the Communists with a contemptuous disdain because their influence was considered to be infinitesimal. As the campaign drew to a close, as the literature and speeches of the Communists began to penetrate into the minds of the electors, the I.L.P. concentrated its whole attack upon the Communist Party. Ramsay MacDonald was imported into the constituency to fight the Communists, which he did in the best Horatio Bottomley manner; and the *Labour Leader*, the official organ of the I.L.P. dropped its mask and struck out at the Communists in a manner which eclipsed the reactionary *Morning Post*. During the last days of the contest both the Coalition and the Labour Parties brought every available speaker into the constituency in order to undermine the work of the Communists.

The full power of the trade-union bureaucracy of the official Labour Party was brought to bear upon the *Daily Herald*, which came out with frantic appeals and urged the electors to vote for

the I.L.P. Thus the Communist Party found itself confronted with the organised battalions of reactionary Capital and Labourism. So manifest was it in the constituency that the Communists alone represented the revolutionary standpoint, that the miners dubbed them "the Reds."

Centre of World Reaction

Small wonder that the workers in other countries look upon Britain as the centre, and as the driving force, of international reaction. Britishers have made themselves notorious for their many attacks upon Soviet Russia. British armies have been used to crush every glimmering of national and racial independence in Ireland, Egypt, India, Persia, Mesopotamia, and elsewhere. British force and finance have been handed out to buttress and subsidise every reactionary and White Guard conspiracy in the world. And now that the ruling class of Spain is sore pressed by the workers on one hand and by the Moors on the other hand, it is only necessary for the Spanish authorities in London to whisper that they need soldiers, when, lo and behold! thousands of Englishmen roll up to "do their bit" in a struggle which has nothing at all to do with them. So great was the anxiety shown by thousands of Britishers to sell themselves, for a few coppers per day, that many of them waited all night outside of the offices of the Spanish Consulate in order to be enrolled the following morning. The Communist Party issued a manifesto to the men who clamoured to be enrolled as Spain's "Black and Tans"—to be used for the same purpose in Morocco as Britain's "Black and Tans" are used in Ireland. The majority of the men who offered to fight for Spain were unemployed wretches who were willing to face death abroad in the service of a foreign power rather than starve at home. These men, by their eagerness to fight in Morocco, to face death for about 3s. per day, prove that the workers do not lack courage; they have exploded the lie that the unemployed do not want work and would not take jobs if any were found for them. The Communist Party manifesto called upon these men to enter a struggle, not on behalf of a foreign government attempting to enslave certain tribes seeking to attain their freedom, but to take their place in the *class struggle at home* and free themselves from the enslavement of their own masters who are on their own doorstep. Capitalism offers the workers two things—either to fight to enslave the masses of other lands or to fight to free themselves at home.

These be your "Leaders"

TO the treachery of J. H. Thomas, Williams, and Bevin must be added that of Herbert Smith and the other miners' leaders. We now know from the brazen confession of these men at the recent miners' conference that their heart and spirit was not in the struggle during the lock-out. They neither had the will nor the determination to win, and consequently the miners were disastrously defeated. As honest men, their position was clear. When they realised that they could not carry out the demands

of the determined rank and file, then they ought to have resigned and made way for the younger, more active and courageous leaders who would gladly have taken their places. The more we learn about the doings of the leaders connected directly and indirectly with the miners' lockout, the more the truth is forced upon us that one of the most dastardly plots in the history of Labour was planned, organised, and successfully carried out. We are now beginning to comprehend the real depths of the rascality that inspired the careerists in the trade union bureaucracy. Their policy was to so manipulate the miners' lock-out to inevitable defeat that it would serve as a solemn warning to all workers that strikes were played out and that the ballot was the weapon of salvation. This has been the keynote of every speech of every Labour fakir in the country. No sooner were the miners beaten than the I.L.P. leaders declared that the parliamentary ballot was Labour's most potent weapon. And at the recent conference of the National Federation of General Workers, Mr. Clynes declared that

"the belief that the strike weapon could accomplish anything has receded."

A truce between Capital and Labour, a nice quiet and comfortable parliamentary career, is what these people desire. They won't get it. Events are in the process of development, coupled with the activity of the Communist Party, which shall make the "Yellow" trade union and parliamentary leaders realise that their ideal of class harmony is impossible within Capitalism.

Red Week

DURING Red Week it is the sacred class duty of every Communist to do his or her utmost for the Party. Every form of activity should be carried on and a mass attack made upon Capitalism and its Labour apologists. Street-corner meetings, workgate meetings, special distribution of literature, and an intensive effort should be made to get new members. Our members should encourage discussion and expound the Party's policy on every possible occasion. At the close of Red Week we ought to have an increased membership, and a larger circulation for the COMMUNIST and the REVIEW. Red Week is not only a national affair. It is an international effort on the part of the Communists to increase the strength of their battalions and to extend the battle front of the class struggle.

The Whites Against Russia

IN the REVIEW this month we publish the first full and complete statement, regarding all the foul forces of reaction which have been hurled against Soviet Russia, during the past few months. The activities of the Whites are more important and far-reaching than most people in the revolutionary movement imagine. In order that our readers may appreciate the function of military and naval attaches, who are employed by large imperialist States to safeguard their interest in certain parts of the world, we reprint

an important extract from *Hansard* (July 20th, 1921). This demonstrates beyond doubt that the British naval attaché at Helsingfors is employed for purposes which the government is either ashamed or afraid to define. It should also be borne in mind that in the report, which we publish elsewhere in the REVIEW, regarding the activities of the Whites, special attention is drawn to the part played in the anti-Soviet plot by the agent of the British government at Helsingfors, who worked hand in hand with those whose one aim in life is to destroy the Communist movement in Russia. We italicise the most important point admitted by Mr. Amery in his reply to the courageous questions put by Commander Kenworthy.

NAVAL ATTACHE, HELSINGFORS.

15. Lieut.-Commander Kenworthy asked the Parliamentary Secretary to the Admiralty if he will state what is the combined naval strength in modern units of the navies of Denmark, Norway, Sweden, and Finland; whether the importance of these navies necessitates the appointment of a post-captain at £2,555 per annum as naval attaché instead of an officer of junior rank; whether an officer of junior rank to captain carried out the duties of naval attaché in Paris, St. Petersburg, and Berlin to the satisfaction of their Lordships prior to the war; what naval duties have necessitated the presence of the naval attaché at Helsingfors for 85 days during the present year; and how many reports of a purely naval character bearing on Finland have been received from this officer during the present year?

Mr. AMERY: The reply to the first part of the question is:

Armoured ships (special type)	...	...	21
Cruisers	...	...	4
Monitors	...	...	10
Torpedo craft	...	...	135
Submarines	...	...	26
Mining craft	...	...	18

There are also two armoured ships, 19 submarines, and two mining craft, built or building.

The reply to the second part is, in the opinion of the Admiralty, in the affirmative. The selection of officers or attaches is not dependent solely on rank; many other considerations have to be taken into account, and officers of junior rank are and have been employed. This was, as suggested in the third part of the question, the case of St. Petersburg before the war, but not at Paris or Berlin. With regard to the fourth part, the opening-up of the Gulf of Finland to navigation and the extensive mine-sweeping operations now in progress in the adjacent waters make Helsingfors the most convenient centre. *The answer to the last part is thirteen, and I may say that, in addition to his duties as naval adviser to His Majesty's Minister, the Naval Attaché has rendered the necessary reports to the Admiralty to the entire satisfaction of the Board. I should like to take this opportunity of deprecating public enquiry in this House as to the duties performed and reports rendered by naval attaches, who are diplomatic representatives and whose work is necessarily of a confidential nature. It is not, generally speaking, in the public interest to answer questions on matters of this kind.*

Lieut.-Commander KENWORTHY:—Is not the employment of a senior officer at £7 a day, in a country where the navy consists of five old torpedo boats, a matter for inquiry in this House, and are not the real duties of this officer the organisation of counter-revolutionary plots in Russia?

The Pinks Against Russia

ALL over the capitalist world the blood-thirsty and reactionary upholders of capitalist imperialism, who attempt to crush out Communism by the most barbarous methods ever used in history, are known as the *Whites*. Behind the Whites are the sentimental leaders of moderate Socialism who are equally ferocious in their hatred against Soviet Russia. Their part in the general attack upon Russia and Communism is to supply poison gas in the shape of using their press to circulate lies against Sovietism—these people are known as the “Yellows,” or the Pinks. In reality there is little to differentiate the Whites from the Pinks so far as tactics are concerned. The Whites are frankly brutal, but the Pinks are generally pacifists whose brutality is the more insidious in so far as they claim that they speak on behalf of Labour. The Whites are people drawn from the propertied interests, and many of them have lost their lives and money fighting Soviet Russia. The Pinks, however, make money and careers as a result of their attack upon the Russian proletariat. The I.L.P. is typically a Pink Party. In its lying campaign against Russia, it uses language identical with that of the out and out reactionaries. In the election address of the capitalist candidate for Caerphilly, it refers to:—

“Sovietism, which has produced such tragic results in ruined, unhappy Russia.”

In the same election, and dealing with the same theme, it was left for the I.L.P. to use similar language by stating:—

“But even if the Russian experiment had been as successful for Russia *as it has been, in the main, disastrous*, it could not be attempted in this country.”—*Labour Leader*, August 18th, 1921.

The part which we have italicised shows that there is no difference whatever in the attitude of the I.L.P. and the Coalition Party. And yet the I.L.P. whined during the whole election at Caerphilly because they claimed that the Communist Party candidate would split their vote. Wm. Gallacher told them, during the election, that the I.L.P. and the Coalition would split the capitalist-reform vote between them.

Those interested in industrial problems should read

THE WORKER

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Weekly

Guns, Bombs and Benzine

By NORMAN MATSON

THE northern agricultural province of Reggio Emilia was until a few weeks ago the shining example of the practical, constructive genius of Italian socialism. It was as good as 100 per cent. socialist. In 1919 there were 43,000 socialist votes against 20,000 split between the bourgeoisie parties and the pro-peasant Catholic party. Last fall 38 of the 45 municipal governments went Socialist. The red flag flew in every town of Reggio Emilia. The powerful peasant co-operatives did all the buying, selling, and banking. In a word, the Socialist organization controlled Reggio Emilia economically and politically. And there was peace, and the peasants after their six or eight hours' work in the field gathered in the co-operative cafés of the little towns to discuss politics, production and distribution—the revolution, which was obviously just round the corner. There was for the Reggio Emilians one personality greater than all others. This was Lenin. His quizzical face—one might imagine a bit ironical in this instance—hung where King Victor's had been; his likeness in plaster stood in hundreds of homes between the figures of Saint Cappone and Saint Lambrusco, patron saints of the province. Lenin! He was great in Emilia . . . because he gave the land to the Russian peasants.

The province did not believe in violence. Its weapons were political and economic—the vote and the boycott—this latter a terrific weapon in the hands of compactly organized Italian peasants. The landowner who by violation of peasant regulations earned the punishment of isolation by boycott seldom had the heart to try it again. But there was no violence. The producers had captured the province by peaceful means, and they were managing it peacefully; the party was so strong that there seemed to be no element of opposition. The bourgeois—the employing landowners—were members of the Party, perforce. The white reaction hit the neighbouring provinces of Bologna and Ferrara long before it appeared in Reggio Emilia. In those two provinces the extremists were powerful. Emilia felt that they were reaping pretty much what they sowed. Certainly the reaction would never come to them.

The Fascisti Takes The Province

But last March the first *Fascio* (local or post) of the fascisti was organized in the province. And a few weeks later a cyclone hit Reggio Emilia—a destroying gale of violence. Reggio Emilia all but went down before it. It could hardly do otherwise. It was fat picking, and the *fascisti* went their sadistic limit. They struck with bewildering rapidity at the nerve centres of the great Socialist organization—burned the Chambers of Labour; destroyed the press; sacked and burned co-operatives; made scores and scores

of bonfires of the card-filing system, account books, correspondence; they beat and shot leaders and the more militant of the rank and file. And finally they made open assaults on the municipalities—assaults which continue. "Resign, get out of town, or feel the anger of the *fascisti*!" So read the letters to the Socialist officials. More than a third of the 38 administrations have already resigned. The tri-colour is flying from one end of the province to the other. And the moderate Socialist Party—party of the tremendous majority of the Emilians—decided to abstain from voting at the general election. A few hundred *fascisti* did it. A few hundred young men with bombs and guns and benzine and automobiles—and the assurance that the armed might of the National Government was at their backs. Students, ex-officers, hired fighters who learned how to shoot in the war, and sons of landowners disciplined by the peasants. They received their orders from "higher up," from national headquarters in Milano, and their funds came from those who got the cream of the war. They swagger through the province now, singing their inevitable hymn to "Youth."

Now the province of Reggio Emilia built a great, efficient, beneficent organization in peace. The only criticism its enemies can make is that it was too efficient. Listen to the local leader of the *Fascio*—who goes to Parliament, his little minority having smashed the majority organization: "True, there was not in Emilia violence as violence was known in Bologna or Ferrara, but there was 'red tyranny,' the 'tyranny of collectivism.' We instead have re-established 'individual initiative' in the province! It is true that the Socialist organization worked well—economically! But it had no other claim on a great many of its followers. It filled their material needs but not their spiritual needs!" The peaceful efforts of the Reggio Emilians got them nothing, or rather they got it worse than almost any other province.

It is precisely here that the Communists and Socialists differ. Both use much the same terminology; one belongs to the Third International, the other wants to get back in. But the Communists accuse the older leaders of not preparing the proletariat for the defence of its gains. The older leaders build a Reggio Emilia organization that can stand only during times of peace. It fattens the organizations for the Nationalist slaying, so to speak. The Communists, the scatter-brained, impatient extremists, want to advance just so fast as they can consolidate their gains; just so fast as they can arm themselves adequately to defend themselves from the violence they declare inevitable. The Socialists used to cry "Inevitable? *Ma che!* Look at Reggio Emilia!"

"Just look at Reggio Emilia," say the Communists to-day.

(From *The Liberator*).

Revelations Regarding the Origin of the 1914 War

By RENE MARCHAND

[We have often wondered if the Russian revolutionaries had discovered, in the archives of the Imperial Ministry for Foreign Affairs, any more documents or secret treaties like those that they flung in the face of Europe immediately after the Bolshevik revolution. An examination of these archives has been proceeding; and one of those who have been doing this most valuable work is René Marchand, who will soon publish the results of his discoveries in a large volume, the preface to which we give below.

René Marchand is a strange figure thrown up by the whirlpool of revolution. For a long time he was in Russia as correspondent for the *Figaro* and the *Petit Parisien*; he was the friend and adviser of MM. Poincaré and Albert Thomas. The crimes of the French Government's policy won him over to the revolutionary spirit and drove him into the ranks of the Bolsheviks. Our readers will not have forgotten his own story of his conversion: "Why I support Bolshevism" (published by Communist Party; price 9d.). The book that he will soon publish is certain to create a stir throughout the whole world. It will throw a cleansing light into the dark corners in which the world-wide butchery of 1914-1918 was hatched.]

Preface to Origin of 1914 War

WHEN, at Brest-Litovsk, Trotsky proclaimed the right of free peoples to govern themselves, in defiance of German Imperialism and in spite of the din and bitter clamour of the world war, immortal pages were added to the history of mankind. And these other pages that I have studied—alas! they also belong to that history, for they have been written with red-hot irons on the tortured bodies of men.

Many people have spoken of secret diplomacy, of imperialism, militarism, and the lust for loot; but even the most determined enemies of these forces have failed to plumb the lowest depths of the abyss from which they spring. The Anti-Militarists have doubtless obeyed—at least, in the vast majority of cases—one of those irresistible instincts which come to guide the masses in the great and historic epochs of the world, or have reacted suddenly against war, weary of the sight of butcheries and ruin. But they have not known fully the causes of these horrors, nor seen clearly and completely the terrible system that still holds the world, bled white by its crimes, caught fast in its innumerable tentacles.

I, when I was a journalist living amongst ambassadors, felt occasionally in the years before the war a vague and momentary uneasiness, at times like that of M. Delcasse's mission to Russia. But never had I even suspected that a huge mechanism was working steadily, getting ready, with all the certainty and exactitude of clockwork to drive us into a catastrophe, at the moment determined by the calculations of those who had set it going. And I had always thought myself more or less "well-informed" as to what was happening and as to the atmosphere in which I lived!

On August 2nd, 1914, like most Frenchmen, I sincerely believed that France claimed me, France "brutally attacked," France, whose "faithful" government could naturally only have desired and worked for peace. The very phrases of the letter that I felt, I ought to write as late as 1918 to the President of the Republic, when, angered by the inhuman and un-French policy of our official agents and their campaign against the Russian Revolution, I refused to admit that it was possible that they could be acting according to the orders of the French Government—the phrases of that letter are proof that I believed in the good faith of that Government.

The Tsarist Archives

MY amazement, therefore, will be realised when later I was given the opportunity to look over part, now classified, of the archives of the old Russian Ministry for Foreign Affairs, and began to read documents which, from the very first line, brutally roused again doubts that had been sleeping and answered loudly old questionings that I had till then too easily forgotten. Those papers flung me right into the heart of things of which at first I wished, I confess, that I could always have remained ignorant!

But when this first moment of dejection had passed, I went on, patiently, with the examination of these secret papers, although I found the work to be morally cruel and painful to me. And to-day I address these pages to all decent people—whatever party they belong to—to all those who still believe, as I myself perhaps might always have believed, in the silly tale about German militarism having flung itself, one fine day, upon a peace-loving France; to all those who do not see behind this obvious fact which, in reality, is simply the final stage of a whole social epoch, of an entire "civilisation," the monstrous gallows built up steadily and implacably by world-imperialism, the overthrow of which is the vital question of to-day. For, make no mistake: all your dead friends and all your ruined homes, have changed nothing and cannot change the pre-war position; so long as the same causes exist, the same effects are to be expected, *and you must expect them*. You must expect the repetition of the things that you believe the Treaty of Versailles has charmed away: that Treaty is in reality simply the consecration of the continued existence of the thing that gave it birth, of war, that will continue to live when the Treaty is dead, triumphing over your corpses and your ruined towns!

I dedicate these pages also to those—and in truth they are numerous—who still believe cheerfully in the political programmes of *bourgeois* parties, in the value of promises made in these programmes to the electors, and in the supreme power of parliaments of elected representatives, and do not see that complete power to decide peace or war is in the hands of uncontrolled individual politicians.

I had at first thought of giving only a few isolated documents which were more particularly striking. On reflection, I decided to

enlarge the scope of my work; I have done as much as I could possibly do. The reader will find, in the following order, very long and numerous quotations, and even in some places, almost a complete series of documents, giving the impression of a complete whole.

For the Pre-War Period

THE secret political correspondence (far more detailed than the telegrams) of M. Isvolsky, the Russian Ambassador in Paris from 1911 up to the war, and the detailed report* given to the Tsar by M. Sazonof, the Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs.

For the Period of the War

THE telegrams from M. Isvolsky, the stenographic reports of several conferences that took place at Petrograd, and various documents found in the pigeon-holes of the old Ministry for Foreign Affairs, dealing with the diplomatic activities of the Allied Cabinets during the war, and with the tentative attempts of the neutrals to mediate between the combatants.

The Veil is Torn

WHETHER reads these pages will thus see raised the veil which, but for the Russian proletarian revolution, would have continued to hide for a long time yet the true working of the imperialist régime. And, in the light of this revelation of a past and present of hidden transactions, of unsated ambitions, of treachery and blackmail, he will understand fully the blood-blackened comedy which is being played above his head, and he will be able at last to speak with complete knowledge of the causes of the war.

He will see how, logically and inevitably, the Agadir crisis (to go no further back, for the sequence is never broken) brought on the war in Tripoli, how Tripoli caused the Balkan war, and how the Balkan war inflamed the greed of the Austrians and Germans. Then, when the greed of these Powers came into competition with that of their rivals, the world-war came.

He will see, *under all these affairs*, the intrigues of groups of bankers, the true levers of the "aspirations of the peoples," and the press controlled by these groups, and charged by them with the task of *informing* each nation, that is to say, of *deceiving* it, and asked by it each day for the news it must have to keep its old

*NOTE.—These reports, of which I have given the complete series, show in a striking fashion the progressive and implacable development of the rival imperialisms, lit up by the crude glare of financial intrigues and of the lust for profit and power. The rival imperialisms are seen dragging little by little into their webs all those surrounding them, and thus prefiguring clearly the world-war for the division of the earth, coldly calculated, studied, and decided upon beforehand, with its outbreak possible at any moment, and only depending on the brutal will of whichever imperialism could allow itself the luxury of the formality, necessarily rather disagreeable, of a declaration of war.

beliefs. He will read in so many words, for example, how, thanks to the "skilful" distribution of subsidies through the intermediary of the French Ministers for Foreign Affairs and for Finances, the Russian Ambassador managed to get as much support from French public opinion during the Balkan crisis as had previously been obtained, by the same methods, by Count Klevenbueller, the Austrian Ambassador. He will even read with amazement that this same Russian Ambassador ended up by being rather frightened at the too "enthusiastic" tone of the French press, and that in 1912 the French military circles demanded explanations from Russia, through M. Millerand, of the reasons for the Russian indifference and apathy in face of Austrian preparations for war against Serbia. That is what was called, if you remember the sort of thing that was said at that time, "advising Russia to be moderate."

Imperialism at Work

HE will hear the King of England, in 1912, translating into violent words the anger of British imperialism, threatened in its naval predominance by the furious building up of a navy by the imperialism of Germany, cry to M. Sazonof at Balmoral: "We shall sink every single German merchant ship that we get hold of!"

He will see the foul underground financial dealings that lay beneath the questions of Persia and China: also the especially shameless intrigues and cold calculations of the "Great Powers" (that is to say, of the great capitalist trusts become imperialisms at war for the hegemony of the world) savagely stirring up the brutal greed of the newly-capitalist Balkans, and driving the nations that had been Allies into a second Balkan war for the division of the booty gained from Turkey in the first.

He will see on each and every side, from one end to the other, that even when peace is talked of, war is meant, or such an extension of peace as will give time to prepare better for war, war that had become necessary for imperialism, arrived at its highest point. He will see, in this question of foreign policy, the only one that is vital and ultimate for him, because it is the only one that touches so closely his life and the future of the soil from which he gains his livelihood by his labour—he will see that there is, underneath the different formulæ and the *purely superficial differences of the political parties*, a pitiless continuity in criminal irresponsibility. He will read the letter from the Russian Ambassador in Paris in which he says, with perfect justice, in reference to one of the innumerable crises in the French Cabinet, that "the more changes there are, the more things remain unchanged." And in fact M. Isvolsky, as far as tangible and positive results are concerned, could feel just as happy about MM. Caillaux, Doumergue or de Selves, as about MM. Poincaré, Millerand, Barthou, Jonnart, etc., etc. And it could not be otherwise for, as he rightly says in one of his letters, "It is the financial groups that are all-powerful over the Government, not the Government over them."

The reader will learn, not without some interest, that it was M. Doumergue who, in 1916, in exposing for the first time the French

list of peace demands limited to Alsace-Lorraine, used the French "liberty of action" in the Rhineland to bargain with the Petrograd Cabinet. This question of the Rhine had already been touched upon in 1914 by M. Paléologue. He will also learn, not without a shiver up the back, that on the personal ambition or the injured vanity of politicians, who are in power to-day and gone to-morrow, or on some other cause of equal national importance, depends the terms of a Note which, received and answered in writing, becomes a *secret engagement between two peoples*! He will also learn that it rests entirely with an ambassador to set at variance *nation and nation*, or to shape their relations to his own taste, by giving in a report, by tendentious or inexact interpretation, decisive import to phrases spoken in the buzz of conversation, after dinner or at a tea-party, or even by a systematic arrangement of the facts to build up combinations that may please his fancy.

Between Allies

THE reader will find in a report sent on February 21st, 1917, to the Tsar by Pokrovsky, the last Imperial Minister for Foreign Affairs, the most damning piece of self-criticism that could be made by imperialism. He will find, after a careful exposition of the reasons why the "agreements reached with the Allies touching Constantinople and the Straits, are in danger of remaining scraps of paper," and might have to wait for their realisation until a new "kindling of a European war" (*sic*) if they are not confirmed by the "map of the fronts at the moment of the opening of peace negotiations"—a very precise definition of what was meant by "war until victory." It was not exactly, it seems, until the "triumph of right and justice," in the name of which the capitalists engaged in the struggle called to their slaves to go on being killed in the trenches, but until, as the Russian minister emphasises, "the realisation by each Power of all its own ambitions." This goes so far that, he makes it clear, if in the course of the fighting it happens that the French and English gain sufficient successes on the western front to give them results that are satisfactory from their point of view, "there would not be much hope of seeing them continue the war for the conquest by Russia of Constantinople and the Straits"!

The reader will see the Parisian Cabinet decoding the Italian code, and the Tsarist Secret Service decoding the telegrams of Allied Ambassadors to their Governments. He will learn of the knaveries, unexampled in their brilliance, of the Cabinet of Rome, in the realisation of the vast plans of Italian imperialism; and finally he will discover the bribes and bargains which had for recompense the entry of Italy and Roumania into the war, and the diplomatic efforts made by the imperialist States at war to drag in with them the peoples that had remained outside the conflict. And he will realise that in no country, for any of these crimes, have any of the politicians concerned been accused of having "plotted against the safety of the State"! He will realise that this honour has been reserved up till now for those who committed the crime of approving the speeches made at Brest-Litovsk, before the agony of mankind, by Trotsky. . . .

Delcasse's Extraordinary Powers

WHEN I first saw the letter from Isvolsky that informs Sazonof of the extraordinary powers given to M. Delcassé and of the "unlimited competence" of the latter in military matters, I remembered the strange atmosphere of the French Embassy in Petrograd in those days, and the activity of M. Sabatier d'Espeyran, Secretary to the Embassy, whose mission it was to make the Russian press "deliver the goods." He managed this task with such remarkable keenness that the Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs ended by being worried by the over-warlike attitude of his own organs, in whose columns he missed with astonishment the touch of his information bureau.

The Petrograd press had understood too well the scope of M. Delcassé's mission (even going so far as to make him, in addition, the temporary Russian foreign minister) who had only come to Russia to "complete the work that he had been carrying out in all the various countries in turn," and in which he had managed specially to take "a decisive step during his recent transference to the Ministry of Marine."

As to this work itself, it was never quite made definite at the time what it was, but the formulæ repeated to the point of boredom then, in the room where journalists were received was: "Russia must understand (it was the time of the affair of the German military instructors at Constantinople) that she cannot decide the question of Constantinople at Vienna, but only at Berlin"; or again: "Russia has the same real enemy as we, it is Germany, and not Austria, as is wrongly believed." This was explicit enough.

And, while Sabatier d'Espeyran was making these astounding declarations, M. Delcassé was working in his private room, with the door locked, over the maps of the Balkans and of Africa. Often he would decode personally telegrams that were secret even to his collaborators. Then came his departure, his "mission" ended; and the agitation of the last moment, when Sabatier announced to the journalists that "the Ambassador had been given by his Majesty the Grand Cordon of the Order of St. Andrew! And that confirmation of this magnificent news seemed to be rather long in arriving!"

The beaming face of M. Paléologue, I remembered also, those last terrible days before the war, and the declaration of war itself. I was unable to bring myself at once, I remembered, to the idea that, this time, all was over, for I felt instinctively that to give up all hope would be too horrible. I was still searching for the latest possible news, in spite of everything, no longer for my paper, but for myself, when I was met at the foot of the staircase by M. Paléologue, that finished product of the school of Metternich, a wary and subtle diplomat, always greedy for petty intrigues, palace revolutions, and serious political discussions, in boxes at the opera. His face beaming, rubbing his hands together, he said: "Excellent, excellent! Luxemburg has been invaded; conditions never were better." And restraining with difficulty the tears that were in my eyes, I fought down the terror that filled me at the

inner feeling that this was a *catastrophe*, and decided to think that I should not be a good Frenchman if I did not realise that really "the occasion" had never "been better."

While putting together these documents I felt these old wounds re-open, and tears came to me again. But this time I did not restrain them. . . .

And it is now time to understand that the war has not at all resulted in the suppression of German militarism, for the destruction of which we were bidden to continue to spend ourselves until the end. The war has only momentarily weakened this militarism, only turned it aside from the world hegemony to which imperialism strove and of which it is the expression, and side by side with this it has developed and drawn out British imperialism, which, with its satellites, aspires now to the same world-hegemony, for the self-same reasons. There is thus nothing changed, absolutely nothing. We have simply assisted in the breaking of the "balance" in which the life of the world had, somehow or other, been able to drag on, in spite of the struggle between the two imperialisms in question. And now we are seeking a new balance of power, that is to say, a new re-grouping of the imperialist States, big and little, with a view to the continuation of the struggle for the overlordship of the earth. In this struggle, which must necessarily and obviously be marked by new butcheries very shortly, any sort of combination is possible; but these technical combinations have interest only for the financiers and their agents; for us, the reality under them is all that matters, and that reality is the continuance of the pre-war period, of the struggle for the hegemony of the world. What will be the background for the outbreak of the new war, Europe or Asia? In whose train will France be dragged? In which camp will Germany be? Will Europe always play the principal rôle, or will it become a satellite of greater Powers? These are the questions, I repeat, which face the secret diplomats of the great French financial groups, whose way of working can be clearly seen in these pages.

But to us two things are clear: We shall go on being the victims, and it will always be so, so long as the fate of the peoples rests in the hands of the exploiters of big business.

THE editor of the COMMUNIST REVIEW has had some artistic advertisement cards made which draw attention to the REVIEW. These are particularly suitable for branch rooms, workmen's clubs, factories, meetings, literature depots, etc. Anyone who wishes one of these cards should send their name and address to

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Progress of the Revolution in South America

By DAVID RAMSAY

I.

Rise of the Argentine Labour Movement

IT is astonishing, in view of the importance of South America as a vital economic factor, how little is known in England of the Labour movement in that part of the world. South America conjures up in the minds of the average picture theatre habitués scenes that exhibit lawlessness, cowardice and utter immorality. The North American capitalist knows how to prepare public "opinion" for the attack which they hope to be able to make on the independence of the Southern Republics, if and when the Governments of those countries fail to satisfy Wall Street's demands for markets for United States products.

Nothing could be further from the truth than the picture of Latin America as shown on the screen and portrayed by films. The Mexicans, for example, have a national history comparable for heroic struggle and only equalled by ancient Greece, Switzerland and Ireland. Indeed, there are many points of similarity between Mexico and Ireland, and principal amongst those is the association of the sense of exploitation with the dominance of foreign capital. The working class of both countries have yet to fully realise that there is no difference between their own ruling class and the ruling classes of the dominant countries, excepting in strength. But in both Mexico and Ireland the workers *will* fight when they realise the true nature of the class struggle. And recent examples go to prove that the Mexicans and the Irish are temperamentally more ready for Communism than the workers in most other countries, although the national struggle for independence obscures the real issue at the present moment.

It is in the Argentine Republic that the class struggle is most highly developed, and it is quite in line with Communist theories that this should be so. The importance of the Argentine as a food-raising centre has attracted to that country an enormous amount of foreign capital. Huge companies exploit practically all the vast territory capable of supporting cattle and raising cereals, with the result that the peasantry as a mass are truly proletarian—absolutely propertyless and at the mercy of a mere handful of men both foreign and native.

The town labourers are generally immigrants from Italy and Spain, or the sons of immigrants. For a long time (not now) the Argentine threw open its doors to all and sundry, with the result that among those immigrants there were many political refugees of the most advanced type. Some were anarchists, and developing

conditions afforded them ideal opportunities of studying and expounding capitalist evolution. The title "Anarchist-Communist" given to the advanced labour movement is very largely a traditional one. The whole tendency to-day is in the direction of Communist thought—and Communist tactics must of necessity be generally accepted as the struggle intensifies. The lessons of the Russian revolution have not been lost on the thoughtful among the working class.

In a country free from conservative tradition, and such is the Argentine, the development of capitalist and working class organisation was, of necessity, very rapid. Fortunately for the workers, perhaps, the intrigues of foreign capital for concessions and the amount of bribery used, created a situation which made the business of politics so profitable that political solidarity was slow in rising among the native capitalists and landowners. Their strength on the political field was largely dissipated by the struggles of semi-professional politicians for power, and the various bidders for public support for a long time maintained a democratic pose. During this time the anarchist element was busy, and organisation on the industrial field proceeded apace.

Public disgust of professional politicians gave to the Social Democratically-minded section an opportunity to bring into existence a comparatively strong quasi-Marxian political party. For some time this organisation attracted to itself a considerable amount of working class support, but the bids of its petit bourgeois leaders for the votes of the middle class—accompanied by the usual treachery to the militant workers—soon opened the eyes of the class conscious to its real nature. Unfortunately, the true lesson was missed altogether by the responsible leaders, and led to the repudiation of political activity entirely, and a complete misunderstanding as to the real function of a political organisation. To-day, the working class as a whole is outside the political party, and the smallness of the Argentine Communist Party is eloquent of the immense harm done to the movement by the treachery of place-hunting Judas Iscariots. Our young and sincere comrades of the new party have much work to do before they can prove how different they are to the traitors who ran the Argentine Socialist Party.

Industrial Organisation

INDUSTRIAL organisation has proceeded along syndicalist lines, and to-day practically the whole of the organised workers are affiliated to one or other of two great federations. These are known respectively as "La Federacion Obrero Regional de la Argentina (Quinta)," and "La Federacion Obrero Regional de la Argentina (Decima)"; the first *from* the beginning was openly revolutionary; the second reformist. There are hopes entertained of the speedy amalgamation of these bodies as a result of the demands by the members of the reformist organisation for a more revolutionary policy. The new and consolidated organisation will carry on the tradition of the rebel body, with modifications to suit the requirements of the struggle of to-day. Both bodies were represented at the Congress of the Red Trade Union International, and doubtless the atmosphere of practical revolutionary

activity in Russia will have had the effect of showing the stupidity of dividing the working class in its fight against capitalism; and at the same time complete the education of the anarchist leaders in class war tactics. A short survey of their past activities will indicate what the possibilities will be if these surmises prove correct.

During the war, a May-day demonstration took place in Buenos Aires. An unusually large number took part in the demonstration owing to the fact that prices were soaring higher every day and discontent was rampant. In spite of the strained feeling, the demonstration was orderly and peaceful, but in a moment of panic the chief of the police ordered his men to disperse the crowd. This they proceeded to do in the usual brutal way, favoured by the police of all countries, and some of the demonstrators were killed and many injured. "Brave" British workers would have gone home and sent a deputation to their local member of Parliament to raise a question in the House about it. The "cowardly" Latins raised hell instead, called a general strike, and for a time the city of Buenos Aires was in their hands. The panic-stricken police fled the city, business closed down entirely, and had there been in existence an organisation capable of dealing with the situation, the authorities would have been hard put to it to dislodge the workers from their position. As it was the initiative passed from the workers to the master class, and the insurrection was suppressed with the savagery characteristic of our capitalist masters everywhere.

An indication of the tenacity which can be shown by the Argentine workers is afforded by the Mihanovich strike. The Mihanovich Company are large ship-owners, ship-builders and repairers, and over eighteen months ago a strike commenced. When overtures for peace took place, Mihanovitch absolutely refused to discharge the few blacklegs he had engaged on the grounds that he had made certain promises to them which he was in honour bound to carry out. The men replied that his honour was already so stained that an extra smear or two would not be noticeable, and in any case they had a rooted objection to working alongside "carneros." So the strike continued *for fifteen months*, and so solid was it that not a ship sailed up or down the River Plate flying the Mihanovich flag, and not a repair shop did a stroke of work. The Government had eventually to intervene before a settlement was arrived at.

The strike of cowboys and farm labourers, followed by their open revolt when troops were sent to quell rioting, is a remarkable example of the preparedness of the country workers for the revolution. The armed forces of the Republic failed to intimidate the strikers, who simply retreated in face of the superior weight of arms in perfect order, driving all the cattle in front of them and attacking their class enemies by any and every means. When last heard of they were firmly entrenched in a forest area, with enough food to last out a considerable time. They have the advantage of being equipped with small arms and horses, and as riders and shots are without equal. Whatever happens, the town proletariat can now count on their comrades in the country districts for solid support.

One of the most revolutionary syndicates in the Argentine is the Waiters Union! When one compares that statement with the position of waiters in this country it seems almost incredible. The tipping system prevails over there as elsewhere, but this fact has enabled the waiters to demonstrate in an admirable way what is possible by organisation. Obviously no café or restaurant returns in the shape of tips a weekly sum that approximates to a standard which would ensure that equal work would have equal remuneration. It is to the credit of the Buenos Aires waiters that they have come to an arrangement, and enforced it on the employers, to transfer waiters at regular intervals to all the cafés in rotation, so that all have an equal chance of earning over a given period a similar sum of money. One wonders if such an arrangement could ever be put into practice in London. Between the waiters and the chauffeurs the Argentine bourgeoisie are never certain when their comforts are going to be interfered with. The chauffeurs seldom work more than a month on end without a strike.

For some time—it may still be the case—the river tug-boats were controlled so that neither owners nor captains could select their crews. The union did that for them. The stevedores paid wages for extra strong gangs *and* for a delegate to accompany them. If a sack of flour or anything else they were loading weighed by even half a kilo more than was considered just, double pay was demanded. Coaling gangs who found the temperature was a degree above normal also claimed double pay or more. And they were always ready to fight for the seamen as well, without reference to nationality. An example of this is the case of the "Martha Washington," an American vessel. A row took place between the mate of this steamer and a Spanish fireman. The mate's revolver went off (he claimed, accidentally), and the union demanded that he should be punished for injuring the fireman. The authorities refused to interfere—so the ship could not discharge.

There was a terrible row over this incident. The American Consul entered a vigorous protest, and it looked likely to be an international case. Then an attempt was made to employ "free" labour, but the union was too strong. The carters butted in with a sympathetic strike, and even picketed the main roads to the city so effectually that nothing could enter or leave without their consent. The freezing establishments closed down and paper factories also. Masters and mates of ships in Buenos Aires have learnt their lesson, and are likely to think twice before over-asserting their authority.

Then came the great national fiesta of the 25th of May (Independence Day). On the eve of this holiday the chauffeurs came out on strike and published a manifesto denouncing the fiesta as one for the bourgeoisie only, since the workers had nothing to celebrate. Most of the business houses had subscribed handsomely to the Patriotic League's fund for the fiesta, and they wanted their money's worth. At a general meeting it was resolved that the government would take no action in the meantime to secure the working of all ships, and to restrain the unions generally, free labour would be organised.

Accordingly, free labour gangs were sent down to the docks, but to avoid trouble all access to the docks was denied to both free and federated labour alike, and those whose duties of office were to visit ships had first to get a special permit. Thus, although no one would accept responsibility for this state of affairs, the government itself shut down the harbour. This could not continue, and after trying to arrange a compromise, the government issued a decree stating that all qualified labourers were to be allowed to work. This conveyed no meaning except that things were to remain as before, the qualification being interpreted as meaning only union labourers. An excited meeting was held at the Stock Exchange, and the Minister of Finance, himself a member of the Exchange, was compelled to go to the president and get the admission, before witnesses, that the decree was intended to allow all and sundry to work in the docks. So some "free" labourers were sent down, shooting up commenced, and the police found it convenient to disappear from the scene. Another indignation meeting was held in the Exchange, and the business men threatened to close down all commerce. Then the government summoned up courage to act—troops appeared on the scene, and all the union offices were raided and closed and the leaders locked up. *They are now free!*

III.

The Future

ENOUGH has now been written to show what material there is in the Argentine for revolution. It also shows how energy can be dissipated in sporadic movements which are not under centralised Communist control. The Argentine Workers' Federation has to rest for the moment before it will have the power to act again in such a decisive fashion. The workers are exhausted with the long continued struggle, but should be in the proper state of mind for accepting the lessons of the struggles and preparing for the final attack. There exist in the Argentine leaders who are fully alive to their responsibilities in this matter, men of courage, resource and imagination. They know all that is to be known of the international aspect of the fight, and are working so that the rebels in the Argentine will realise that they are a section of a world-wide army—shock battalions it may be—who in a moment of international crisis may be able, at the exact moment, to turn the scales against the common enemy. Efforts are being made to link up effectively the workers of the other and less developed South American Republics, and when that is organised, if only eighty per cent. join hands, a quarter of the world's food supply will be in the hands and at the disposal of the working class. Consider the effect of a workers' blockade of food supplies in the event of a war on Russia, or an attack on the workers of other countries in revolt against their masters. It is in this direction that Argentine labour can best assist at present. A revolution in the Argentine might be swamped by the invasion of foreign troops, and can best be safeguarded after the world situation develops further.

IV.

Uruguayan Republic

THE Uruguayan Republic (lying on the other side of the River Plate from Argentina) presents a peculiar study to the social student. There the class war is not in the same advanced stage as in the Argentine. For one thing, the bourgeoisie are not very strong, business being as yet in a comparatively undeveloped state; and then there is the "Red Party," which is in power. The Red Party (so-called because of its colours, not its principles) is a very radical or advanced liberal organisation led by the usual professional politician. Its claim to power is based on the support of the masses, and under the present government the Republic has developed into the freest political entity in the world at the present moment, speaking in the capitalist sense. The reformist socialist party has never had a chance against this government owing to the willingness of the present holders of office to introduce and carry through legislation of the kind advocated by, say, the I.L.P.

For example, there is an eight hours day law that is rigidly enforced. There are laws governing the employment of women and children, which are in advance of those of most countries. There is a minimum wage law which covers practically all industries, and the law is administered by men who have the confidence of the workers. This year there comes before the legislature a Bill to absolutely ensure the payment of the minimum wage, inasmuch as the promoters desire the setting up of government pay offices, through which all employers must pay their men. This Bill is expected to pass, and will do much to stop the possibility of workers (there are such) willing to sign for larger sums than they actually receive for the sake of being favoured in slack times. Then there are the divorce laws, which allow of divorce without court proceedings of any kind, and without payment of any fees. The mutual consent of the parties involved is sufficient after a short lapse of time for the martial knot to be untied. And this in a nominally Roman Catholic country! Political offences are not sufficient to prevent people having right of entry to the Republic, and the President has personally intervened to save well-known revolutionaries being imprisoned in other South American countries. The President put the position very succinctly once when he said that the only difference between his party and the reformist socialists was that they put their theories into practice, and the others merely talked about them. Needless to say, however, all those reforms have not materially benefitted the workers—they have merely obscured the real issue. There is room for a real Communist Party in Uruguay, but none for the compromisers.

Industrially, the workers are not so well organised nor so revolutionary as are the Argentinos. The syndicalist organisations are controlled, and not very effectively, by anarchist officials. Efforts are being made to ensure the affiliation of the unions with the R.T.U.I., and a comrade left the republic to attend the Congress.

There he will meet other South American delegates, and the result of their common experiences in Soviet Russia will pave the way for the great South American alliance of labour which will eventually place the workers in power. Here, as in the Argentine, there is need for political education.

In Chile

IN the Chilian Republic there is still much work to do before the Labour movement is even on the level with the average European one. The only really revolutionary organisation there is the I.W.W. with a membership almost entirely confined to the Port workers. The comrades in this organisation have had a terrific struggle to maintain their organisation intact in face of the attacks made upon them by the present government, which is wholly re-actionary. An attempt was recently made to entirely suppress the I.W.W. Their headquarters were raided, officials arrested, and the documents seized. In spite of this, they have managed to carry on, and there is a possibility that the government will fail to carry out its design. Other organisations of the workers are mainly reformist in outlook, and the officials are given to dabbling in politics through capitalist institutions. In the north, the position is better, and the unions have decided to throw in their lot with the Chilian Socialist Party, inside of which there are comrades who work for the complete acceptance of the position of the Third International. There have been reports of the application of this party to the International, and if this is so, hopes can safely be entertained of a great advance on the present situation on the political field. Politically, Chile is particularly corrupt, so much so that practically every office under the State has its definite price, and the number of votes that a candidate for Congress gets depends on his ability or willingness to spend the necessary cash. Whatever the sum expended, there are ways and means of getting it all back again, with profits exceeding anything that is ordinarily extracted from business investments.

The country workers are usually entirely illiterate, and this makes written propaganda very difficult. Their condition is not very far removed from serfdom, being paid in kind and tied by various conditions to the soil. They are on the same mental level of the peasantry of this country in the time of the Henrys, and seem really to believe that their masters are different kinds of creatures to themselves. Propaganda carried on against the land-owners is looked upon as sacrilege, and there is always great danger of being informed against by the slaves themselves. In the towns the patriotic spirit is maintained by constant talk about the danger of invasion by Peru, and an army out of all proportion to the size of the population is kept in existence. Development in labour organisation seems to be arrested in this part of the world as compared to the Argentine, probably largely because of the geographical position, which does not lend itself to a constant influx of fresh blood and ideas from Europe. There are, however, signs of an awakening even here, as the workers are feeling the

effect of high prices and low wages, and becoming more and more receptive to new ideas. History teaches that the French peasants despite their ignorance, like the Russian peasants, instinctively moved towards the revolution.

VI.

Brazil

BRAZIL is much more advanced, although there are great difficulties in the way of carrying on educational work among the masses. There has been recently a great wave of reactionary effort on the part of the government to suppress Communist propaganda, and many of the comrades who were not born in Brazil have been deported. It is to the shame of British sailors that although South American seamen refused to assist in the deportations, these were generally carried out by shipping them on British vessels. The comrades in Brazil appeal to seamen of all countries to refuse to carry deportees whose crime was that of urging the Brazilian workers to organise for the overthrow of the master class.

Owing to the difficulty of the revolutionary syndicalists of centralising their movement in face of the repression by the government, a movement somewhat similar to the Shop Stewards is being initiated, and is meeting with considerable success. The leaders of this movement favour affiliation to the Red Trade Union International, and many of them are likely to prove themselves among the best. They have had a hard experience which has considerably helped to an understanding of the tactics which should be pursued, and, like the Argentine comrades, are working for the unification of the whole of the labour forces in South America. There is no Communist Party in Brazil—in fact, there are no political parties of any kind there as we understand the word. Candidates are chosen by those who hold power, and their candidates never lose an election, in spite of obvious bitter opposition in many cases to their being given office. It has been suggested that the fact of the government controlling the counting of the votes has something to do with this. Even I.L.P.'s and Labour Party enthusiasts recognise this possibility—in Brazil. There is room, however, for a Communist Party, even if the work will have to be carried on underground until it finds its strength, and the unification of all the Communist elements in the country is work that has the support of influential men in the movement.

The foregoing account of the position in South America has been written in the hope that attention will be directed to the possibilities of the situation over there. It should be the work of the R.T.U.I. to help in completing the organisation of the workers into one compact whole. All the assistance possible should be given our comrades in the task of educating the working class of South America into an understanding of the international situation as it affects the proletarian movement. Propaganda is carried on over there at a great risk, and in many instances the punishment meted out to revolutionaries caught doing this work

is exceptionally severe. But there is no fear of the comrades shirking the task. What is wanted is help from those more fortunately situated, and constant communication between Europe and America, so that when crises do arise, full advantage can be taken of what organisation does exist to make it still more difficult for capitalism to carry on. If the political movement has received very little attention, that is simply because at this stage the Communist Parties are only feeling their way towards working class support. Their opportunities will come with the development of the fight and the examples afforded in other countries of the paramount importance of organising Communists, as such, so that their influence will be felt and their leadership recognised when the great day arrives.

Revolutionary Socialism in Action

By ROSA LUXEMBURG

A Speech delivered in Berlin on December 30th, 1918, at the Inaugural Congress of the Communist Party of Germany (Spartacus League).

(Translated by EDEN AND CEDAR PAUL).

I.

Back to the Communist Manifesto

COMRADES! Our task to-day is to discuss and adopt a programme. In undertaking this task we are not actuated solely by the consideration that yesterday we founded a new party and that a new party must formulate a programme. Great historical movements have been the determining causes of to-day's deliberations. The time has arrived when the entire Socialist programme of the proletariat has to be established upon a new foundation. We are faced with a position similar to that which was faced by Marx and Engels when they wrote the Communist Manifesto seventy years ago. As you all know, the Communist Manifesto dealt with Socialism, with the realisation of the aims of Socialism, as the immediate task of the proletarian revolution. This was the idea represented by Marx and Engels in the revolution of 1848; it was thus, likewise, that they conceived the basis for proletarian action in the international field. In common with all the leading spirits in the working-class movement, both Marx and Engels then believed that the immediate introduction of Socialism was at hand. All that was necessary was to bring about a political revolution, to seize the political power of the state, and Socialism would then immediately pass from the realm of thought to the realm of flesh and blood. Subsequently, as you are aware, Marx and Engels undertook a thoroughgoing revision of this outlook. In the joint preface to the re-issue of the Communist Manifesto in the year 1872, we find the following passage: "No special stress is laid on the revolutionary measures proposed at the end of section two. That passage would, in many respects, be differently worded to-day. In view of the gigantic strides of modern industry during the last twenty-five years and of the accompanying improved and extended organisation of the working class, in view of the practical experience gained, first in the February revolution, and then, still more, in the Paris Commune, where the proletariat for the first time held political power for two whole months, this programme has in some details become antiquated. One thing especially was proved by the Commune, viz., that the 'working class cannot simply lay hold of the ready-made state machinery and wield it for its own purposes.' "

What is the actual wording of the passage thus declared to be out of date? It runs as follows:

" The proletariat will use its political supremacy: to wrest, by degrees, all capital from the bourgeoisie; to centralise all instruments of production in the hands of the state, i.e., of the proletariat organised as the ruling class; and to increase the total of productive forces as rapidly as possible.

" Of course, in the beginning, this cannot be effected except by means of despotic inroads on the rights of property, and on the conditions of bourgeois production; by measures, therefore, which appear economically insufficient and untenable, but which, in the course of the movement, outstrip themselves, necessitate further inroads upon the old social order, and are unavoidable as a means of entirely revolutionising the mode of production.

" The measures will, of course, be different in different countries.

" Nevertheless, in the most advanced countries, the following will be pretty generally applicable:

" 1. Abolition of property in land and application of all land rents to public purposes.

" 2. A heavy progressive or graduated income tax.

" 3. Abolition of the right of inheritance.

" 4. Confiscation of the property of all emigrants and rebels.

" 5. Centralisation of credit in the hands of the state, by means of a national bank with state capital and an exclusive monopoly.

" 6. Centralisation of the means of communication and transport in the hands of the state.

" 7. Extension of factories and instruments of production owned by the state: the bringing into cultivation of waste lands, and the improvement of the soil generally, in accordance with a concerted plan.

" 8. Equal obligation upon all to labour. Establishment of industrial armies, especially for agriculture.

" 9. Co-ordination of agriculture with manufacturing industries: gradual abolition of the distinction between town and country, by a more equable distribution of the population throughout the rural areas.

" 10. Free education for all children in public schools. Abolition of children's factory labour in its present form. Combination of education with industrial production, etc., etc."

With a few trifling variations, these, as you know, are the tasks that confront us to-day. It is by such measures that we shall have to realise Socialism. Between the day when the above programme was formulated, and the present hour, there have intervened seventy years of capitalist development, and the historical evolutionary process has brought us back to the standpoint which Marx and Engels had in 1872 abandoned as erroneous. At that time there were excellent reasons for believing that their earlier views had been wrong. The further evolution of capital has, however, resulted in this, that what was error in 1872 has become truth to-day, so that it is our immediate objective to fulfil what Marx and Engels thought they would have to fulfil in the year 1848. But between that point of development, that beginning in the year 1848, and our own views and our immediate task, there lies the whole evolution, not only of capitalism, but in addition of the Socialist labour movement. Above

all, there have intervened the aforesaid developments in Germany as the leading land of the modern proletariat. This working-class evolution has taken a peculiar form. When, after the disillusionments of 1848, Marx and Engels had given up the idea that the proletariat could immediately realise Socialism, there came into existence in all countries Socialist parties inspired with very different aims. The immediate objective of these parties was declared to be detail work, the petty daily struggle in the political and industrial fields. Thus, by degrees, would proletarian armies be formed, and these armies would be ready to realise Socialism when capitalist development had matured. The Socialist programme was thereby established upon an utterly different foundation, and in Germany the change took a peculiarly typical form. Down to the collapse of August 4, 1914, the German social democracy took its stand upon the Erfurt programme, and by this programme the so-called immediate minimal aims were placed in the foreground, whilst Socialism was no more than a distant guiding star. Far more important, however, than what is written in a programme, is the way in which that programme is interpreted in action. From this point of view, great importance must be attached to one of the historical documents of the German labour movement, to the preface written by Friedrich Engels for the 1895 re-issue of Marx's *Class Struggles in France*. It is not merely upon historical grounds that I now reopen this question. The matter is one of extreme actuality. It has become our urgent duty to-day to replace our programme upon the foundation laid by Marx and Engels in 1848. In view of the changes effected since then by the historical process of development, it is incumbent upon us to undertake a deliberate revision of the views that guided the German social democracy down to the collapse of August 4th. Upon such a revision we are officially engaged to-day.

How did Engels envisage the question in that celebrated preface to the *Class Struggles in France*, composed by him in 1895, twelve years after the death of Marx? First of all, looking back upon the year 1848, he showed that the belief that the Socialist revolution was imminent had become obsolete. He continued as follows:

"History has shown that we were all mistaken in holding such a belief. It has shown that the state of economic evolution upon the Continent was then far from being ripe for the abolition of capitalist production. This has been proved by the economic revolution which since 1848 has taken place all over the continent. Large-scale industry has been established in France, Austria-Hungary, Poland, and of late Russia. Germany has become a manufacturing country of the first rank. All these changes have taken place upon a capitalist foundation, a foundation which in the year 1848 still had to undergo an enormous extension."

After summing up the changes which had occurred in the intervening period, Engels turned to consider the immediate tasks of the German Social Democratic Party. "As Marx had predicted," he wrote, "the war of 1870-71 and the fall of the Commune shifted the centre of gravity of the European labour movement from France to Germany. Many years had naturally to elapse ere France could recover from the blood-letting of May, 1871. In Germany, on the other hand, manufacturing industry was developing by leaps and

bounds, in the forcing-house atmosphere produced by the influx of the French milliards. Even more rapid and more enduring was the growth of social democracy. Thanks to the agreement in virtue of which the German workers have been able to avail themselves of the universal [male] suffrage introduced in 1866, the astounding growth of the party has been demonstrated to all the world by the testimony of figures whose significance no one can deny.

Thereupon followed the famous enumeration, showing the growth of the party vote in election after election until the figures swelled to millions. From this progress Engels drew the following conclusion: "The successful employment of the parliamentary vote entailed the acceptance of an entirely new tactic by the proletariat, and this new method has undergone rapid development. It has been realised that the political institutions in which the dominion of the bourgeoisie is incorporated offer a fulcrum whereby the proletariat can work for the overthrow of these very political institutions. The social democrats have participated in the elections to the various diets, to municipal councils, and to industrial courts. Wherever the proletariat could secure an effective voice, the occupation of these electoral strongholds by the bourgeoisie has been contested. Consequently, the bourgeoisie and the government have become much more alarmed at the constitutional than at the unconstitutional activities of the workers, dreading the results of elections far more than they dread the results of rebellion." Engels appends a detailed criticism of the illusion that under modern capitalist conditions the proletariat can possibly expect to effect anything for the revolution by street fighting. It seems to me, however, seeing that to-day we are in the midst of a revolution, a revolution characterised by street fighting and all that this entails, that it is time to shake ourselves free of the views which have guided the official policy of the German social democracy down to our own day, of the views which share responsibility for what happened on August 4th, 1914. (Hear! hear!)

I do not mean to imply that, on account of these utterances, Engels must share personal responsibility for the whole course of Socialist evolution in Germany. I merely draw your attention to one of the classical pieces of evidence of the opinions prevailing in the German social democracy—opinions which proved fatal to the movement. In this preface Engels demonstrated, as an expert in military science, that it was a pure illusion to believe that the workers could, in the existing state of military technique and of industry, and in view of the characteristics of the great towns of to-day, successfully bring about a revolution by street fighting. Two important conclusions were drawn from this reasoning. In the first place, the parliamentary struggle was counterposed to direct revolutionary action by the proletariat, and the former was indicated as the only practical way of carrying on the class struggle. Parliamentarism, and nothing but parliamentarism, was the logical sequel of this criticism. Secondly, the whole military machine, the most powerful organisation in the class state, the entire body of proletarians in military uniform, was declared on *apriori* grounds to be absolutely inaccessible in Socialist influences. When Engels' preface declares that, owing to the modern development of gigantic

armies, it is positively insane to suppose that proletarians can ever stand up against soldiers armed with machine guns and equipped with all the other latest technical devices, the assertion is obviously based upon the assumption that anyone who becomes a soldier, becomes thereby once and for all one of the props of the ruling class. It would be absolutely incomprehensible, in the light of contemporary experience, that so noted a leader as Engels could have committed such a blunder, did we not know the circumstances in which this historical document was composed. For the credit of our two great masters, and especially for the credit of Engels, who died twelve years later than Marx, and was always a faithful champion of his great collaborator's theories and reputation, I must remind you of the well-known fact that the preface in question was written by Engels under strong pressure on the part of the parliamentary group. At that date in Germany, during the early 'nineties after the anti-socialist law had been annulled, there was a strong movement towards the left, the movement of those who wished to save the party from becoming completely absorbed in the parliamentary struggle. Bebel and his associates wished for convincing arguments, backed up by Engels' great authority; they wished for an utterance which would help them to keep a tight hand upon the revolutionary elements. It was characteristic of party conditions at the time that the Socialist parliamentarians should have the decisive word alike in theory and in practice. They assured Engels, who lived abroad and naturally accepted the assurance at its face value, that it was absolutely essential to safeguard the German labour movement from a lapse into anarchism, and in this way they constrained him to write in the tone they wished. Thenceforward the tactics expounded by Engels in 1895 guided the German social democrats in everything they did and in everything they left undone, down to the appropriate finish of August 4th, 1914. The preface was the formal proclamation of the nothing-but-parliamentarism tactic. Engels died the same year, and had therefore no opportunity for studying the practical consequences of his theory. Those who know the works of Marx and Engels, those who are familiarly acquainted with the genuinely revolutionary spirit that inspired all their teachings and all their writings, will feel positively certain that Engels would have been one of the first to protest against the debauch of parliamentarism, against the frittering away of the energies of the labour movement, which was characteristic of Germany during the decades before the war. The fourth of August did not come like thunder out of a clear sky; what happened on the fourth of August was not a chance turn of affairs, but was the logical outcome of all that the German Socialists had been doing day after day for many years. (Hear! hear!) Engels and Marx, had it been possible for them to live on into our own time, would, I am convinced, have protested with the utmost energy, and would have used all the forces at their disposal to keep the party from hurling itself into the abyss. But after Engels' death in 1895, in the theoretical field the leadership of the party passed into the hands of Kautsky. The upshot of this change was that at every annual congress the energetic protests of the left wing against a purely parliamentarist policy, its urgent warnings against the sterility and the danger of such a policy, were stig-

matised as anarchism, anarchising Socialism, or at least anti-Marxism. What passed officially for Marxism became a cloak for all possible kinds of opportunism, for persistent shirking of the revolutionary class struggle, for every conceivable half-measure. Thus the German social democracy, and the labour movement, the trade-union movement as well, were condemned to pine away within the framework of capitalist society. No longer did German Socialists and trade unionists make any serious attempt to overthrow capitalist institutions or to put the capitalist machine out of gear.

II.

New Conditions, New Tasks

BUT we have now reached the point, comrades, when we are able to say that we have rejoined Marx, that we are once more advancing under his flag. If to-day we declare that the immediate task of the proletariat is to make Socialism a living reality and to destroy capitalism root and branch, in saying this we take our stand upon the ground occupied by Marx and Engels in 1848; we adopt a position from which in principle they never moved. It has at length become plain what true Marxism is, and what substitute-Marxism has been. (Applause). I mean the substitute-Marxism which has so long been the official Marxism of the social democracy. You see what Marxism of this sort leads to, the Marxism of those who are the henchmen of Ebert, David, and the rest of them. These are the official representatives of the doctrine which has been trumpeted for decades as Marxism undeified. But in reality Marxism could not lead in this direction, could not lead Marxists to engage in counter-revolutionary activities side by side with such as Scheidemann. Genuine Marxism turns its weapons against those also who seek to falsify it. Burrowing like a mole beneath the foundations of capitalist society, it has worked so well that the larger half of the German proletariat is marching to-day under our banner, the storm-riding standard of revolution. Even in the opposite camp, even where the counter-revolution still seems to rule, we have adherents and future comrades-in-arms.

Let me repeat, then, that the course of historical evolution has led us back to the point at which Marx and Engels stood in 1848 when they first hoisted the flag of international Socialism. We stand where they stood, but with the advantage that seventy additional years of capitalist development lie behind us. Seventy years ago, to those who reviewed the errors and illusions of 1848, it seemed as if the proletariat had still an interminable distance to traverse before it could hope to realise Socialism. I need hardly say that no serious thinker has ever been inclined to fix upon a definite date for the collapse of capitalism; but after the failures of 1848, the day for that collapse seemed to lie in the distant future. Such a belief, too, can be read in every line of the preface which Engels wrote in 1895. We are now in a position to cast up the account, and we are able to see that the time has really been short in comparison with that occupied by the sequence of class struggles throughout history. The progress of large-scale capitalist development during seventy years has brought us so far that to-day

we can seriously set about destroying capitalism once for all. Nay more, not merely are we to-day in a position to perform this task, not merely is its performance a duty towards the proletariat, but our solution offers the only means of saving human society from destruction. (Loud applause). What has the war left of bourgeois society beyond a gigantic rubbish-heap? Formally, of course, all the means of production and most of the instruments of power, practically all the decisive instruments of power, are still in the hands of the dominant classes. We are under no illusions here. But what our rulers will be able to achieve with the powers they possess, over and above frantic attempts to re-establish their system of spoliation through blood and slaughter, will be nothing more than chaos. Matters have reached such a pitch that to-day mankind is faced with two alternatives: it may perish amid chaos; or it may find salvation in Socialism. As the outcome of the great war it is impossible for the capitalist classes to find any issue from their difficulties while they maintain class rule. We now realise the absolute truth of the statement formulated for the first time by Marx and Engels as the scientific basis of Socialism in the great charter of our movement, in the Communist Manifesto. Socialism, they said, will become a historical necessity. Socialism is inevitable, not merely because proletarians are no longer willing to live under the conditions imposed by the capitalist class, but further because, if the proletariat fails to fulfil its duties as a class, if it fails to realise Socialism, we shall crash down together to a common doom. (Prolonged applause).

Here you have the general foundation of the programme we are officially adopting to-day, a draft of which you have all read in the pamphlet *Was will der Spartakusbund?**. Our programme is deliberately opposed to the leading principle of the Erfurt programme; it is deliberately opposed to the separation of the immediate and so-called minimal demands formulated for the political and economic struggle, from the socialist goal regarded as a maximal programme. It is in deliberate opposition to the Erfurt programme that we liquidate the results of seventy years' evolution, that we liquidate, above all, the primary results of the war, saying we know nothing of minimal and maximal programmes; we know only one thing, Socialism; this is the minimum we are going to secure. (Hear! hear!)

I do not propose to discuss the details of our programme. This would take too long, and you will form your own opinions upon matters of detail. The task that devolves upon me is merely to sketch the broad lines wherein our programme is distinguished from what has hitherto been the official programme of the German social democracy. I regard it, however, as of the utmost importance that we should come to an understanding in our estimate of the concrete circumstances of the hour, of the tactics we have to adopt, of the practical measures which must be undertaken, in view of the course of the revolution down to the present time, and in view of the probable lines of further development. We have to judge the political situation from the outlook I have just characterised, from

*English translation, "The German Spartacists: Their Aims and Objects." C.P. pamphlet. Price 2d.

the outlook of those who aim at the immediate realisation of Socialism, of those who are determined to subordinate everything else to that end.

Our congress, the congress of what I may proudly call the only revolutionary Socialist party of the German proletariat, happens to coincide in point of time with a crisis in the development of the German revolution. "Happens to coincide," I say; but in truth the coincidence is no chance matter. We may assert that after the occurrences of the last few days the curtain has gone down upon the first act of the German revolution. We are now in the opening of the second act, and it is our common duty to undertake self-examination and self-criticism. We shall be guided more wisely in the future, and we shall gain additional impetus for further advances, if we study all that we have done and all that we have left undone. Let us, then, carefully scrutinise the events of the first act in the revolution.

The movement began on November 9th. The revolution of November 9th was characterised by inadequacy and weakness. This need not surprise us. The revolution followed four years of war, four years during which, schooled by the social democracy and the trade unions, the German proletariat had behaved with intolerable ignominy and had repudiated its Socialist obligations to an extent unparalleled in any other land. We Marxists, whose guiding principle is a recognition of historical evolution, could hardly expect that in the Germany which had known the terrible spectacle of August 4th, and which during more than four years had reaped the harvest sown on that day, there should suddenly occur on November 9th, 1918, a glorious revolution, inspired with definite class-consciousness, and directed towards a clearly conceived aim. What happened on November 9th was to a very small extent the victory of a new principle; it was little more than a collapse of the extant system of imperialism. (Hear! hear!).

The moment had come for the collapse of imperialism, a colossus with feet of clay, crumbling from within. The sequel of this collapse was a more or less chaotic movement, one practically devoid of reasoned plan. The only source of union, the only persistent and saving principle, was the watchword, "Form workers' and soldiers' councils." Such was the slogan of this revolution, whereby, in spite of the inadequacy and weakness of the opening phases, it immediately established its claim to be numbered among proletarian Socialist revolutions. To those who participated in the revolution of November 9th, and who none the less shower calumnies upon the Russian Bolsheviks, we should never cease to reply with the question: "Where did you learn the alphabet of your revolution? Was it not from the Russians that you learned to ask for workers' and soldiers' councils?" (Applause). Those pygmies who to-day make it one of their chief tasks, as heads of what they falsely term a Socialist government, to join with the imperialists of Britain in a murderous attack upon the Bolsheviks, were then taking their seats as deputies upon the workers' and soldiers' councils, thereby formally admitting that the Russian revolution created the first watchwords for the world revolution. A study of the existing situation enables us to predict with certainty that in whatever

country, after Germany, the proletarian revolution may next break out, the first step will be the formation of workers' and soldiers' councils. (Murmurs of assent). Herein is to be found the tie that unites our movement internationally. This is the motto which distinguishes our revolution utterly from all earlier revolutions, bourgeois revolutions. On November 9th, the first cry of the revolution, as instinctive as the cry of a new-born child, was for workers' and soldiers' councils. This was our common rallying-cry, and it is through the councils that we can alone hope to realise Socialism. But it is characteristic of the contradictory aspects of our revolution, characteristic of the contradictions which attend every revolution, that at the very time when this great, stirring, and instinctive cry was being uttered, the revolution was so inadequate, so feeble, so devoid of initiative, so lacking in clearness as to its own aims, that on November 10th our revolutionists allowed to slip from their grasp nearly half the instruments of power they had seized on November 9th. We learn from this, on the one hand, that our revolution is subject to the prepotent law of historical determinism, a law which guarantees that, despite all difficulties and complications, notwithstanding all our own errors, we shall nevertheless advance step by step towards our goal. On the other hand, we have to recognise, comparing this splendid battle-cry with the paucity of the results practically achieved, we have to recognise that these were no more than the first childish and faltering footsteps of the revolution, which has many arduous tasks to perform and a long road to travel before the promise of the first watchwords can be fully realised.

The weeks that have elapsed between November 9th and the present day have been weeks filled with multiform illusions. The primary illusion of the workers and soldiers who made the revolution was their belief in the possibility of unity under the banner of what passes by the name of Socialism. What could be more characteristic of the internal weakness of the revolution of November 9th than the fact that at the very outset the leadership passed in no small part into the hands of persons who a few hours before the revolution broke out had regarded it as their chief duty to issue warnings against revolution—(hear! hear!)—to attempt to make revolution impossible—into the hands of such as Ebert, Scheidemann, and Haase. One of the leading ideas of the revolution of November 9th was that of uniting the various Socialist trends. The union was to be effected by acclamation. This was an illusion which had to be bloodily avenged, and the events of the last few days have brought a bitter awakening from our dreams; but the self-deception was universal, affecting the Ebert and Scheidemann groups and affecting the bourgeoisie no less than ourselves. Another illusion was that affecting the bourgeoisie during this opening act of the revolution. They believed that by means of the Ebert-Haase combination, by means of the so-called Socialist government, they would really be able to bridle the proletarian masses and to strangle the Socialist revolution. Yet another illusion was that from which the members of the Ebert-Scheidemann government suffered when they believed that with the aid of the soldiers returned from the front they would be able to hold down the workers and to curb all manifestations of the Socialist class

struggle. Such were the multifarious illusions which explain recent occurrences. One and all, they have now been dissipated. It has been plainly proved that the union between Haase and Ebert-Scheidemann under the banner of "Socialism" serves merely as a fig-leaf for the decent veiling of a counter-revolutionary policy. We ourselves, as always happens in revolutions, have been cured of our self-deceptions. There is a definite revolutionary procedure whereby the popular mind can be freed from illusion, but, unfortunately, the cure involves that the people must be blooded. In revolutionary Germany, events have followed the course characteristic of all revolutions. The bloodshed in Chaussee Street on December 6th, the massacre of December 24th, brought the truth home to the broad masses of the people. Through these occurrences they came to realise that what passes by the name of a Socialist government is a government representing the counter-revolution. They came to realise that any one who continues to tolerate such a state of affairs is working against the proletariat and against Socialism. (Applause).

Vanished, likewise, is the illusion cherished by Messrs. Ebert, Scheidemann & Co., that with the aid of soldiers from the front they will be able for ever to keep the workers in subjection. What has been the effect of the experiences of December 6th and 24th? There has been obvious of late a profound disillusionment among the soldiery. The men begin to look with a critical eye upon those who have used them as cannon-fodder against the Socialist proletariat. Herein we see once more the working of the law that the Socialist revolution undergoes a determined objective development, a law in accordance with which the battalions of the labour movement gradually learn through bitter experience to recognise the true path of revolution. Fresh bodies of soldiers have been brought to Berlin, new detachments of cannon-fodder, additional forces for the subjection of Socialist proletarians—with the result that, from barrack after barrack, there comes a demand for the pamphlets and leaflets of the Spartacus Group. This marks the close of the first act. The hopes of Ebert and Scheidemann that they would be able to rule the proletariat with the aid of reactionary elements among the soldiery, have already to a large extent been frustrated. What they have to expect within the very near future is an increasing development of definite revolutionary trends within the barracks. Thereby the army of the fighting proletariat will be augmented, and correspondingly the forces of the counter-revolutionists will dwindle. In consequence of these changes, yet another illusion will have to go, the illusion that animates the bourgeoisie, the dominant class. If you read the newspapers of the last few days, the newspapers issued since the incidents of December 24th, you cannot fail to perceive plain manifestations of disillusionment conjoined with indignation, both due to the fact that the henchmen of the bourgeoisie, those who sit in the seats of the mighty, have proved inefficient. (Hear! hear!)

It had been expected of Ebert and Scheidemann that they would prove themselves strong men, successful lion-tamers. But what have they achieved? They have suppressed a couple of trifling disturbances, and as a sequel the hydra of revolution has

raised its head more resolutely than ever. Thus disillusionment is mutual, nay universal. The workers have completely lost the illusion which had led them to believe that a union between Haase and Ebert-Scheidemann would amount to a Socialist government. Ebert and Scheidemann have lost the illusion which had led them to imagine that with the aid of proletarians in military uniform they could permanently keep down proletarians in civilian dress. The members of the middle class have lost the illusion that, through the instrumentality of Ebert, Scheidemann and Haase, they can humbug the entire Socialist revolution of Germany as to the ends it desires. All these things have a merely negative force, and there remains from them nothing but the rags and tatters of destroyed illusions. But it is in truth a great gain for the proletariat that naught beyond these rags and tatters remains from the first phase of the revolution, for there is nothing so destructive as illusion, whereas nothing can be of greater use to the revolution than naked truth. I may appropriately recall the words of one of our classical writers, a man who was no proletarian revolutionary, but a revolutionary spirit nurtured in the middle class. I refer to Lessing, and quote a passage which has always aroused my sympathetic interest: "I do not know whether it be a duty to sacrifice happiness and life to truth. . . . But this much I know, that it is our duty, if we desire to teach truth, to teach it wholly or not at all, to teach it clearly and bluntly, unenigmatically, unreservedly, inspired with full confidence in its powers. . . . The cruder an error, the shorter and more direct is the path leading to truth. But a highly refined error is likely to keep us permanently estranged from truth, and will do so all the more readily in proportion as we find it difficult to realise that it is an error. . . . One who thinks of conveying to mankind truth masked and rouged, may be truth's pimp, but has never been truth's lover." Comrades, Messrs. Haase, Dittmann, etc., have wished to bring us the revolution, to introduce Socialism, covered with a mask, smeared with rouge; they have thus shown themselves to be the pimps of the counter-revolution. To-day these concealments have been discarded, and what was offered is disclosed in the brutal and sturdy lineaments of Messrs. Ebert and Scheidemann. To-day the dullest among us can make no mistake. What is offered is the counter-revolution in all its repulsive nudity.

The first act is over. What are the subsequent possibilities? There is, of course, no question of prophecy. We can only hope to deduce the logical consequences of what has already happened, and thus to draw conclusions as to the probabilities of the future, in order that we may adapt our tactics to these probabilities. Whither does the road seem to lead? Some indications are given by the latest utterances of the Ebert-Scheidemann government, utterances free from ambiguity. What is likely to be done by this so-called Socialist government now that, as I have shown, all illusions have been dispelled? Day by day the government loses increasingly the support of the broad masses of the proletariat. In addition to the petty bourgeoisie there stand behind it no more than poor remnants from among the workers, and as regards these last it is extremely dubious whether they will long continue to lend any aid to Ebert and Scheidemann. More and more, too, the government

is losing the support of the army, for the soldiers have entered upon the path of self-examination and self-criticism. The effects of this process may seem slow at first, but it will lead irresistibly to their acquiring a thoroughgoing Socialist mentality. As for the bourgeoisie, Ebert and Scheidemann have lost credit in this quarter too, for they have not shown themselves strong enough. What can they do? They will soon make an end of the comedy of Socialist policy. When you read these gentlemen's new programme you will see that they are steaming under forced draught into the second phase, that of the declared counter-revolution, or, as I may even say, the restoration of pre-existent, pre-revolutionary conditions.

What is the programme of the new government? It proposes the election of a president, who is to have a position intermediate between that of the king of England and that of the president of the United States. (Hear! hear!) He is to be, as it were, King Ebert. In the second place they propose to re-establish the federal council. You may read to-day the independently formulated demands of the South German governments, demands which emphasise the federal character of the German realm. The re-establishment of the good old federal council, in conjunction, naturally, with that of its appendage, the German Reichstag, is now a question of a few weeks only. Comrades, Ebert and Scheidemann are moving in this way towards the simple restoration of the conditions that obtained prior to November 9th. But therewith they have entered upon a steep declivity, and are likely ere long to find themselves lying with broken limbs at the bottom of the abyss. For by the ninth of November the re-establishment of the conditions that had existed prior to the ninth of November had already become out of date, and to-day Germany is miles from such a possibility. In order to secure support from the only class whose class interests the government really represents, in order to secure support from the bourgeoisie—a support which has in fact been withdrawn owing to recent occurrences—Ebert and Scheidemann will be compelled to pursue an increasingly counter-revolutionary policy. The demands of the South German states, as published to-day in the Berlin newspapers, give frank expression to the wish to secure “enhanced safety” for the German realm. In plain language, this means that they desire the declaration of a state of siege against “anarchist, disorderly, and Bolshevik” elements; that is to say, against Socialists. By the pressure of circumstances, Ebert and Scheidemann will be constrained to the expedient of dictatorship, with or without the declaration of a state of siege. Thus, as an outcome of the previous course of development, by the mere logic of events and through the operation of the forces which control Ebert and Scheidemann, there will ensue during the second act of the revolution a much more pronounced opposition of tendencies and a greatly accentuated class struggle. (Hear! hear!) This intensification of conflict will arise, not merely because the political influences I have already enumerated, dispelling all illusions, will lead to a declared hand-to-hand fight between the revolution and the counter-revolution; but in addition because the flames of a new fire are spreading upward from the depths, the flames of the economic struggle.

III.

Lessons of the November Revolution

IT was typical of the first period of the revolution down to December 24th, that the revolution remained exclusively political. Hence the infantile character, the inadequacy, the half-heartedness, the aimlessness, of this revolution. Such was the first stage of a revolutionary transformation whose main objective lies in the economic field, whose main purpose it is to secure a fundamental change in economic conditions. Its steps were as uncertain as those of a child groping its way without knowing whither it is going; for at this stage, I repeat, the revolution had a purely political stamp. But within the last two or three weeks a number of strikes have broken out quite spontaneously. Now, I regard it as the very essence of this revolution that strikes will become more and more extensive, until they constitute at last the focus of the revolution. (Applause). Thus we shall have an economic revolution, and therewith a Socialist revolution. The struggle for Socialism has to be fought out by the masses, by the masses alone, breast to breast against capitalism; it has to be fought out by those in every occupation, by every proletarian against his employer. Thus only can it be a Socialist revolution.

The thoughtless had a very different picture of the course of affairs. They imagined it would merely be necessary to overthrow the old government, to set up a Socialist government at the head of affairs, and then to inaugurate Socialism by decree. Another illusion? Socialism will not be and cannot be inaugurated by decrees; it cannot be established by any government, however admirably socialistic. Socialism must be created by the masses, must be made by every proletarian. Where the chains of capitalism are forged, there must the chains be broken. That only is Socialism, and thus only can Socialism be brought into being.

What is the external form of struggle for Socialism? The strike, and that is why the economic phase of development has come to the front in the second act of the revolution. This is something on which we may pride ourselves, for no one will dispute with us the honour. We of the Spartacus Group, we of the Communist Party of Germany, are the only ones in all Germany who are on the side of the striking and fighting workers. (Hear! hear!) You have read and witnessed again and again the attitude of the Independent Socialists towards strikes. There was no difference between the outlook of *Vorwaerts* and the outlook of *Freiheit*. Both journals sang the same tune; Be diligent, Socialism means hard work. Such was their utterance while capitalism was still in control! Socialism cannot be established thus-wise, but only by carrying on an unremitting struggle against capitalism. Yet we see the claims of the capitalists defended, not only by the most outrageous profit-snatchers, but also by the Independent Socialists and by their organ, *Freiheit*; we find that our Communist Party stands alone in supporting the workers against the exactions of capital. This suffices to show that all are to-day persistent and unsparing enemies of the strike, except only those who have taken their stand with us upon the platform of revolutionary Communism.

The conclusion to be drawn is, not only that during the second act of the revolution, strikes will become increasingly prevalent; but, further, that strikes will become the central feature and the decisive factors of the revolution, thrusting purely political questions into the background. The inevitable consequence of this will be that the struggle in the economic field will be enormously intensified. The revolution will therewith assume aspects that will be no joke to the bourgeoisie. The members of the capitalist class are quite agreeable to mystifications in the political domain, where masquerades are still possible, where such creatures as Ebert and Scheidemann can pose as Socialists; but they are horror-stricken directly profits are touched. To the Ebert-Scheidemann government, therefore, the capitalists will present these alternatives. Either, they will say, you must put an end to the strikes, you must stop this strike movement which threatens to destroy us; or else, we have no more use for you. I believe, indeed, that the government has already damned itself pretty thoroughly by its political measures. Ebert and Scheidemann are distressed to find that the bourgeoisie no longer reposes confidence in them. The capitalists will think twice before they decide to cloak in ermine the rough upstart, Ebert. If matters go so far that a monarch is needed, they will say: "It does not suffice a king to have blood upon his hand; he must also have blue blood in his veins." Hear! hear!) Should matters reach this pass, they will say: "If we needs must have a king, we will not have a parvenu who does not know how to comport himself in kingly fashion." (Laughter).

Thus Ebert and Scheidemann are coming to the point when a counter-revolutionary movement will display itself. They will be unable to quench the fires of the economic class struggle, and at the same time with their best endeavours they will fail to satisfy the bourgeoisie. There will be a desperate attempt at counter-revolution, perhaps an unqualified militarist dictatorship under Hindenburg, or perhaps the counter-revolution will manifest itself in some other form; but in any case, our heroes will take to the woods. (Laughter).

It is impossible to speak positively as to details. But we are not concerned with matters of detail, with the question precisely what will happen, or precisely when it will happen. Enough that we know the broad lines of coming developments. Enough that we know that, to the first act of the revolution, to the phase in which the political struggle has been the leading feature, there will succeed a phase predominantly characterised by an intensification of the economic struggle, and that sooner or later the government of Ebert and Scheidemann will take its place among the shades.

It is far from easy to say what will happen to the National Assembly during the second act of the revolution. Perchance, should the assembly come into existence, it may prove a new school of education for the working class. But it seems just as likely that the National Assembly will never come into existence. Let me say parenthetically, to help you to understand the grounds upon which we were defending our position yesterday, that our only objection was to limiting our tactics to a single alternative. I will not reopen the whole discussion, but will merely say a word or two

lest any of you should falsely imagine that I am blowing hot and cold with the same breath. Our position to-day is precisely that of yesterday. We do not propose to base our tactics in relation to the National Assembly upon what is a possibility but not a certainty. We refuse to stake everything upon the belief that the National Assembly will never come into existence. *We wish to be prepared for all possibilities, including the possibility of utilising the National Assembly for revolutionary purposes should the assembly ever come into being.* Whether it comes into being or not is a matter of indifference, for whatever happens the success of the revolution is assured.

What fragments will then remain of the Ebert-Scheidemann government or of any other alleged social democratic government which may happen to be in charge when the revolution takes place? I have said that the masses of the workers are already alienated from them, and that the soldiers are no longer to be counted upon as counter-revolutionary cannon-fodder. What on earth will the poor pygmies be able to do? How can they hope to save the situation? They will still have one last chance. Those of you who have read to-day's newspapers will have seen where the ultimate reserves are, will have learned whom it is that the German counter-revolution proposes to lead against us should the worst come to the worst. You will all have read how the German troops in Riga are already marching shoulder to shoulder with the English against the Russian Bolsheviks. Comrades, I have documents in my hands which throw an interesting light upon what is now going on in Riga. The whole thing comes from the headquarters' staff of the eighth army, which is collaborating with Herr August Winnig, the German social democrat and trade-union leader. We have always been told that the unfortunate Ebert and Scheidemann are victims of the Allies. But for weeks past, since the very beginning of our revolution, it has been the policy of *Vorwaerts* to suggest that the suppression of the Russian revolution is the earnest desire of the Allies. We have here documentary evidence how all this was arranged to the detriment of the Russian proletariat and of the German revolution. In a telegram dated December 26th, Lieutenant-Colonel Buerkner, chief of general staff of the eighth army, conveys information concerning the negotiations which led to this agreement at Riga. The telegram runs as follows:

"On December 23rd there was a conversation between the German plenipotentiary Winnig, and the British plenipotentiary Monsanquet, formerly Consul-General at Riga. The interview took place on board H.M.S. "Princess Margaret," and the commanding officer of the German troops was invited to be present. I was appointed to represent the army command. The purpose of the conversation was to assist in the carrying out of the armistice conditions. The conversation took the following course:

"From the English side: The British ships at Riga will supervise the carrying out of the armistice conditions. Upon these conditions are based the following demands:

"(1) The Germans are to maintain a sufficient force in this region to hold the Bolsheviks in check and to prevent them from extending the area now occupied.

“(3) A statement of the present disposition of the troops fighting the Bolsheviks, including both the German and the Lettish soldiers, shall be sent to the British staff officer, so that the information may be available for the senior naval officer. All future dispositions of the troops carrying on the fight against the Bolsheviks must in like manner be communicated through the same officer.

“(4) A sufficient fighting force must be kept under arms at the following points; in order to prevent their being seized by the Bolsheviks, and in order to prevent the Bolsheviks from passing beyond a line connecting the places named: Walk, Wolmar, Wenden, Friedrichstadt, Pensk, Mitau.

“(5) The railway from Riga to Libau must be safeguarded against Bolshevik attack, and all British supplies and communications passing along this line shall receive preferential treatment.”

A number of additional demands follows.

Let us now turn to the answer of Herr Winnig, German plenipotentiary and trade-union leader:

“Though it is unusual that a desire should be expressed to compel a government to retain occupation of a foreign state, in this case it would be our own wish to do so, since the question is one of protecting German blood.” [The Baltic Barons!] “Moreover, we regard it as a moral duty to assist the country which we have liberated from its former state of dependence. Our endeavours would, however, be likely to be frustrated, in the first place, by the condition of the troops, for our soldiers in this region are mostly men of considerable age and comparatively unfit for service, and owing to the armistice keen on returning home and possessed of little will to fight; in the second place, owing to the attitude of the Baltic governments, by which the Germans are regarded as oppressors. But we will endeavour to provide volunteer troops, consisting of men with a fighting spirit, and indeed this has already in part been done.”

Here we see the counter-revolution at work. You will have read not long ago of the formation of the Iron Division expressly intended to fight the Bolsheviks in the Baltic provinces. At that time there was some doubt as to the attitude of the Ebert-Scheidemann government. You will now realise that the initiative in the creation of such a force actually came from the government.

One word more concerning Winnig. It is no chance matter that a trade-union leader should perform such political services. We can say, without hesitation, that the German trade-union leaders and the German social democrats are the most infamous scoundrels the world has ever known. (Vociferous applause). Do you know where these fellows, Winnig, Ebert and Scheidemann—ought by right to be? By the German penal code, which they tell us is still in force, and which continues to be the basis of their own legal system, they ought to be in gaol! (Vociferous applause). For by the German penal code it is an offence punishable by imprisonment to enlist German soldiers for foreign service. To-day there stand at the head of the “Socialist” government of Germany, men who are not merely the Judases of the Socialist movement and traitors to the proletarian revolution, but who are gaol-birds, unfit to mix with decent society. (Loud applause).

IV.

Tactics of the German Revolution

TO resume the thread of my discourse, it is clear that all these machinations, the formation of Iron Divisions, and, above all, the before-mentioned agreement with British imperialists, must be regarded as the ultimate reserves, to be called up in case of need in order to throttle the German Socialist movement. Moreover, the cardinal question, the question of the prospects of peace, is intimately associated with the affair. What can such negotiations lead to but a fresh lighting-up of the war? While these rascals are playing a comedy in Germany, trying to make us believe that they are working overtime in order to arrange conditions of peace, and declaring that we Spartacists are the disturbers of the peace whose doings are making the Allies uneasy and retarding the peace settlement, they are themselves kindling the war afresh, a war in the East to which a war on German soil will soon succeed. Once more we meet with a situation the sequel of which cannot fail to be a period of fierce contention. It devolves upon us to defend, not Socialism alone, not revolution alone, but likewise the interests of world peace. Herein we find a justification for the tactics which we of the Spartacus Group have consistently and at every opportunity pursued throughout the four years of the war. Peace means the world-wide revolution of the proletariat. In one way only can peace be established and peace be safeguarded—by the victory of the Socialist proletariat! (Prolonged applause).

What general tactical considerations must we deduce from this? How can we best deal with the situation with which we are likely to be confronted in the immediate future? Your first conclusion will doubtless be a hope that the fall of the Ebert-Scheidemann government is at hand, and that its place will be taken by a declared Socialist proletarian revolutionary government. For my part, I would ask you to direct your attention, not to the apex, but to the base. We must not again fall into the illusion of the first phase of the revolution, that of November 9th; we must not think that when we wish to bring about a Socialist revolution it will suffice to overthrow the capitalist government and to set up another in its place. There is only one way of achieving the victory of the proletarian revolution. We must begin by undermining the Ebert-Scheidemann government by destroying its foundations through a revolutionary mass struggle on the part of the proletariat. Moreover, let me remind you of some of the inadequacies of the German revolution, inadequacies which have not been overcome with the close of the first act of the revolution. We are far from having reached a point when the overthrow of the government can ensure the victory of Socialism. I have endeavoured to show you that the revolution of November 9th was, before all, a political revolution; whereas the revolution which is to fulfil our aims, must, in addition, and mainly, be an economic revolution. But further, the revolutionary movement was confined to the towns, and even up to the present date the rural districts remain practically untouched. Socialism would prove illusory if it were to leave our present agricultural system unchanged. From the broad outlook of Socialist

economics, manufacturing industry cannot be remodelled unless it be quickened through a Socialist transformation of agriculture. The leading idea of the economic transformation that will realise Socialism, is an abolition of the contrast and the division between town and country. This separation, this conflict, this contradiction, is a purely capitalistic phenomenon, and it must disappear as soon as we place ourselves upon the Socialist standpoint. If Socialist reconstruction is to be undertaken in real earnest, we must direct attention just as much to the open country as to the industrial centres, and yet as regards the former we have not even taken the first steps. This is essential, not merely because we cannot bring about Socialism without socialising agriculture; but also because, whilst we may think we have reckoned up the last reserves of the counter-revolution against us and our endeavours, there remains another important reserve which has not yet been taken into account. I refer to the peasantry. Precisely because the peasants are still untouched by Socialism, they constitute an additional reserve for the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie. The first thing our enemies will do when the flames of the Socialist strikes begin to scorch their heels, will be to mobilise the peasants, who are fanatical devotees of private property. There is only one way of making head against this threatening counter-revolutionary power. We must carry the class struggle into the country districts; we must mobilise the landless proletariat and the poorer peasants against the richer peasants. (Loud applause).

From this consideration we may deduce what we have to do to ensure the success of the revolution. First and foremost, we have to extend in all directions the system of workers' councils. What we have taken over from November 9th are mere weak beginnings, and we have not wholly taken over even these. During the first phase of the revolution we actually lost extensive forces that were acquired at the very outset. You are aware that the counter-revolution has been engaged in the systematic destruction of the system of workers' and soldiers council. In Hesse, these councils have been definitely abolished by the counter-revolutionary government; elsewhere, power has been wrenched from their hands. Not merely, then, have we to develop the system of workers' and soldiers' councils, but we have to induce the agricultural labourers and the poorer peasants to adopt this system. We have to seize power, and the problem of the seizure of power assumes this aspect; what, throughout Germany, can each workers' and soldiers' council achieve? (Bravo!) There lies the source of power. We must mine the bourgeois state, and we must do so by putting an end everywhere to the cleavage in public powers, to the cleavage between legislative and executive powers. These powers must be united in the hands of the workers' and soldiers' councils.

Comrades, we have here an extensive field to till. We must build from below upwards, until the workers' and soldiers' councils gather so much strength that the overthrow of the Ebert-Scheidemann or any similar government will be merely the final act in the drama. For us the conquest of power will not be effected at one blow. It will be a progressive act, for we shall progressively occupy all the positions of the capitalist state, defending tooth and

nailed each one that we seize. Moreover, in my view and in that of my most intimate associates in the party, the economic struggle, likewise, will be carried on by the workers' councils. The settlement of economic affairs, and the continued expansion of the area of this settlement, must be in the hands of the workers' councils. The councils must have all power in the state. To these ends must we direct our activities in the immediate future, and it is obvious that, if we pursue this line, there cannot fail to be an enormous and immediate intensification of the struggle. For step by step, by hand-to-hand fighting, in every province, in every town, in every village, in every commune, all the powers of the state have to be transferred bit by bit from the bourgeoisie to the workers' and soldiers' councils. But before these steps can be taken, the members of our own party and the proletarians in general must be schooled and disciplined. Even where workers' and soldiers' councils already exist, these councils are as yet far from understanding the purposes for which they exist. (Hear! hear!) We must make the masses realise that the workers' and soldiers' council has to be the central feature of the machinery of state, that it must concentrate all power within itself, and must utilise all powers for the one great purpose of bringing about the Socialist revolution. Those workers who are already organised to form workers' and soldiers' councils are still very far from having adopted such an outlook, and only isolated proletarian minorities are as yet clear as to the tasks that devolve upon them. But there is no reason to complain of this, for it is a normal state of affairs. The masses must learn how to use power, by using power. There is no other way. We have, happily, advanced since the days when it was proposed to "educate" the proletariat socialistically. Marxists of Kautsky's school are, it would seem, still living in those vanished days. To educate the proletarian masses socialistically meant, to deliver lectures to them, to circulate leaflets and pamphlets among them. But it is not by such means that the proletarians will be schooled. The workers, to-day, will learn in the school of action. (Hear! hear!)

Our Scripture reads: In the beginning was the deed. Action for us means that the workers' and soldiers' councils must realise their mission and must learn how to become the sole public authorities throughout the realm. Thus only can we mine the ground so effectively as to make everything ready for the revolution which will crown our work. Quite deliberately, and with a clear sense of the significance of our words, did some of us say to you yesterday, did I in particular say to you, "Do not imagine that you are going to have an easy time in the future!" Some of the comrades have falsely imagined me to assume that we can boycott the National Assembly and then simply fold our arms. It is impossible, in the time that remains, to discuss this matter fully, but let me say that I never dreamed of anything of the kind. My meaning was that history is not going to make our revolution an easy matter like the bourgeois revolutions. In those revolutions it sufficed to overthrow the official power at the centre, and to replace a dozen or so of persons in authority. But we have to work from beneath. Therein is displayed the mass character of our revolution, one which aims at transforming the whole structure of society. It

is thus characteristic of the modern proletarian revolution, that we must effect the conquest of political power, not from above, but from beneath. The ninth of November was an attempt, a weakly, half-hearted, half-conscious, and chaotic attempt, to overthrow the existing public authority and to put an end to ownership rule. What is now incumbent upon us is that we should deliberately concentrate all the forces of the proletariat for an attack upon the very foundations of capitalist society. There, at the root, where the individual employer confronts his wage slaves; at the root, where all the executive organs of ownership rule confront the objects of this rule, confront the masses; there, step by step, we must seize the means of power from the rulers, must take them into our own hands. Working by such methods, it may seem that the process will be a rather more tedious one than we had imagined in our first enthusiasm. It is well, I think, that we should be perfectly clear as to all the difficulties and complications in the way of revolution. For I hope that, as in my own case, so in yours also, the description of the great difficulties we have to encounter, of the augmenting tasks we have to undertake, will neither abate zeal nor paralyse energy. Far from it, the greater the task, the more fervently will you gather up your forces. Nor must we forget that the revolution is able to do its work with extraordinary speed. I shall make no attempt to foretell how much time will be required. Who among us cares about the time, so long only as our lives suffice to bring it to pass? Enough for us to know clearly the work we have to do; and to the best of my ability I have endeavoured to sketch, in broad outline, the work that lies before us. (Tumultuous applause).

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Allies Attempt to Crush Russia

I.

The Petrograd Plot

IN the beginning of June this year, the Petrograd Extraordinary Committee discovered and destroyed a great plot, which was preparing a military revolt against the Soviet Power in Petrograd, in the north and north-west provinces of the Republic. Hundreds of members of military terrorist organisations were arrested. The headquarters of the organisation were discovered, and a secret printing works, dynamite, arms, and also incriminating documents were found.

From the statements of the arrested, the following has been ascertained:—

“ That the organisation was called the ‘ District Committee of the Union for the Liberation of Russia,’ and was connected with a number of Societies like ‘ The Fighting Committee,’ ‘ The National Rebellion Committee,’ ‘ The Petrograd National Fighting Society,’ ‘ The United Society,’ etc.

“ The members of the District Committee are known.”

Leaders of the Plot

(1) At the head of the organisation was Tagantzev, professor of the Geographical Institute. He is the person who was compromised in the plot of November, 1919, in Petrograd, which was organised by the British spy, Paul Dukes.

(2) Orlovsky, who was the leader of the terrorist section of the party.

The organisation which has been uncovered was in constant touch, through their own couriers, with the Finnish, American, English and French Intelligence Departments in Finland. Many members of this Society were also in the service of the various Intelligence Departments.

Finnish: Orlovsky and Paskov.

English: Wilken and Sokolov.

French: Herman.

American: Nikolsky, Raben, Stark.

A leading member of the organisation called U. P. Herman was at the same time in the service of the Finnish and French Intelligence Departments.

All these Intelligence Departments were recruiting members for the organisation, with the help of Petrichenko, former President of the Kronstadt Revolutionary Committee. The members were recruited from amongst the sailors who escaped from Kronstadt

and are kept in the fortress of Ino, Finland. On joining they were sent on to Petrograd, where they became members of the so-called United Organisation of the Kronstadt sailors. At the head of them stood Komarov, the leader of the Kronstadt rebellion. His dwelling was the headquarters of the organisation.

Komarov's organisation was a branch of the "Union for the Liberation of Russia."

At the search at Komarov's house, was found dynamite, printing works, and official paper of the above-named organisation.

The organisation called the "Union for the Liberation" had branches in various provinces; the leaders of these branches were in communication with groups which existed in various factories and in Soviet organisations.

The organisers of the provincial branches were former sailors.

The couriers when they left Finland for Russia, were provided with arms and passports of the Third Mine Destroying Division, the commander of which who gave out these passports is arrested.

II.

The Aims and Methods of the Plotters

THE aim of the organisation, according to the statement of Tagantzev, was "to prepare the forces for the rebellion, by finding a basis for a union between the intellectuals and the mass of the people."

According to the statement of the same Tagantzev, in the Petrograd organisation there were more than 200 members, chiefly former officers, sailors, lawyers, and former factory managers, and so on, who managed to penetrate into responsible positions in the Soviet administration. They considered assassination the best means for achieving their aims, and directed their activity accordingly.

By the confession of the arrested Orlovsky and others, they blew up the monument of Volodarsky, and organised a number of attempts on the lives of Soviet Leaders. In his statement, Orlovsky says: "We wanted to get one of our members, the electrician, Koptelov, into the Astoria Hotel, Petrograd, in order that he should kill Zinoviev. Our pass-word was 'Day.'" Orlovsky himself offered to kill Anzelovich with a bomb.

In a statement from the 1st June, 1921, this same Orlovsky says: "It is true that I, together with Nikitin, Permin, Modestov and Fedorov wanted to make an attack on the train by which Krassin was travelling, and take away all the gold and valuables; Tagantzev told us that Krassin was carrying gold, and he asked us to make this attack."

By the statement of Komarov, the organisation prepared explosions in the Nobel warehouses, and an explosion of a monument on Vasilie Island; to set on fire the first State saw-mills and the assassination of the former Commissary, Kuzmin, head of the Baltic Fleet. Thanks to the timely discovery of the organisation,

the enemies of the revolution did not succeed in carrying out their barbaric intentions.

According to the statement of Professor Tagantzev, he together with Shaknovsky (who was another member of the organisation), organised in Petrograd and Moscow a number of secret banks and offices, in order to sell valuables in Russia and abroad, and thus fight the Soviet Government on an economic basis.

In his statement, with regard to the methods of fighting, Tagantzev, criticising the desire of Koltchak, Denikin, and other White Generals to conquer Soviet Russia by the establishment of a large number of fighting areas, he says: "You cannot conquer Soviet Russia, you must stir up rebellion in it."

"The Union of Liberation," which is an organisation of the Cadet Party, had a very diffuse programme. In order to attract into their plot the Socialistic groups, the monarchist Tagantzev included in the programme the demand borrowed from Kronstadt, about free re-elections into the Soviets.

When the White Guards of Petrograd accepted this war-cry, they knew very well its real meaning. They openly confessed that under "Free" Soviets they really meant not Soviets of the Third International, but Soviets of the Russian land. This war-cry was necessary for them; first of all in order to remove from power the Communist Party, because the Communist Party without the machinery of State, will not be dangerous after the revolution. These dark forces confessed that they considered such elections a *coup d'état*.

III.

Social Traitors and Financiers

ACCORDING to Tagantzev's statement, to this organisation belonged people of various political views, including Left Wing Socialists. The Petrograd Committee of the organisation distributed a large number of appeals and proclamations. A large amount of counter revolutionary literature was imported from Finland.

During the search were found appeals from the leader of the Kronstadt rebellion, Petrichenko, to the workers of Moscow and Petrograd, in which this man, who is in pay of foreign agents, appeals for an armed rising against the Communistic system.

This White Guard organisation was directed from abroad by the former Czarist Minister, Kokovzev and the Leader of Russian Imperialism, the Cadet Struve; from them the organisation received the necessary money.

By the statement of Tagantzev the organisation received from abroad about 10,000,000 roubles. Struve organised in Paris a group of financiers, which was to supply Petrograd with all the necessities after the revolution.

From the correspondence which has been found on Tagantzev, it is seen that the organisers of the plot, living abroad, have placed great hopes on the Russian Commercial Conference, which was

taking place in Paris, from which they hoped to get a large sum of money for organising the rebellion.

From the materials found, it also seems that the Kronstadt rebellion had given new hopes to the White Guards of Petrograd. Tagantzev states: "That the intensity of the work during the Kronstadt rebellion took the form of energetic discussions of questions of organisations, attempts to get into touch with Kronstadt, and the distribution of appeals printed in Finland."

The organisation expected to get 8,000 tons of products from Yudenitch's fund.

IV.

Savinkov's Warsaw Organisation

THE All-Russian Extraordinary Committee has information that the Petrograd "Union for the Liberation of Russia," united in April-May, with Savinkov's terrorist organisation in Warsaw.

The Cadet Party and its evil spirit of Russian counter-revolution, adopted tactics of destruction and a system of murder. This party of enemies of the people, which was selling Russia during the Revolution to all representatives of international imperialism, thus appears in its true light as the real organiser of hunger and economic destruction.

V.

Savinkov's Plot

IN the end of May, this year, the All Russian Extraordinary Committee also discovered large fighting terroristic organisations of Boris Savinkov, which had spread out over the whole of the western and north-western provinces, and had branches and groups practically over the whole territory of the Russian Socialist Soviet Republic.

The headquarters of the discovered organisation was situated in the town of Gomel, and was called "The Western District Committee of the National Union for the Defence of Country and Freedom."

All members of the Central Committee and of the sub-committees in the Provinces of Gomel, Minsk, and Smolensk were arrested. Hundreds of members of the organisations were also arrested along with some of Savinkov's couriers and spies. A large number of incriminating documents have been found as well as a large quantity of counter-revolutionary literature. From the documents which came into the hands of the Central Extraordinary Committee, and from statements of members of the organisation, we could establish not only a full picture of the origin and development of the organisation, but also of the whole "National Union for the Defence of Country and Freedom," just as well as the relations existing between them on the one hand, and the French Military Mission in Poland and the Polish General Staff on the other.

The organisation was under the entire control of the "All Russian Committee of the National Union for the Defence of Country and Freedom," which has its headquarters in Warsaw, in the Hotel Bruhl.

The Chairman of the "All Russian Committee" was the Socialist Revolutionary, Boris Savinkov, the organiser of the White Guard Rebellion in 1918 in Yaroslav. Members of the Committee were Cossack officers, Victor Savinkov (a brother of Boris Savinkov), Dikg-of-Derental, Filosofov, General Elvegren, Colonel Gniloribov, and Selyanikov.

The organisation was first started in the middle of January this year, from members of the "Russian Military Committee" in Poland. Savinkov has named this new organisation "the National Union for the Defence of Country and Freedom," after the Society controlled by him in 1918, which was liquidated by the Extraordinary Committee.

VI.

The Aims of the Organisation and Methods of Work

THE principal aim of the organisation was to prepare an armed rebellion for the overthrow of the Soviet power. The construction of the organisation was as follows:—

A number of the District Committees are dependent on the Central Committee, while the province and town Committees are in their turn dependent on the District Committees. It was the duty of the town and village Committees to organise in all Soviet Institutions, factories, villages, army centres and so on, groups of the "National Union for the Defence of Country and Freedom." These groups were to organise the people belonging to no parties, and use their influence at elections to Soviets, in order to get into the Soviet members of their organisation. They were also to try and disorganise the economic life of the country wherever and in what form possible. All members of the Committee had to belong to some fighting contingent of the party. These fighting contingents were supposed to play the deciding part at a time of rising against the Soviet Government, though great hopes were also placed on the armies of Bulak-Balakhovich, Peremikin, Petlura, which are interned in Poland. The troops of these people were to be sent into Russia by first bringing them near the Russian Polish frontier, disguised as workers.

From these elements were to be formed fighting contingents, which even before the beginning of the revolt in Russia had to penetrate into the country and get into touch with the "National Union for the Defence of Country and Freedom." The contingents were to prepare the field of battle for the interned armies that were coming, while the Cossacks had to be concentrated on the River Stry, from where they should penetrate to the Don. According to the statement of the arrested members of the organisation, they had the consent of the Polish General Staff and the Chief of the

French Military Mission in Poland, General Nisselle, for the transport of the interned troops into Russia.

The organisers of the party, "National Union for the Defence of Country and Freedom," were recruited chiefly from among the interned officers in Poland. These were sent into Soviet Russia by ones and in groups; for instance, in April this year, two groups of 192 persons of such organisers were sent into the Volga District. The special feature of this new organisation is that on the same territory existed a number of organisations quite independent from one another, all working in the same direction, yet one not knowing about the existence of the other. Such a state of affairs was a necessity in view of the character of the organisation and its political make up.

When Savinkov accepted members in this organisation, he paid little attention to their political views. Monarchists, Cadets, Socialist-Revolutionaries, Mensheviks, it was all the same to him, so long as they agreed to take orders from him, and participate in the preparation of a rebellion. In order to hide the political views of these groups, Savinkov organised parallel organisations. At the time of the organisation of the party of "National Union for the Defence of Country and Freedom," the politicians from Bruhl were expecting peasant rebellions, and they timed the activities of their organisation to occur simultaneously, but when Savinkov's hopes of peasant rebellions in the spring miscarried, he postponed the time of the revolutionary activity for the time of harvest.

The working out of the full plan of the rebellion and the amalgamation of the parallel groups were expected to take place on June 5th in Warsaw. Should this congress find that they have not sufficient strength for a rebellion at harvest time, they were to postpone it for the time of gathering of taxes.

From the documents which came to the hand of the "Extraordinary Committee," it is evident that this Congress actually took place.

Savinkov's "National Union for the Defence of Country and Freedom" became the centre of all counter-revolutionary activities, and the "Government" of Petlura came to an understanding with him directed against the workers and peasants of Russia. At the present time, all these White organisations in the South of Russia are united in a counter-revolutionary union, called the Southern States of Russia, at the head of which stands the Southern District Committee of "National Union for the Defence of Country and Freedom!"

VII.

The Use of Terror was the Principle Method of these Tactics

IN order to illustrate the importance which they attached to terror, let us quote a statement of one of the arrested members of the Central Committee.

"We wanted to weaken the reprisals of the Soviet Authorities by terror."

With this aim in view, a number of attacks were planned on Administrative Centres, on Soviet Central Bureaux and Party Offices. It was also intended to organise a number of explosions in Soviet Offices, at various Congresses, Conferences, etc. They wanted to disorganise and demoralise the Communists by terror, and use terror as a means for stopping the influx of new members into the Communist Party. Also the Red Army was to be disorganised by terror. With this aim in view, they planned a number of attacks on the headquarters of the Army, the shooting of Commissaries, and explosions in the barracks.

This is what they meant by terror at the time of organising the party at the end of last year. Later on, when, owing to the disorganisation by bandits of the normal railway communication with Western Siberia and with the South, and the consequent diminution of food supplies in the country, they decided to disorganise also the economic life of the country. From that time onwards, their attacks were chiefly directed for the destruction of the economic organisation of the country. They began to demolish railways, locomotives, buildings, stores, in order to bring the transport system of the country to a standstill. Destruction of fuel stores by fire was intended to intensify the crisis.

The traitorous organisation of strikes in factories, destruction of machinery and burning of factories were intended to destroy Russian industry. The destruction and plunder of food stores, the destruction and spoiling of products during transport, the shooting of the food officials, agitation amongst the peasantry against the delivery of corn—all these measures were recommended by Savinkov's "Union for the Liberation of Russia," in order to strangle the workers' and peasants' power by hunger.

These measures were to produce dissatisfaction amongst the larger sections of the population and a general rising. "We must burn out a free place where to build from the beginning." This was the aim of the "Union for the Liberation of Russia."

According to the statement of the arrested members, they used the military contingents for increasing the economic destruction of the country. This activity should have also prepared the men for the coming fight.

Terror was also to test the efficiency of the young organisation.

The programme of the "Union" was obscure and indefinite.

One and the same paragraph could be explained in different ways. In the beginning they demanded the transfer of power after the rebellion to the "Union." After the Kronstadt rising, they demanded a transfer of power to new Soviets, which were to prepare the country for the convocation of a Constituent Assembly.

This intentional indistinctness of the programme and the acceptance of Socialist-Revolutionary and Menshevik demands, was made in order to attract these elements into the "Union," along with the Monarchists, Cadets, and Black Hundreds. The extreme White General Elvengrem, who, already in 1917, at the time of Kerensky, was arrested for his counter-revolutionary activity, was accepted as a full member into the "All-Russian Committee."

VIII.

Connection with Foreign Imperialists

THE "Union" received financial support from the Polish General Staff and from the French Military Mission in Poland. The last-named paid out monthly to V. Savinkov, through Captain Dorache, 10,000,000 of Polish marks. In addition to this, the chief of the Information Bureau of the French Military Mission, Major Marino, paid additional sums for information of special importance about the Red Army.

An autograph letter of Colonel Pavlovsky, Commander of all Savinkov's detachments on Soviet territory, to the latter is of interest. In this, Pavlovsky asks Savinkov to get from the French as much information as possible about the supplies of the Red Army.

When Savinkov travelled in the spring of this year to Paris, for consultation with the French Government, he succeeded, with the help of the Russian industrialist, Putilov, to organise a group of rich capitalists to subsidise his organisation. The information office of the "Union" acted as an international Secret Service Agency, for giving information about the military and general conditions of the Soviet Republic. The information about the Red Army which he obtained was printed and sent out periodically to all foreign military missions in Warsaw. Savinkov's agents, who came from Russia, went to the French Mission and to the Polish General Staff to give information.

While the French Military Mission in Poland confined its activity only to subsidising Savinkov's organisation, and to the use of constant pressure on the Polish War Ministry to give greater support to Savinkov, the Polish General Staff was active in:—

- (A) Permitting and helping to organise parties and detachments on Polish territories and the transport of these detachments at the expense of the Polish War Ministry. For instance, the detachment of Colonel Pavlov, Colonel Pavlovsky, Lieut. Orlov and others.
- (B) The supply of arms and munitions to these detachments. For instance, the arms used by Lieut. Orlov in his attack on the townlet of Koidanov, was supplied to him by Poland.
- (C) Assistance in recruiting amongst the interned troops, and the sending of these to Russia.
- (D) Assistance in the re-organisation of the remainder of the interned armies of Bulak-Balakhovich, Peremkin, Petlura.

The Extraordinary Committee has a letter from Bulak-Balakhovich to the head of the workers' detachment in Poland, Captain Poversak, in which he clearly states that Bulak-Balakhovich's army, which is supposed to be interned in Poland, is in reality re-organised into detachments which are under the command of the 2nd Polish General Staff. The Extraordinary Committee has documents which prove that the interned Cossacks are taken on Polish service as frontier guards. The Polish General Staff was supplying Savinkov's

agents and couriers with free railway tickets and gave them permission for the transport by rail of anti-Soviet literature.

Nearly all Savinkov's agents are also in the service of the Polish Intelligence Department. All military and political communications which Savinkov's couriers brought from Russia, were supplied to the Polish General Staff.

Savinkov's agents who penetrated to Russia were conducted by the Polish frontier police.

The houses of Polish officials were used for storing anti-Soviet literature.

A member of the Western District Committee of Savinkov's organisation went to Russia; permission was given to him, signed by Major General Bek, to carry into Soviet Russia two kilograms of poison. This poison was really intended for poisoning trustworthy parts of the Red Army before the beginning of the rebellion.

The relations between Savinkov and the Polish Government, which cooled a little after the Russo-Polish Peace Treaty, became animated after Savinkov's return from Paris. But Savinkov was cunning enough to cheat his supporters. He falsified all the information he obtained from Soviet Russia, and supplied this to the French. He invented stories about a military union between Soviet Russia and Germany, directed against France and Poland; collected lists of commanders of the Red Army with German-sounding names and described them to the French Military Mission as people in the pay of the German Government. With this information he succeeded in frightening the French and thus opened for himself a way to their purse.

It is interesting to note that after Savinkov's return from Paris, his friend Professor Sologug-de-Voino, was appointed inspector of the interned Russian prisoners of war camp.

At the Congress of the "Union for the Liberation of Russia," which took place in Warsaw in June, a decision was arrived at of the necessity of an Alliance with France and Poland.

Ample means and active support from France and Poland gave the organisation possibilities to spread its net nearly over the whole of European Russia, and to get into the Society a number of people occupying very high posts in the Soviet service.

In Vitebsk was arrested a Menshevik, Mark Zarkh, who had a secret money exchange office. He changed foreign money for Russian for all Savinkov's organisations in Western and North-Western Districts.

Besides destroying all Savinkov's organisations in the Western Districts, we at the same time succeeded in destroying a number of Savinkov's detachment, which stood in direct communication with Savinkov's Executive Committee.

At the time of the defeat of Colonel Pavlovsky's detachment in the province of Minsk, of Prudnikov's and Pimenov's detachments in the province of Gomel, a number of documents fell into the hands of the Extraordinary Committee which prove conclusively that these detachments stood in close relation with the Polish General Staff,

and with the White Russia Committee in Warsaw. The Extraordinary Committee has also proofs that Savinkov's detachments have carried out a number of bloody Jewish pogroms in the province of Minsk. In his letter to Savinkov, Colonel Pavlovsky asks him to send along munitions, also poison.

This is in general outline a picture of that terrible destruction and bloody horror which the Black Hundred Socialist revolutionary, Savinkov, was preparing for the Russian peasants and workers on the money received from French and Polish sources. These adventurers and corrupt patriots have been awaiting impatiently the quick overthrow of the workers' and peasants' Republic and the wild feasts of White terror.

As stated by one of them, "They were preparing impatiently and developing a feverish activity," but the iron hand of the Proletarian Dictatorship frustrated their wild desires in time.

(Translated from *Pravda*.)

Initiative in the Class Struggle

Lessons from Italy

By UMBERTO TERRACCINI

In this remarkable article, by one of the leaders of the Italian Communist Party, our comrade Terraccini, clearly shows the part played by Fascism in the class conflict in Italy. Another important feature of the article is that it demonstrates the fallacy of those "Mechanical Marxians" who do not realise the value of human will, working hand in hand with history, as a revolutionary factor.

THE struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat in Italy during the last few months has varied somewhat in its specific and characteristic features, partly owing to its varying elements. This struggle is a result of the play of forces which were never noticeable in any other country or in any other nation. Therefore it is necessary that all comrades should closely watch the struggle of the Italian Proletariat, because it is possible that these same forces are ripening in other countries, and their collision must and can only lead to, and create the same problem as now exists in Italy, which it is necessary to avoid at all costs. The conclusion of the European war was the signal for the commencement of a severe struggle by the Italian workers against the bourgeoisie. All the limitations of war time disappeared and became as a stimulus to action. The Italian workers and peasants joined syndicates by hundreds of thousands, joined the Socialist Party by tens of thousands, asserting their firm will to sweep all obstacles from their path, and to reach the highest aim. Against the closely linked ranks of the proletariat, came the bourgeoisie, disorganised—largely new, industrial, revealing distorted forms, a consequence of their abnormal and too rapid development during the war. Without sufficient financial support, and not having any raw material at its disposal, the Government, although victorious, came out of the struggle entirely disorganised, and this led to poverty, to the deprivation of power and authority. There could be no two opinions as to the results of such a struggle between such opponents. This struggle was a series of continuous successes for the proletariat, at first slowly then more rapidly, and finally it ended in a forced march. The economic and moral victories followed one after another daily. The bourgeoisie, after several attempts at self-defence, lost all hope of salvation and submitted to severe defeats by the determined masses who attacked them for their participation in the war. Things came to such a pass that struggle was superfluous, it was only necessary to demand, to get everything without hesitation. The Government on the one hand and the Central Committee of the Socialist Party and the Executive Committee of the General Confederation of Labour on the other, kept

on changing their places; the employers and the factory committee (the interior Committee), both managed the enterprises at the same time and nearly in every case the wish of the owner was regarded as secondary. Here is one characteristic example. The Socialist delegation, in June, 1920, went to Russia in two special carriages. They were regarded as a diplomatic mission.

During the disorders as a consequence of the rise in the cost of living thousands of traders brought the keys from their shops to the Labour Halls as the only institution of authority which continued to function in the towns. A threat was sufficient to destroy from the very beginning the adventure in Albania, to which the Imperialists in Italy had sent troops.

The political election of 1919 gave 156 Socialist deputies. At the municipal communal elections in 1920, 2,500 communes raised the red banner. Things went so far that during September, 1920, the most enlightened and conscious part of the proletariat, namely, the metal workers, delivered to the bourgeoisie a new daring blow, pregnant with consequences. By seizing over one thousand five hundred large factories, they struck a blow into the very heart of capitalist society. The fundamental principal of inviolable, sacred private property was shaken. There are decisive historic moments, when the inner shaping of motive forces are unable to solve the contradiction they bring about. *In such a moment the factor of human will power appears on the arena to move events into a road leading to new destinies.*

The function of a political party is to organise the will power. It must watch closely the successive stages of historic development in order to be able to throw its whole weight of organised power and determination into the struggle when the decisive moment arrives.

The seizing of factories in Italy, which was accompanied by seizing the land by the peasantry proves that this movement is the test for fitness of the party and that the historic moment of the working class has arrived.

This test proved to be very heavy and tragic for the proletariat. The Socialist Party feared the necessity to act and quailed before it. Fear before such a real decisive battle chilled the blood of the loudest clamourer. History had set the stage when it was no more a question of theory and skilful dialectics, but of people inspired, armed and ready for the test. At a time when the proletariat gathered in masses around the factories having no other arms other than their will to act, and a very limited number of rifles, and waited for a signal and order to act, its leaders were bargaining in the offices of their masters for terms of capitulation. The inactivity of the proletariat in this critical moment was the signal for the bourgeoisie to counter-attack. They saw the momentary hesitation among the leaders of Labour and they leaped to the attack. Does this mean that behind the threat of the workers was nothing but weakness? Does this mean that those who proclaimed the revolution deserted after they had declared it? History had created a situation for daring action. But it was the bourgeoisie of Italy who dared. It proved with blood and suffering that only

one law makes events decisive at historic moments; the law of force. Truly, all the codes, laws and statutes, ceased to defend the bourgeoisie and became as a weapon with a broken blade. Social life had developed beyond the limits of established traditions. The relationship between people was changing daily. To be victorious meant to break the laws. And the Italian bourgeoisie transferred its powers and actions beyond the limitations of any law and established instead a cult of force.

"Fascism" is nothing else but the organ for the defence of the Italian bourgeoisie. Similar armed organisations can be found in other European countries. They are, however, of a different character and origin. They sprang up from time to time to counteract the armed demonstrations of the proletariat. They form the reactionary bodies against the Labour Movement. Such were the cases in Hungary, Germany and Finland. In those countries the proletariat had forsaken their inactivity and came out actively against the State, and the ruling class. Determined, and with great activity, they challenged the bourgeoisie to open armed battle. But owing to unforeseen confusion in the Socialist party of Italy, the bourgeoisie was the first to take the initiative, the offensive.

"Fascism" came out from the struggle with its full armed force, and printed its bulletins in the style and spirit of the well-known bulletins of Cadorna, Joffre and Hindenberg. Complete automobile squadrons were organised to combat the armed men. The Government did not spare munitions, and provided living quarters and proclaimed the inviolability of "Fascism." Thus, the working masses were attacked and received a heavy blow at a time when its class party were unprepared and confused. The "Fascisti," undisturbed in their work, burned and destroyed hundreds of peoples' houses and labour dwellings. They injured and killed thousands of workers. Their armed forces have driven out more than 500 municipalities. These armed activities of the bourgeoisie delivered a heavy blow at the trade and the political organisations of the workers. The bourgeoisie can claim that, in their struggle with the working class, they won time for respite.

Only a few months ago the Communist Party, alone, owing to its tactics of defence against the terror of the "Fascisti," was a factor in the life of Italy.

But now, however, we have not the same favourable conditions which we had last year. No doubt it will soon re-establish itself again. The hard struggle of the working masses cannot at present destroy the temporary gains of the bourgeoisie. In Europe there are countries where similar conditions are taking place to those that happened in Italy. The proletariat is growing stronger, hardened through the fighting organised mass parties. The bourgeoisie, deprived of their authority, bound by political and economic crises are scared and retreating. The fate of the proletariat in these countries depend greatly upon the ability and initiative of the Communist Parties. It depends upon the clarity of their reasoning, their daring, yet cautious action, to take over the grand responsibility of the social struggle.

International Capitalism and the Third International Congress

By PROFESSOR E. VARGA

A YEAR ago while the Second Congress of the Communist International was in session, capitalism seemed to enter a new lease of life and gradually recovered from the devastating disruption into which the world war had plunged it. True, the heralds of the coming crisis were already on the spot, but only at the remotest points of the globe. Japan and the United States have come out of the world war far stronger than when they entered it. But well organised capitalism displayed stubborn resistance to the approaching crisis. Europe, on the contrary, was still under the spell of a general commodity famine, soaring prices, and to a slight extent of unemployment. The ranks of the revolutionary Communist proletariat were as yet very thin and surrounded by the huge bulk of the entire proletariat of the world.

A close analysis of the economic situation from the period of November, 1918, to March, 1920, showed that this high tide phase of prosperity in the world economy was, predominantly, a speculative boom. In America, England and Japan this boom was mainly brought about by the transition from pre-war economy to a post-war industry. It was due also in part to the frenzied demand for commodities by Central Europe which previously was blockaded for a certain class of goods. However, the effect of this commodity famine soon ebbed down to zero, not because the commodity market was glutted, but for the lack of adequate foreign currency as a means of payment. Europe, and especially the defeated countries of Central Europe then entered the *selling out stage of the market*; for what Europe exported was not the output of current industry, but the last commodity reserves, articles of luxury, machinery, and means for production. Despite the outward glare of prosperity, the economic collapse of Europe was clearly indicated by the constant slump during which period, the exchange rate of European currency was expressed in dollars.

This seeming blaze of prosperity continued up to the middle of 1920, and at this point, the disruption of the capitalist industry of the world, caused by the world war, became dismantled, and broke into several distinct units. The United States, Japan and England, *overstocked the markets*. With its combined output, of means of production and the product of the naval yards and iron and steel works, etc., and this eventually raised their productive capacity to far above the pre-war level. And still Europe suffered and still suffers from the effects of *under-production*.

The people living in these European countries were unable to produce as much as they consumed, and this incapacity to meet their needs was mainly due to the lack of the means of production,

to the breakdown of traffic and shipping facilities and to the inadequate supply of soil-fertilisers. This collapse was aggravated by the tremendous loss of human life during the war, also by malnutrition, and the low labour efficiency of the proletariat. The rest of Europe have no goods to offer in exchange for English and American products.

Two parts of the globe stand in glaring contradiction, for one half suffers from over-production: the capitalists do not know what to do with this huge mass of goods; and meanwhile the other half suffers for lack of production, and all-round want and destitution. But the interplay of all these elements inherent in capitalism makes it impossible to do away with the inconsistency of a surplus in the means of production that cause of the riches that cannot reach the poor countries. The poor countries can offer no equivalent, and consequently, are suffering. But what remedy can capitalism offer? Is it credit? Could not this American surplus be partly transferred on credit to Germany or Austria, or Poland, or other poor countries of Europe? For capitalism even this way out is impossible. The war was launched and carried on with the object of breaking down Germany's industrial supremacy in the world market by arms. But the economic re-building of Germany would nullify and contradict the reason for the war with the Central Powers.

On one hand, France, Belgium and Italy hope to recover their economic position with the help of the indemnity. Germany can only pay with goods and only manufactured goods, as she herself is compelled to import food in order to feed her people. In order to pay the indemnity in industrial products, Germany must reconstruct her industrial apparatus. On the other hand, if Germany is to pay the costs of war to the Entente countries in large quantities of manufactured articles, then the English, Belgian and French manufacturers will find themselves in a terrible predicament. Already free trade England has declared a protective tariff on all German goods, and France and Belgium have heavily increased their customs duties.

Hence we can see that one contradiction is followed by another, and that the capitalist world is unable to solve them. Nevertheless capitalism is still attempting to find a solution. All these attempts consist of the one aim to lessen the workers' share of the national income, and thus to make industry capable of withstanding competition in the world market. Capitalism knows no other method than that of placing their burdens on the back of the working class. We are watching the bitter struggle in which capitalism is on the offensive and the proletariat on the defensive. We watched the struggle of the English coal miners, and were surprised at their stubbornness and stamina.

But by their methods of fighting, which do not go very far beyond the capitalist system itself, they could not win.

The Third Congress of the Communist International is meeting in an altogether different world, economic and political, than that in which the Second Congress met. A year ago we had superficially brilliant surroundings, but to-day we have a profound crisis. We were but small Communist groups, but to-day we are powerful mass

organisations. There was then a belief in the ranks of the proletariat of a possible capitalist recovery, to-day, however, there is an awakening consciousness in the impossibility of this. A year ago nearly every proletarian had work, to-day 15 to 20 millions are unemployed. Then we had to contend with the veiled deceit of the League of Nations, but to-day—we witness open preparations for war being made by the victorious countries. The United States of America, England, and Japan are engaged in the race for armaments. Conditions have radically changed indeed.

Even if the revolutionary outbursts of the workers during the last year have ended in failure, and even if the bourgeois states, dependent on the White guards, appear stronger than last year—the forebodings of the world revolution, the collapse of capitalist economy throughout the world, the further destruction of continental Europe's industry has still further increased. The Third Congress of the Communist International must determine the strategic and tactical lines upon which the revolutionary forces can be led to victory.

Clara Zetkin's Birthday

Comrade Heckert, Germany, delivered the following commemorative speech:—

COMRADES. To-day our heroic old fighter, Comrade Clara Zetkin, celebrates her 65th birthday. For the International Clara Zetkin is a programme in herself. From her youngest years she has been in the labour movement with a full and fervent heart, and to this very day is still its true and self-denying guard. Clara Zetkin has a great and glorious fighting past. Persecuted and cursed by the bourgeoisie and even by some of those with whom she has worked for so many a long year, our old comrade was always in the forefront of the socialist movement. After the repeal of the anti-socialist law and when the German Socialist Party had taken a turn to the Right, Clara Zetkin went over to the Left. She was the most inexorable opponent of all revisionist ideas. Together with Rosa Luxemburg and Franz Mehring, she fought the revisionist movement from the very first moment of its inception, supported the radical tendency in the International, and opposed the ideas of Bernstein. She supported at that time Karl Kautsky, who was still a member of the Left Wing of the German Social-Democratic Party. She was always in the ranks of the fighting proletariat. During the war, as editor of *Gleichheit*, she opposed the German Social-Democrats, the flag-waving patriots and the social Chauvinists. At the end of the war and during the revolutionary period, Clara Zetkin joined the Spartacus Union, and was one of its most clear-minded members. She was the most fearless leader of the small Spartacist movement of Germany. But when the United Communist Party of Germany was formed, she became one of the leading forces on its Executive Committee.

A slight divergence of opinion arose between the E.C. of the U.C.P.G. and Clara Zetkin. This, however, did not create for a single moment any personal animosity, for we entertain too deep a reverence for our aged fighter. We know how much she gave to our Cause, and she always stood for us, and we know that she will always remain on the side of the proletariat. We not only hope but we already know that she will again take up the fight on our side. We know that the difference of opinion that arose between us will not outlive the Congress, and I think that the Communist International will see Clara Zetkin for many years to come as one of our chief fighters and the leader of the great Red proletarian army of the workers' left wing movement. (Loud cheers).

Comrade ZETKIN then took the floor. The entire Congress stood up and gave her a prolonged ovation. Deeply touched, and her voice breaking with emotion, Clara Zetkin said:—

"Comrades, your praises have deprived me of strength. I feel overwhelmed with a sense of depression, as I find that I have not yet accomplished all that which I set out to perform. The life and spirit of the Revolution have given me a great deal, but I

am still in debt to the Revolution. Comrades, that which I have done is only a small fraction of all that should have been done, I only obeyed the call of my own conscience, and hence deserve no praise. I could be no other than which I am. Would you marvel at the stream which flows ever onward? Would you praise the birds for their song? I served the Revolution because I had to satisfy the call of my soul.

"I consider it my duty to point out that for all I was able to do, I must thank the German theory and practice; and the history and example of our French and German brothers. For my revolutionary morale, I have to thank my deeply inherent ties with the Russian Revolution as far back as the seventies, and I shall be eternally grateful to the Russian Revolutionary Social-Democrats and the Bolsheviks. I cannot but recall those who were and will always remain a part of my existence—Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht. All that I did, all that I lived for, was a product of the work done in conjunction with Rosa Luxemburg, and I can hardly restrain my emotion when I think that she is no longer with us.

"There is only one desire, which comes from the depth of my heart—that is to work and fight, that before I go down to my grave I may yet live to see the Revolution in Germany, and if possible in other countries. (Stormy applause).

"The garland to crown my work, my struggle, can only be the Proletarian Revolution, only the victory of the Revolutionary Proletariat." (Prolonged cheers).

LORIOT: "Dear Comrade Zetkin. Not being a brilliant speaker, I will speak simply, and I am confident that I will thus express the general feeling here. To-day the Communist family that has gathered here interrupted its difficult work to render praise for your excellent and noble activities. The German Delegation, in the person of Comrade Heckert, sketched in general outline the stages of your glorious life, but to you only, dear Comrade Zetkin, are known how much suffering, how much violence, how much pure and deep joy, and also the many bitter tears the forty-three years of the stern struggle represent.

"Only just now, from the platform, with deep emotion, which was shared by all, you recalled to mind your dear friends, Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht. Only you can realise what the memories of these deceased dear ones mean, who fought together with you during the critical years at Stuttgart and Copenhagen. You belong to the International Proletariat, and the latter cannot think without enthusiasm of you in their tragical periods. They cannot forget that in 1915 you were the initiator of the Berne Congress, where you said to the women workers what no one else could have said to the deluded proletariat.

"We, the French Communists, especially remember your visit to the Tours Congress, but we were in no doubt as to your success. We had known that the French police knew you too well to allow you into France. But we did not know that a woman, even with your energies, could get the better of the police. How great was

our joy, and at the same time how the French bourgeoisie was dumbfounded, when you passed the frontier and were in our midst.

"Dear Comrade Zetkin, the Revolution to which we have sacrificed so much, has now to a considerable extent begun to be realised. The Russian Revolution and the development of the German movement give us confidence that you will witness the crowning glory of your activities. The Revolution is going on at full speed, and you will gather the harvest of your labours, the complete and final liberation of the world proletariat. These are our wishes." (Cheers).

Book Review

"The A.B.C. of Communism." By N. Bucharin and E. Preobraschensky. Translated from the German by P. Lavin. Published by the S.L. Press, Glasgow. Pp. 165. Price 2/6.

THE COMMUNIST REVIEW will give an adequate account of "The A.B.C. of Communism" when the Communist Party edition (now in the press) is ready for immediate issue. All that can now be attempted is a brief notice of a part of the book which has been issued by the S.L. Press. So important is this work by Bucharin and Preobraschensky that it demands the greatest care at the hands of the translator and publishers.

There is no complaint to make about Comrade Lavin's translation, *as a translation from the German*. That the translation is from the German, and not from the original Russian, is frankly acknowledged on the title-page. But every experienced translator knows that every translator makes mistakes. To translate from a translation, therefore, multiplies sources of error. As a mere matter of accuracy, to say nothing of the refinements of style, it is always better to work from the original. And, as it happens, the German version upon which the S.L. Press volume is based is slovenly and slipshod quite beyond reasonable bounds.

Here, for example, are the errors and omissions in two average pages of the S.L.P. edition (pp. 102 to 104).

P. 102, line 20: "in the course of historical development." Correctly translated from the German; but in the Russian the adjective is not *historical* but *capitalist*.

P. 103, lines 1 and 2: "What attitude ought our party to adopt in relation to the petty-bourgeoisie?" The translation from the German is accurate, but the Russian original runs: " . . . towards the petty-bourgeoisie, towards the non-proletarian poorer strata of our large towns, and towards the middle peasants?"

P. 103, lines 18 to 21: "Our duty consists in explaining to them the real situation: that the position of handicraftsmen and working peasant is hopeless under capitalism." In the Russian, the sentence ends as follows: "*and that they had better give up trying to amuse themselves with fancy pictures.*" The equivalent does not appear in the German version, and is therefore necessarily omitted from Comrade Lavin's translation.

P. 103, lines 22 and 23: "Under capitalism the neck of the peasant is under the heel of the landowner." A correct translation from the German. But the sentence ought to read: "We must tell the middle peasant that as long as capitalism lasts there will always be a landlord riding on his back; either one of the gentry, the old type of landlord; or else a rich peasant, the landlord of the new type."

P. 103, line 30: "the help of a strong, resolute party." The Russian (not the German) has "a strong, *solid*, and resolute party."

P. 103, line 32: "who have learnt to live and to fight as proletarians." *Live* should be *think*. The error is in the German version.

P. 104, lines 11 and 12: "Our party can . . . serve." This should be: "Our party can and does . . . serve." The equivalent of the words *and does* has been omitted from the German.

It is a pity that nine pages of the German edition, in the part dealing with the Civil War, does not appear in the S.L. Press edition.

We repeat, that in order to minimise error it is always necessary to translate important books direct from their original language. The Communist Party knowing the value of "The A.B.C. of Communism" arranged to have it translated from the Russian original. The volume is at present in the press and shall be issued, complete, in one volume and not in fragments.



The New Executive Committee of the Comintern

THE composition of the new Executive Committee of the Communist International is as follows:

CHAIRMAN: G. Zinoviev.

Russia: Zinoviev, Bukharin, Radek, Lenin, Trotsky.

Germany: Heckert, Froelich.

France: Souvarine.

Italy: Terracini, Gennari.

Czecho-Slovakia: Burian, Kreibich.

Ukraine: Shumsky.

Poland: Glinsky.

Bulgaria: Popov.

Yugo-Slavia: Markovich.

Norway: Schefflo.

Great Britain: Bell.

United States: Baldwin.

Spain: Merino Gracia.

Finland: Sirola.

Holland: Jansen.

Belgium: Van Overstraeten.

Sweden: Chilbom.

Roumania: Bodulescu.

Latvia: Stuchka.

Switzerland: Arnold.

Austria: Koritschoner.

Hungary: Bela Kun.

Young Communist International: Voyovich, Unger.

Russia will have 5 votes, Germany, France, Italy, Czecho-Slovakia, and the Young Communist International 2 votes each, and the remainder 1 vote.

In addition, the following countries and delegates have been given a consultative voice:

Georgia: Tskhakaia.

Lithuania: Angaretis.

Luxemburg: Jansen.

Persia: Sultan-Zade.

Esthonia: Poegelman.

Denmark: Thorgensen.

India: Roy.

Greece: Dimitratos.

South Africa: Jones.

Korea: Nam-man-Chen.

Mexico: Roy.

Armenia: Kassian.

China: Tian-Kai.

Palestine: Sakhar.

The Small Bureau of the Executive Committee is composed of the following: Zinoviev, Bukharin, Radek, Heckert, Souvarine, Gennari, Bela Kun.

The following constitute the Secretariat: Rakoszy, Humbert-Droz, and Kuusinen.

The Secretariat of the Women's International is: Klara Zetkin, Alexandra Kollontay, Kasparova, Lucie Colliard, Strum.

The following have been delegated by the E.C. of the Communist International to the International Council of Trade Unions (R.T.U.I.): Bukharin, Souvarine, and Heckert. In return, the R.T.U.I. has delegated to the E.C.C.I.: Losovsky, Tom Mann, and Naine.

The Communist Parties of Belgium and Spain have been instructed to achieve unity within two months. The Czech and German Communists of Czecho-Slovakia must unite at a Unity Congress on November 1st. All Parties affiliated to the Communist International are being instructed energetically to organise a "Week of Agitation and Propaganda," from/Sept. 7th to Sept 15th.

Austria

Against the High Cost of Living

THE Austrian Communist Party has just issued a manifesto calling upon the Working Class to protest energetically against the ever increasing cost of living. Indeed, bread and flour are again going to increase in price. The Government refuses nothing to the agrarians, whose demands take no account of the misery of the town proletariat.

The manifesto condemns the Social-Democrats who actually take up a plainly critical attitude, but take no energetic action capable of improving the appalling conditions of the Austrian Working Class. While they were in the Government they conducted a similar policy.

The Communist Party calls upon the workers to stand out for the following demands: An economic agreement, and the immediate exchange of merchandise with Soviet Russia; the feeding of the workers with a sufficient quantity of good quality bread;

severe measures against profiteers and speculators; construction of workmen's dwellings under the control of Workers' Councils; suppression of civil and military class justice; disarmament of the militia, and other reactionary formations.

For these ends the Communist Party is organising a series of public meetings at Vienna, and in the provinces.

L'Exploité.

Belgium

Towards a United Communist Party

THE following is the manifesto issued by the congress of the "Friends of the Exploité," on account of their secession from the Belgian Labour Party and their foundation of the Belgian Communist Party.

Comrades,

The recent congress of the "Friends of Exploité" decided to found a Belgian Communist Party and to make an appeal with this in view to the working class of this country. The following are the reasons that drove us to take this step.

Since the armistice we have all been hoping that the policy of sacred unity carried on by the majority of the Belgian Labour Party during the war had come to an end. We desire to resume the inevitable struggle against capitalism without compromise and without prejudice.

We have been greatly deceived. The union of the leaders of the Belgian Labour Party with the bourgeois parties has been confirmed more audaciously and more cynically than ever.

On the pretext of reconstructing the country you have been asked to give your labour. Thanks to this the capitalist class has built up its stocks of goods again, and has then thrown you out into the street.

On the pretext of reforms (universal suffrage, increases of wages, shorter hours of work) your consent was obtained to class co-operation, when you might have demanded these feeble improvements which you have obtained from the tottering bourgeois régime by the mere strength of your organisation.

Four Socialist ministers entered the bourgeois Cabinet, nominally delegated by the working class, but in reality mocking at its most legitimate aspirations, and every day betraying its revolutionary ideal.

Thus we have seen the "Socialist" Minister of Arts and Science furnishing the sinews of war to the enemies of public education, and refusing teachers the right to strike. We have seen the "Socialist" Minister for Food systematically liquidating all labour disputes, defending the interest of the employers and the workers on an equal footing in the joint councils, and by application of the index number to wages assisting the employing class to lower the latter. Finally we have had the "Socialist" Minister

for Justice replacing Article 310 of the Constitution by Legislative Decisions just as dangerous to the working class: we have seen him paralysing trade union action and increasing the religious budget.

On the other hand, our representatives in the Chamber have lacked firmness and energy: they have never publicly affirmed the determination of all the workers to suppress the bourgeois régime. Need we recall here the daily compromises of our ministers and of certain of our parliamentary spokesmen in their presence at official ceremonies, gala fêtes, thereby renouncing all our republican convictions and associating themselves with the rejoicings of the ruling caste, when their Socialist duty obliged them to combat.

Nothing has been done effectively to fight unemployment and the high cost of living, to strike at the scandalous fortunes built up during the war, or resolutely to attack the all-powerful might of capital. In the general confusion the Belgian Labour Party, renouncing its fundamental principles of the class struggle, has incorporated itself into the framework of the bourgeois régime, and has been able to oppose the more and more audacious and hostile action of the bourgeoisie—which it helped to reconstruct—only by empty declarations and a hesitating, confused line of policy.

The leaders of the Belgian Labour Party have betrayed the principles of the class struggle and of internationalism. During the war they opposed a meeting of the workers of all countries by their sabotage of Stockholm. By leaving the bourgeois governments free to continue the carnage they, by that very fact, assumed a heavy measure of responsibility.

From the first day of the Russian revolution they made common cause with its detractors and combated with all the forces in their power the first proletarian Republic.

It is necessary to-day that we should raise up against the rising tide of reaction, the immovable force of the proletariat firmly constituted in a Communist Party.

The struggle within the Belgian Labour Party, in which the minority of that party carried on the true Socialist tradition for over two years, can no longer continue under the old conditions. This is what is being understood by the "minority" which has just constituted the Belgian Communist Party.

Resolutely breaking with the lie about working class unity, a false pretext under which leaders of the Labour Party cloaked their **treachery**; a false unity which held, bound together, under the same cover revolutionaries and the bourgeois-minded—we desire to realise the sole productive and lasting form of unity; the revolutionary unity of all workers in thought and action.

We appeal to all those who suffer from the present régime and who ardently wish to prepare the social revolution; who see in Soviet Russia the Workers' State which it is our duty to support with all our energy; who consider Communism and the Third International as the great forces of progress from which the workers must expect their liberation.

Addressing ourselves to all manual and educational workers, we say to them: Comrades, you must first and foremost do away with the régime of capitalist oppression to which you are subjected. To this end you must join with us in the Belgian Communist Party.

We summon you to the gigantic task of bringing about Communism. We do not wish to fritter away the energy of the working class in the sterile process of paper reforms; we do not wish to lead it rashly into adventures which can have no future; we wish to organise it into a powerful class party, educate it every day without cessation in its revolutionary task, exercise it in co-ordinated action, prepare it for assuming political power; make it understand the necessity of ensuring that the proletarian dictatorship shall be placed over the exploiting classes.

We have the firm hope that our appeal will be heard and that all the workers will combine en masse in the political organisation of the revolutionary proletariat of the Belgian Communist Party.

Comrades who are members of the Belgian Labour Party and join the Communist Party must simply withdraw from the political group to which they pay a special subscription (for example, their labour league) but remain in their co-operative society and their union. We must preserve intact and united the power of our trade union organisations; the strict duty of Communists is to remain and work there for the development of the revolutionary ideal.

Confident in the future of the Belgian Communist Party, we are convinced that the workers will repudiate the policy of collaboration of the Belgian Labour Party and join with those who have reasserted the true tradition of the class struggle of the world proletariat.

Long live the Belgian Communist Party!

Long live the Third International!

*(Signed) Executive Committee of the Belgian
Communist Party.*

Exploité.

Work of the Belgian Communist Party

THE lines on which our work of organisation would be pursued as soon as our delegates return from Russia, have been already indicated.

The Executive meets regularly, and is actively occupied in general organisation, propaganda, and the solution of the many cases that have been submitted. The following are two decisions:

(1) Subscription has been definitely fixed at 50 centimes per week per member (man or woman); unemployed pay nothing.

(2) Communal Councillors elected on Belgian Labour Party lists and affiliating to the Belgian Communist Party remain in function provisionally as Communist Communal Councillors. This cannot be considered a precedent, as the whole question of Parliamentarism is to come before the next Congress. The Councillors in this position will read the following letter on taking up their functions:

"SIRS,

"I have been elected on the list of the Belgian Labour Party. I belonged to the revolutionary section known as the 'minoritaire.' I beg to state that having resigned from the Belgian Labour Party I have joined the Belgian Communist Party, and consequently in future my conduct as communal mandatory will be inspired by the motives of the Third International, and the Executive of the Belgian Communist Party."

It goes without saying that the members of the Party cannot under any pretext accept the position of squire, burgomaster, or representative of the Capitalist forces.

(4) The following declaration is to be made by all delegates to Socialist Communal Unions affiliated to the Belgian Communist Party:

"CITIZENS,

"Considering that the Belgian Labour Party, denying all its fundamental principles has abandoned its revolutionary activity, I have resigned from its political organisation, and declare in consequence, that I can no longer fulfil the functions of delegate to the Socialist Communal Unions.

A certain number of matters being suspended, the results will be given later.

CH. MASSART, *Secretary*.

L'Exploité.

Motion of the E.C. of the Third International

THE Third International E.C., at its 13th July sitting, carried the following resolution regarding the fusion of the Belgian Communist Party, and the Left Wing of the Belgian Labour Party:

"The rupture of the Left Wing of the B.L.P., (Friends of the Exploited) has given place to the constitution of a second Communist Party of Belgium.

"The existence of two Parties in the same country being incompatible with the statutes of the Communist International, and only tending to produce confusion in the ranks of the proletariat, the fusion of these two groups is essential.

"The legislative elections fixed for the 23rd of October, render it necessary for the fusion to take place immediately, or at least within two months after the Third Congress of the C.I.

"The fusion should be made on the basis of the statutes and decisions of the Second and Third World Congresses of the Communist International.

"The E.C. specially insists that on the one hand the Communist Party observes international discipline on the parliamentary question, and on the other hand that the late Belgian Labour Party Left Wing, by means of its press and propaganda, makes a great effort of precision and classification so as to combat vigorously all centrist and pacifist tendencies.

"To prepare the fusion, a committee composed of four members per group, and under an E.C. President, will be nominated. It is charged with the elaboration of the programme and statutes of the United Belgian Communist Party.

"Within two months, a general congress will be convoked, which will take any further decisions. The United Party will neglect nothing in establishing the closest contact with the masses."

L'Exploité.

Report presented to the E.C. of the Comintern by the delegates of the Belgian C.P. (Late Left Wing Belgian L.P.)

I.

The Workers' Movement in Belgium

THE Executive understands the quite special situation Belgian Socialism occupies in the world proletariat concerning the *form of organisation*.

The Belgian Labour Party is not properly speaking a political Party, as it is an agglomeration of political, syndical, co-operative, mutual aid, athletic, and other groups.

The membership of the B.L.P. cannot be accurately determined; the groups pay contributions for every adhering member, and at the same time a member can be affiliated to several groups at once.

The total paid affiliations represent about 600,000 members which should be relatively reduced for reasons shown above. Two figures really are reliable, these being the number of Trades Unionists in Belgium, and the members of political leagues.

The T.U. Commission of Belgium which includes Unions affiliated to the B.L.P. as well as independent ones, has at the present moment about 700,000 members. The political groups have 13,000.

II.

Social-Democracy and the World War

NO one will deny that on the occasion of the Imperialist War Belgium experienced the most permanent and characteristic betrayal on the part of the Social-Democrats.

To cite the names of Vandervelde, Huysmans, Anseele, etc., is sufficient in the eyes of the world proletarian revolution to point out the extraordinary backward position of the Belgian workers, who deceived, abused, and betrayed, supported at their head such unworthy and counter-revolutionary leaders.

During the war political work was made extremely difficult. Yet it was actually the group of "The Exploited," who, under such hazardous conditions carried on a constant agitation among the workers for the establishment of international relations.

III.

Our After War Action

DIRECTLY after the Armistice the first number of the paper *L'Exploité* appeared, and it at once began to carry on a ceaseless work of documentation and propaganda in the B.L.P. and throughout the country in favour of the defence of the Russian Workers' Revolution. An active fight against the policy of class collaboration, and the leaders of the Second International was also waged.

At first this action was not energetically combatted by the reformist leaders of the Labour Party. It is true they had their own Left Wing within the B.L.P., but their activity soon disturbed the social-patriots, who began a vast counter-agitation throughout the country.

At the Belgian Labour Party Congress of December, 1920, the question of Party discipline was raised, and after several vague attacks against the pure Nationalists a deep-seated attack on the Left was begun, which ended in a big majority vote in favour of the General Council applying the statutory conditions of exclusion failing acceptance by the "minoritaires."

The Council, not feeling itself strong enough to take action directly against the Left, it adopted indirect means; counter-propaganda in Left circles, and the refusal of certain co-operatives, owners of Peoples' Houses, etc., to let their halls for meetings or conferences of the Friends of the Exploited.

After January 1st the *Exploité*, whose circulation was 12,000, became bi-weekly, and a library was inaugurated which sends out in profusion books, pamphlets, tracts, and all types of Communist Literature.

In spite of the injunctions of the December Congress, the constitution of groups of the "Friends" was successfully pursued in all centres. After the first days of the opening of our library we were raided by the government (president—Vandervelde!) and nearly all books and pamphlets were seized.

During this time the counter-action of the social-patriots was strengthened. More and more were places of meeting refused us, and under orders of the General Council of the B.L.P., the co-operative press which printed our paper refused further editions.

IV.

Our Present Position

WE will now sketch our political position recently and at the present time. The details on the characteristics of our movement will be found in the attached brochure.

The Third Congress of the "Friends of the Exploited" carried almost unanimously the "resolution" presented by the special commission appointed by the Second Congress, and it is thanks to this vote, as well as the Executive's invitation to the B.L.P. Left Wing to help, (in a consultative voice) the work of the Comintern, that we are at Moscow.

We have the precise mission of seeking affiliation after the scission. This demand brings up the question as to why the Left Wing of the B.L.P. did not straight away adhere to the Communist Party of Belgium (Belgian Section C.I.).

There are four or five Communist groups in Belgium, one of which is affiliated to the C.I., but certain principles and actions of these groups seem in formal opposition, and grave contradiction with the theses of the Comintern.

We want to point out the anti-parliamentarian, and even Anarchist conceptions of this group, and its individualist ideas as to mass proletarian organisation in Belgium.

Here is what the *Ouvrier Communiste* writes concerning the secession of the Left Wing of the B.L.P.

WHAT SEPARATES US.

"We reject Parliamentary action as we can only trust in revolutionary action; we oppose the formation of mass parties, because like all Social-Democracy, they are condemned to reformism and treason."

These profound differences have not at present enabled us to enter into relations with the Communist Group affiliated to the Communist International, the whole question being one that the Executive itself should settle.

The question as to whether we have acted wrongly or otherwise in remaining inside the B.L.P. in order to fight for Marxism, the Russian Revolution, and the Third International until such time as the disadvantages of this position balanced or outweighed the advantages, is a delicate point.

For this reason the *Ouvrier Communiste* group has designated us traitors, or at least as very dangerous friends. We believe that the form of organisation of the B.L.P. necessitated us working within it until such time as we were strong enough to form a Belgian Communist Party that would have, to begin with, a serious influence on the proletarian masses.

The Belgian proletariat, more especially that of industrial Wallonia, has a profound revolutionary instinct. The very first mass strikes for political ends occurred in Belgium. But this instinct is compromised by the most inveterate reformism. Communism should make a formidable effort in this country. But for this effort to succeed, all obstacles of an internal nature must be eliminated, especially the possibility of a false interpretation of the Communist International.

We present ourselves to the Communist International with the conviction of having, in the past, acted as sincere revolutionaries passionately and exclusively attached to the cause of the social revolution.

Long live the Communist International! Long live the Universal Communist Revolution!

THE DELEGATES OF THE BELGIAN COMMUNIST PARTY,
(LATE LEFT WING OF B.L.P.),

JACQUEMOTTE, POULET.

L'Exploité.

Impressions of Jacquemotte on his Return from Russia

THE results of our mission are excellent. We put our point of view to the Executive, and to the Congress. I indicated the efforts we had made within the Belgian Labour Party, and noted with satisfaction that our comrades of the E.C. specially appreciated the work we have performed.

We are in complete accord with them on all questions. They want, like us, a party of the masses. The revolution will not be enacted round a table by a handful of romantic conspirators, but with the majority of the workers. We are equally in agreement regarding Trades Union action: to remain in our unions, and to work vigorously in the T.U. Federations.

As will be seen from the resolution on fusion, we are to participate in parliamentary action.

The Third International distinctly want us to take part in the approaching legislative elections. The necessity for parliamentary action in Belgium was illustrated by Zinoviev's question: "Have you any Communist Deputies in Belgium?"

In our country where parliamentary fetichism is so accentuated, where democratic illusion is still so powerful, is there not, for the clearness and precision of Communist action, some danger in taking up parliamentary action?

The International estimates—and I agree—that it is not so much the actual method of action that matters so much as it is that one should act on the "revolutionary plane." Lenin's theses on tactics adopted by the Third Congress give us some useful illustrations in this respect. In parliamentary action the International does not mean the reformist work of our social-patriots, but to the contrary, agitation among the masses, permanent revolutionary propaganda, and the preparation of the working class for decisive actions. In one word, parliamentary action is a means of fighting. Communists do not enter parliament to consolidate it like the social-patriot reformists, but to the contrary, they go there to combat it and destroy it.

Regarding our relations with the other Communist Party, it has been resolved that only one Communist Party can exist, and a congress is to be called to form a united Communist Party.

The Congress of the Third International

THE Congress was in the most part composed of rebels who for years have carried on revolutionary work. Contrary to what the bourgeois and perhaps some of our friends think, the Left exaggerations were not very welcome. Our Russian comrades have considerable influence. They have the advantage over the comrades of other countries as *they have made* a revolution, whereas we have yet to study the means of preparation. And these Russians, Lenin, Trotsky, Zinoviev, are terrible realists. With them there are no catch phrases or useless words, but facts, figures, and realities. You understand the Bolshevik method: To arrive at the Revolution by any means—legal action included—to prepare for it unceasingly, to take note of its faults and errors, to rectify pitilessly its tactics when proved bad, without self-interest, with the sole aim of hastening the fulfilment of the world Revolution.

The debates were remarkable for their liberty of expression, their depth, and their care of the objective. One felt that the men

there were as far from the pre-occupations of the social-patriot reformists as they were from the intemperate ravings of the anarchists.

They are, I repeat, realists, calculating coolly all the chances of the great part we play, treating it scientifically, like a business, and wishing to avoid all hitches. What is done at Moscow is in the true sense of the expression—revolutionary scientific socialism.

The Situation in Russia

I WILL return later to details on the conditions in Russia, but for the moment let us cite the following extract written from Moscow to *Clarté* by our friend Vaillant-Couturier:

"The régime advanced like an elementary force in spite of all insolent lies. People suffer here for an idea as on no other part of the globe, but errors are admitted, and the suffering is not hidden.

"The Revolution? Here? It is a terrible rending 'accouchement,' but it will give birth to a most solid man: to one who will have at the same time a brain, a heart, and an arm."

L'Exploité.

Scandinavia

The Revolutionary Movement in Denmark

By ERNEST CHRISTIANSEN

CONTRARY to what has happened in the other two Scandinavian countries, the decisions of the Second Congress of the Communist International, have caused no serious divergence within the ranks of the Danish Communist Party.

At the extraordinary congress of the Party, which took place on November 7th, 1920, specially in view of the discussions of the twenty-one conditions, an entire agreement was arrived at on the subject of the Theses. Only one fraction raised objections relating to the condition of exclusions. The Theses were adopted unanimously, and the congress expressed full confidence in the decisions of the Communist International. The name of the Party, which up to then was "The Danish Left Socialist Party," was changed to "Danish Communist Party (Left Socialists) Section of the Third International." Six months later, at the congress which took place on the 22nd to 24th April, 1921, the Party programme was revised, and alterations were introduced in accordance with the Moscow Theses. Consequently the term "Left Socialist" was abolished. During the past year the Party has grown from 33 groups to 39 throughout the country, although the actual number of members remains about 2,500. This is because, since the second congress of the Communist International the Party has been mainly occupied in confining its membership to conscientious and proved Communists, and all the activity of this period was concentrated on work within the Party.

However, this does not mean that propaganda among the working masses has been neglected. Besides the electoral and usual

propaganda meetings, campaigns have been carried on in all districts illustrated by films on Soviet Russia.

An interpellation was made to the Government in March, 1920, on the subject of the renewal of economic relations with Soviet Russia.

Unemployment

THE international economic crisis has not spared Denmark. One of the first consequences of this crisis was the unemployment of 800,000 workers during the winter. Even now in July there are 60,000 unemployed. The capitalists wanted to profit by this crisis by reducing wages. Thanks to the treason of the Right Socialist leaders, the employers succeeded in securing a reduction of nearly 20 per cent. in wages. The agricultural labourers had actually struck for an increase of wages and reduction of hours.

The Communist Party has urged the unemployed to organise huge demonstrations, and to found an "out-of-work organisation." At the same time an energetic fight has been put up against the systematic reduction of wages, and as the situation got worse, the order for a general strike was launched. This was responded to with a marked sympathy, but the reformists succeeded in scotching it.

Propaganda

IN the Reichstag elections of June, 1920, in which the Party participated, 2,439 votes were gained. At the Reichstag elections of September, 1920, 5,160 votes were received. No Communist was elected, but the electoral propaganda allowed Communist ideas to be spread among the working masses. The Party took no part in the municipal elections of March, 1921, mainly because the economic and financial position did not allow it. However, in three provincial towns local party groups, which took part in the elections, showed a considerable progress since September; the party had almost doubled.

Press propaganda was carried on chiefly by the party organ, the daily *Arbeidet*, whose circulation was approximately 2,500. Besides this, on four different occasions, appeals were launched.

At the time of the elections special leaflets were distributed. Later during the summer of 1920 10,000 copies of a brochure-programme were issued: "What the Left Socialists Require," and in the spring of 1921 another pamphlet: "Social Democracy and the General Strike of 1920"—2,000 copies.

Party and Trade Unions

DURING the winter, 1920-1921, the Danish Communist Party entered into relations with the trade union organisation which, at the present moment, moves more and more towards Communism. These interviews resulted in the forming of a "Danish Communist Federation," which proposes constituting a common organ for the internal direction of the

Federation. For the time being the two organisations each preserve their own programme, but the Party will do all it can for the adoption by the Federation of a definitely Communist programme.

The first number of the new organ of the Federation, *Arbeidet-Bladet* (Workers' Bulletin), appeared on May 20th, and is a daily paper replacing the two journals, *Solidaritet* and *Arbeidet*. In the future the task of the Danish Communists will be to rally the revolutionary Danish workers to Communism, and to put themselves at their head.

L'Avant-Garde.

Germany

Before the Congress of the V.K.P.D. (United German Communist Party)

The Problem of German Communism

THE Executive Committee of the United German Communist Party has called the Congress of German Communists at Jena, for August 22nd. The Congress will deal with the future tactics of the Party, and other problems discussed at the Moscow Congress. In the debates on tactics, the discussions on the March insurrection will no doubt fill a large part of the deliberations. Further, the Party will have to define its attitude in relation to the K.A.P.D. (German Communist Labour Party) to which the Congress of the Communist International has addressed an ultimatum.

The Group of "Levi-ites"

THE Moscow Conference decided the case of Levi. The former President of the V.K.P.D., Paul Levi, who had been excluded from the Party for the publication of an ignominious pamphlet, is definitely excluded from the Third International. By this decision the Levi affair is settled for the International, but not for the German Communist Party. There is, in this Party, a group of leaders, composed mostly of Reichstag deputies, who even now support Levi more or less openly.

After his exclusion Levi had been invited by the Executive Committee to send back to the Party his mandate as deputy, conforming to a declaration he had signed before the elections. Paul Levi has refused to respect this obligation; he continues to exercise his mandate, in this manner affording the best arguments to the parliamentary abstentionists of the K.A.P.D., who qualify as counter-revolutionary all Communist parties taking part in parliamentary elections. Several Communist deputies have signed an interpellation in common with Paul Levi, although they know his attitude, thus supporting the grave breach of discipline which the ex-President of the V.K.P.D. has committed.

Paul Levi edits a review entitled *Unser Weg* (Our Way), where he leads a heated campaign against the present executives of the Communist Party and the Third International. Several leaders

of the opposition of the V.K.P.D. collaborate in this review. (This "Levi-ite" opposition has, however, in no way taken root among the masses of the Party—it is only the deputies who belong to it). The Central Committee of the V.K.P.D. has invited the friends of Paul Levi to collaborate in the official Party review, *The International*, while formally forbidding them to collaborate in a review edited by a man who is not a member of the Party.

Yet Levi's friends, who are still members of the V.K.P.D., continue to publish articles in *Unser Weg*. They forget that an opposition grouped round a man and a review foreign to the Party in reality places itself out of the Party by augmenting the germ of the schism. One of the most important tasks of the congress will be the most energetic restoration of discipline in connection with the Levi-ites.

The Tactics of the V.K.P.D.

THE Third Congress of the Communist International has destroyed the legend of "putschism" by which term Levi endeavoured and sought to disparage the heroic rising of the proletariat of Central Germany during last March. This legend having been destroyed, it is important to criticise unreservedly the actual tactical errors of the March movement. All Communist parties should gain experience from their own errors. It is the discussion of the March faults that will simplify the tactics of the V.K.P.D. in the coming battles.

Of all the political parties there is but the party of the proletariat which has not only the right but the duty to criticise pitilessly and openly all its faults and defects. The bourgeois and petit-bourgeois parties are content with measuring their acts by illusions and lies. . . .

On the other hand, the proletarian party knows that the revolutionary storms, far from enfeebling the Communist currents, will carry the working class into power. . . . Pointed criticism which, in the non-proletarian parties, hasten the decomposition of the bourgeoisie, only fortifies and consolidates the party of the revolutionary advance-guard. That is why the faults of the March movement should be criticised, and it will also be the duty of the Congress to examine minutely the "offensive" theories of several of the V.K.P.D. leaders.

The Communist Labour Party

THE K.A.P.D.—to whom the Third International has sent an ultimatum, which demands unity with the V.K.P.D.—advocates parliamentary abstentionism, and scission in the trade unions. It includes several thousands of the conscious revolutionary proletariat. The K.A.P.D. leaders are drifting more and more towards anarcho-syndicalism. They go as far as declaring that International Communism is of a petit-bourgeois character, and that the V.K.P.D. is counter-revolutionary. It is now the duty of the V.K.P.D. to attract the revolutionary masses of the K.A.P.D., to separate them from their anarcho-syndicalist chiefs, and to lead

them to clearer conceptions of all the necessities, and of the reality of the class war. The V.K.P.D. will be able to solve these problems provided that it puts an end to the indiscipline of its "Levi-ite" members, and that it will know how to gain experience from the March risings.

L'Avant-Garde.

The Communist Movement in Saxony

By L. REVO

THANKS to the industrial development of Saxony, the working class of this country constitutes the great majority of the population. This majority is also expressed—although spoilt by all the blemishes of bourgeois parliamentarism—in the Saxon Diet, where the three Socialist parties; majority, independent, and Communist, dispose of a few more votes than the whole of the bourgeois "bloc."

In his book on the "Infantile Malady of the Left-Wing Communism," Lenin examines and exposes the theory that it is not sufficient to preach to the working class that such and such an instrument of the class war has become impracticable, but that as the masses only profit by their own experience, it is indispensable to show them by the eloquence of facts that democracy is an illusion, that the reformist chiefs betray the working class, etc.

Now in Saxony the Communists have set about applying the counsels of Lenin. They have declared that they will support a purely Socialist government composed of majority socialists and reconstructors. The social patriots and the Independents do not dispose of a majority in the Saxon Diet. It is only thanks to the support of the Communists that a Socialist Cabinet can exist, against the united bourgeois parties. The Saxon Communists have consented to the formation of a Socialist Cabinet in the intention either to enjoy a comparative liberty to unmask the leaders of the Reformist Parties, or to expose the futility of reformism itself in the case where the cabinet would let itself be dragged into a strictly bourgeois policy.

Most of the Saxon workers would not have understood any other attitude on the part of the Communists. The "purely Socialist" government, thanks only to the support of the Communists, would have been impossible if the masses, still thinking of the beneficent acts of such a cabinet, had thrown all the responsibility on the Communists.

All the statements of the Communist Party that a Socialist Government in a bourgeois State cannot serve the proletariat would have been in vain. Therefore the living proof of the Communist theses had to be furnished to the working class by the lessons of the behaviour of a "purely socialist" cabinet.

An Object Lesson

THE Communists proposed to the Diet laws in favour of the unemployed, the sick, and the homeless. These proposals were rejected by the two reformist parties, and the "pure" cabinet. The Independent Socialist, Lipinsky, Minister of the

Interior, ordered out the police against a demonstration of unemployed, and a cavalry charge against the invalids who were demonstrating their misery. This sufficiently proved the "proletarian" character of the cabinet.

Under the Socialist régime in Saxony there are 20,000 unemployed in Dresden. In spite of the Communist proposals which were rejected by the "Socialists," the housing crisis is very grave: there are 60,000 houses short in Saxony. According to the latest statistics there are 16,000 houses short in Dresden alone.

At the time of the March insurrection the purely Socialist government of Saxony set up the courts of exception against the proletarians. The workers condemned in Saxony by these courts reach a total of 148 years of seclusion or forced labour. The Communist papers were seized by the authorities, the publication of leaflets, and Communist meetings were prohibited. The police came into action against the strikers.

When the Orgeschists passed through Saxony on their way to Silesia, the purely Socialist cabinet took no apparent measures against the transport of the reactionaries.

The social laws proposed by the Communists, the subsidies to midwives, etc., were rejected. On the other hand, the Diet, by a Socialist majority, accorded on the proposition of a "Socialist" Minister, a sum of 16 million marks to the Church, by all votes against those of the Communists.

The proletariat thus sees how it is deceived by the reformist leaders. The Communists of Dresden have succeeded in the elections to the Metal Workers' Union in beating the Majority Socialists, the Independent workers having voted with the Communists.

The reactionaries calling themselves "Socialists" in Saxony, are unmasking themselves. The advice in "The Infantile Malady" is producing considerable effect.

L'Humanité.

Spain

Reprisals against the Communist Party

THE congress of the Party has once more been adjourned because of the terrible repression of the Madrid Chief of Police against the Central Committee of the Party. Some weeks ago a striker killed the owner of a printing press. Because of this the members of the National Committee of our Party were arrested by the Chief of Police. Andrade, director of *El Comunista*, was arrested and exiled to the province of Soria; Portelo, secretary of the Party, was placed in the *Modèle Prison* in Madrid, under "unconditional judicial procedure," that is to say, without the privilege of bail; Richard Marin is in the same prison, etc. But above all, by raiding the printing press of our organ, and by ruthlessly destroying all the type of our paper—the latter having been forbidden—was the particular brutality of the police disclosed. The Spanish Police are seeking, under Government orders, to destroy the Communist Party, which is a peril to the capitalism of our country, and to the reactionary policy against the proletariat.

The Communist Committee of Valencia has been imprisoned by the caprice of the police; and to accomplish the arrest of half-a-dozen Valencian members, sixty police were employed, who treated our comrades with great brutality. Moreover, these police manœuvres extend over all the peninsula, rendering the life of a Communist impossible. The Spanish Police (facts are an indubitable proof) wish to follow the sinister path traversed by the former police of Tsarist Russia. This violence distinctly accuses the special régime which characterises the Spanish political power.

Literary people, the more advanced papers, the "Scientific Athenians," and the Spanish League of the Rights of Men, are beginning to protest against the terrible reprisals of which our Party is the victim. The foreign Communist press should also protest against these actions of the worst Government we have experienced up to now. The coming into power of the Conservative Party is always followed by cruelties arising from its animosity towards the working class. The capitalist Conservative Party has had two principal black periods: 1909 and 1917; the first during *the bloody week of Barcelona*, the second during the general strike of August, under the presidency of the Minister Dato, who was killed this year by a revolver shot. But, since 1920, the repression has surpassed all others previous, and it will only end with the outbreak of the revolution. All the persecutions, all the reprisals, all the violent and tyrannical measures used by the present Government of the decadent Alfonso, ridiculous imitator of Nicholas II. and William II., will not be able to prevent the Spanish revolution, for all the political, administrative, economic and social ramifications are in complete decomposition, resulting from the capitalist chaos.

The war in Morocco (it was the cause of the rebellions at Barcelona in 1909), more and more sanguinary, contributes also to the débâcle. Nothing will save the Spanish monarchy. The more terrible, sanguinary and fierce the repression becomes, the more terrible, sanguinary and fierce will be, in its turn, the proletarian and Communist revolution.

VOLNEY, CONDE-PELAYO.

L'Avant-Garde.

The Moroccan Crisis

SPAIN, in order to revive its prestige in Morocco, gravely threatened by the military disaster at Melitta, is making a considerable effort at the moment.

Hastily equipped troops assembled from the barracks of the interior are leaving the ports of the peninsula. Yesterday at Bilbao, three battalions, coming from Purgos, Lagrono, and Vituria, embarked on cargo boats usually destined for iron-ore, where they will have to remain seven days before arriving at their destination.

This morning groups of workers marched throughout the town as a sign of protestation against the sending of troops to Morocco. Immediately, the factories emptied, and the vehicular traffic was completely stopped. It was an unplanned, but almost general strike. At ten o'clock the streets were occupied by the military,

and the greatest precautions taken to permit a battalion that had arrived from Pampeture in the night to embark.

This strike coincided with the closing down of the Vizcaye factory, the great furnaces that 4,000 workers abandoned two days ago following the dismissal by the manager of two comrades who had been imprisoned 15 days for collecting T.U. funds. Will there be at Billao the same bloody repression as on the 17th August, 1917?

L'Humanité.

Czecho-Slovakia

Soviet Russia and Czecho-Slovakia

An Interview with Tchicherin

THE *Vorwaerts*, organ of the German of the Czecho-Slovak Communist Party, publishes the following interview given by Tchicherin to Kreibich:

Speaking of the supposed attitude taken up by Soviet Russia, in relation to Soviet Russia, Tchicherin said: "I follow the present political development of the Czech people with a keen interest. Soviet Russia is the only real friend of the small nation."

"The case of Georgia," I said to him, "serves as the war-horse for all the enemies of Soviet Russia and Communism, and they are trying to make special use of it in connection with Bohemia."

"The legend of an imperialist attack on Georgia is a complete forgery," said Tchicherin. "Menshevist Georgia has fallen on account of the hate it provoked on the part of the workers and peasants. It was only after the proletariat took things into their own hands that Soviet Russia offered the aid that had been already asked for. All our policy in relation to small states and feeble nations shows to what point we have remained faithful to our principle of the autonomy of peoples. Nothing is further from us than wanting to introduce the Soviet Régime by force into any country. It is for the working class of each country alone to carry on the fight."

"Do you know that our enemies make out that Soviet Russia has hostile intentions towards Czecho-Slovakia?"

"All that is told about the Comintern issuing instructions against Czecho-Slovakia is pure invention. Soviet Russia is really her only true friend. On the contrary, the policy of France tends to the foundation of a Danubian Alliance, and under one form or another the restoration of the Hapsburgs. France is trying to lend its continental power for the rebirth of the clerical and monarchist reaction. But the power of tyrants has a limit, and this limit is Russia, who will know how to trace it."

"What do you think of the present foreign policy of Czecho-Slovakia?"

"Above all we are counting on Czecho-Slovakia not supporting our enemies. Generally speaking Benes has followed this policy,

but we do not forget certain trains of munitions that went through Moravia on the way to Poland. And again, what is the meaning of this intimate contact between the Government and the Russian and Ukrainian counter-revolutionaries, enemies of the Russian people?

"Nevertheless, we are persuaded that the great mass of the Czech people as well as the public opinion of the Bourgeoisie, will not allow a hostile attitude to be taken against us. We have good reason to believe that Czecho-Slovakia would not enter into any alliance against us.

"We want complete autonomy for Czecho-Slovakia. We want to be its friends.

"What do you think of the question of national minorities in general?

"We recognise everywhere the full rights of the minority. The present position of the German minority in Czecho-Slovakia is not known to us. We can only advise Communists not to dwell on the actual territorial formations of States. The proletarian fight should be waged on its own, and should not on any account be mixed with the questions of delimitation of frontiers. All proletarians, to whatever nationality they belong, should fight in complete solidarity within the given 'frontiers of a nation for the defence only of class interests.'"

A. G.

L'Humanité.

Yugo-Slavia

The Reaction in Yugo-Slavia

By H. M. POPOVITCH

THE Government of the bloody Alexander Karageorgevitch and of M. Pachitch, professional robber, gives nothing in the way of immorality and savagery to the government of Tsarist Russia, also termed the Russia of the "false Monk Rasputin." The first of these two, in order to retain power, has managed to get rid of his eldest brother, with the aid of his dear Pachitch. Since then, atrocities have increased day by day. But it is since the war that these two blood-drinkers have been revealed in all their gory splendour. After having thrown the whole Serbian people into a carnage, after having condemned them to death in compelling the fighting retreat through Albania—a retreat in which the class 16 alone lost 29,000 men out of 38,000—these men are to-day venting their spleen on the Communist Party.

Last month's attempts against Alexander Karageorgevitch, were the long-awaited occasion for an assault on the Communist Party. The day following the attempt the Government arrested our friend Philippovitch, General Secretary of the Party, who was accused of having organised it. The servant of the accused's father, having refused in spite of an enormous bribe to confirm the allegations of the police that Philippovitch had sheltered the author of the attempt, was beaten to such an extent that she is still ill to-day.

The police then began searching for a man called Miloche Zlatar. At Laibach there was found an unfortunate man who happened to have this name; he was escorted to Belgrade by 20 gendarmes who gave him blows all along the route. After ten hours of this treatment he admitted having been connected with the affair, having been tortured beyond all powers of endurance. On arriving at Belgrade, they wanted to submit him to a cross-examination, but he was incapable of pronouncing a word. Two days later he protested to the judge against the force that had been operated on him to make him avow a complicity of which he was innocent. They made an inquiry, and found that he was not the Miloche Zlatar the police were looking for.

In the present process it is not so much a question of the unjust arrest of some hundreds of men, but of the entire Communist Party. It is Communism they are persecuting. What is most serious is that the Communist Press, having been suppressed in Yugo-Slavia for six months, the bourgeois press can lie to its heart's content without being contradicted. We are also persuaded that our friends are condemned to die in prison. Philippovitch has already contracted tuberculosis. If foreign journalists are not sent to follow the process of these Serbian comrades and denounce in the international Communist press the infamous mouthings of the Yugo-Slav bourgeois papers, it will mean that our comrades will be delivered defenceless into the hands of their adversaries.

L'Humanité.

How Yugo-Slavia Treats the Proletariat

SINCE the attempt against the Minister of the Interior, Drachkovitch—the author of the “Obzvana”—the reaction has reached its culminating point.

The open instruction after the attempt against the Prince Regent with the torture inflicted on the accused, and the insidious activities of agents provocateurs has been able to prove nothing against the Communist functionaries arrested. The instruction on the new attempt has disclosed nothing further in the way of any connection between the attempt and the Communist Party. The so-called initiator of the attempt, the student Tcholakovitch, has declared that he was not a member of the Communist Party, and that he did not even know the intentions of those who had committed the attempt.

In any case, it is clear that even if the culprits had been members of the Communist Party, one could not attribute the responsibility of these acts to the Party or its Executive Committee. For six months the Party has been deprived of all its legal means of exercising its moral influence and establishing its control over its members. In such circumstances, it is not surprising that the activities of a reaction pushed to the extreme, incite some exalted spirits among the persecuted to fight the reaction with individual terror.

But the reactionary Government wants to liquidate the Communist Party at any price. By its official and bought press, it provokes the lowest instincts. In the *Straja*, for example (the organ

of the Prime Minister, Pachitch), the following passage has appeared:—

"Our closest neighbours, the Hungarians, should provide us with an example. We should derive inspiration from Horthy. To the guillotine all who wish and think as Communists. To the guillotine all Communist women and children! Even their names should disappear from this world. All foreigners should be expelled from our frontiers, all Communists should be burned alive."

In order to avoid all criticism of their odious ways, the Government has, by way of the police, commanded the Editors of all opposition and neutral papers that "any criticism of the Constitution, as well as any news that would be directly or indirectly favourable to the Communists, is henceforth forbidden." The Belgrade organ of the Red Trade Unions *Ratnichki Lindiketi*, has been forbidden further publication.

Fascism is manifest everywhere. At Belgrade, the Association of Komitadzis prepares to lynch the Communist Deputies. At Sarajevo, the mob destroyed the headquarters of the Red Trade Unions. At Lagieb, demonstrations against the Communists are numerous. At Spalatto, the homes of two Communist Deputies have been destroyed. During a collision with Communists—there were twenty wounded—three seriously. These attacks are everywhere directed by Government Party Deputies.

The Government has convoked the legislative commission of the Parliament for the 26th July, and an extraordinary session for the 30th. *The withdrawal of the Parliamentary immunity of the 56 Communist Deputies will be demanded. The Communist Deputies are already sequestered; they are forbidden to leave Belgrade—a unique case in the history of bourgeois parliamentarism.* The Parliament will also have to vote the law relating to "order and work," which has already been proposed twice by the late Minister, Drachkovitch, and withdrawn owing to the unanimous reprobation of the opposition and a great number of Government partisans.

More than 3,000 workers are in prison. The misery of the working class, deprived for six months of its Trades Unions, is atrocious. This misery will not stabilise the reactionary régime in Yugo-Slavia and it will not wipe out the Communist Party by persecution. The Yugo-Slav bourgeoisie has learnt nothing from the history of Russian Tsarism. The Yugo-Slav Communist Party will preserve its revolutionary spirit. It will know how to augment its forces, in spite of the reaction, it will know how to prepare for victory in spite of all persecution.

L'Humanité.

Bulgaria

Growth of the Workers' Movement

BULGARIA is a small country of five million inhabitants, under the domination, like all Balkan countries, of the wills of European imperialist powers, who strive to enlarge their influence in order to make of these Balkan countries actual colonies, which serve to them as steps towards their expansion across Asia.

The great Western Powers make for themselves in this way auxiliary armies, which they utilise in their struggle against the Russian Soviet Republic.

• It is on account of these motives, that the "Allies" wish to stifle the revolutionary movement in these countries, and especially in Bulgaria, where it has deeper roots.

Eighty per cent. of the Bulgarian population are peasants. From this fact the bourgeoisie assume that there is no place for a Communist movement in this country.

However, most of the peasants are small proprietors owning from five ares to one hectare of land, which is not enough to feed them, and compels them to hire themselves to the rich farmers, or alternatively to work in the factories or in the mines.

Before the Balkan war of 1912, this part of the population still succeeded, by virtue of intensive work, in which both children and women folk participated, to eke out a bare existence. Up to then the economic life of the country had not passed through any serious crisis, and therefore no revolutionary party of the masses had been formed.

For more than thirty years a feeble socialist movement existed in Bulgaria, divided sharply, however, into two tendencies. The *reformists* endeavoured to create a party of the masses by propaganda in the villages, and by the organisation of the peasants and small owners. They collaborated to a great extent with the bourgeoisie with the aim of obtaining an amelioration in their conditions.

The *revolutionaries*, on the other hand, conducted a clear-cut class struggle, without compromise, and limited their propaganda to the towns, to the industrial centres, to the really proletarian masses. They struggled to achieve unity of action in the political and industrial movement.

In 1903 a split occurred between these two tendencies. The reformists formed the *broad* social democratic party, with Janko Sazeff as leader, the revolutionaries formed the *narrow* social democratic party, led by Dimitri Blagoev.

The *broad* social democratic party, exploiting the desire for immediate palliatives for the working masses and peasants, saw its ranks being swelled rapidly with petit bourgeois and intellectual elements. This party advocated the "neutrality" of the trade unions, although in reality the greater part of the Unions were directed by the broad social democrats, who also directed the political activity of these unions.

The *narrow* or Marxist Party consisted, for a long time, of only a small number of clear-sighted proletarians, who relentlessly carried on the struggle against the reformists and social patriots. They organised the workers of the mines, the cutlery workers, and workers in tobacco factories, all elements clearly proletarian.

The struggle between the two parties was very active. The *broad* party multiplied their appeals for unification, but the *narrow*s always refused this unity, replying that it could only be carried out in favour of action conducted on the ground of the

class struggle, and that it would be as useful to ally themselves with the bourgeoisie as with the reformists.

The *narrow* Socialist Party never accepted collaboration with any other political or industrial organisation. It maintained that only those trade unions affiliated to the party were true proletarian organisations.

Despite the efforts of Legien, Secretary of the International of Trade Unions, even of Trotsky, of Rakovsky, etc., to unite the two parties, the *narrow* Socialists would accept no deviation from their political path, nor any collaboration with reformist leaders. No influence was able to destroy their Marxian point of view.

They called themselves the "Unique" Socialists, and truly they showed themselves unique in refusing all aid to the national bourgeoisie, by strongly opposing the national war of 1912.

This energetic attitude attracted to them the confidence of the wider working masses, despite bourgeois persecutions, and from this moment the *narrow* party grew both in size and in quality.

The *broad* social democrats, during this period, drew nearer and nearer to the bourgeoisie, with whom they led a united action in 1908. During the course of the Balkan war of 1912 they assisted the bourgeoisie with all their strength, in the war for the "liberation" of Macedonia and of Thrace, contributing thus to the extermination of the proletarians, sacrificed to the ambitions of Balkan imperialism and Tzarist autocracy.

The war of 1915-18 found the same parties, attached to the same policies. The violent struggles of the *narrows* against the war were put down by the most vigorous ferocity.

After the defeat in the Balkan War, the situation of the masses was most precarious. Two hundred thousand killed, as many permanently disabled, twice as many orphans, productive activity totally destroyed, misery, unemployment, tremendous increase in the cost of living, crushing war expenses, 37 milliards of debt, exorbitant taxes which fell entirely on the poor peasants and the workers.

The situation created by the Treaty of Peace literally strangled the Bulgarian people, who saw themselves reduced to a state of slavery impossible to imagine even in Western countries.

Driven by bankruptcy, the Bulgarian Government crushed the proletariat under taxes, and decreed the "compulsory and gratuitous national service," by which all workers were constrained to work ten days each year for the State without payment.

Such an exploitation, such a misery, opened the eyes of the workers, who showed with a force more and more marked, their revolutionary will. Bloody encounters took place between workers demanding bread, and government troops, who gave them bullets while the Bulgarian bourgeoisie fed the counter-revolutionary armies of Wrangel with bread. A powerful strike movement, organised at this moment, succeeded in paralysing the aid being carried to the adversaries of the Soviets.

The broad social democrats collaborated with the government.

The *narrow* party had become the Communist Party of Bulgaria since the First Congress of the Third International.

The proletarian movement extended considerably and was violently repressed by mass arrests and the assassination of numerous members of the Communist Party.

These economic and political circumstances developed the fighting spirit of the workers and peasants, and reinforced the Communist Party, following the bankruptcy of the broad social democrats, of whom the bourgeoisie was making an instrument of defence against the workers. It suffices to recall, among other things, the action of the Minister, Sakazoff (leader of the broad social democrats), who attempted to destroy the organisation of the miners by deporting more than 300 militants, from the mines of Pernike, near Sofia, and the attitude of the *broad* Djidroff, Minister of Justice, who attempted to have several of these militants assassinated, and was only prevented from this course by the violent opposition which developed within his own party.

As they had served their bourgeoisie during the war, so they continued to serve them after the war.

One remembers that certain *broad* leaders were sent to Stockholm and elsewhere to defend the cause of their national Capitalism. On the morrow of the war, they agreed with the victorious Entente to sacrifice as hostages 150,000 prisoners of war, who were kept, far from their hearths and homes during long months, in order to avoid their sudden return in the country, where they would have accentuated the revolutionary movement.

In July, 1919, faced by a threat of action from the proletariat, the desperate bourgeoisie sealed the reactionary block with the social democrats, in order to resist the Communists by all possible means. A brutal repression was pursued side by side by a most vile press campaign against the Bolshevik Revolution. Actually the Bulgarian bourgeoisie made use of means more direct, more brutal still; it organised a Bulgarian fascisti, who destroyed the Workers' Hall and the Communist printing press at Sofia.

Despite that, the Communist action continued and increased in activity and force from day to day, menacing the interests of allied imperialism as much as those of the Bulgarian bourgeoisie.

At the last elections, the Communist Party forced the election of 47 Communist deputies. The party is parliamentary, despite a very feeble tendency from the Left, which is anti-parliamentarian. These elements considered that the situation in the country warranted the immediate carrying through of the revolutionary coup, without the party concerning itself with external influences, nor with the result of the attempt. However, the Committee of the Communist Party holds that international relationships, the presence of foreign troops by the frontiers, are factors which determine its revolutionary action.

But these differences of the evaluation of different factors will be overborne by the revolutionary will of the masses, the new industrial and political conditions in the country, and the probable variations in the international situation.

The bourgeoisie of Roumania, of Poland, of Servia, of Czechoslovakia, have formed the "Little Entente," so-called, against Hungary and Bulgaria, but in reality to fight Soviet Russia. A new war against Russia would create quite a new situation for the workers of Bulgaria.

During the last few days, the announcement of a Bulgarian revolution has been announced in the press and immediately denied by the foreign representatives of the Bulgarian Government. All the denials, however, would not prevent economic and political conditions from producing their effects, and liberating the Bulgarian proletariat from allied and Bulgarian imperialism.

(Translated from *Ouvrier Communiste* by E. T. WHITEHEAD).

Italy

The Toll of the Civil War

L'AVANTI has just published figures relating to the men killed or wounded during the troubled period which has endured from the Armistice to the present day.

I.—From September 1st to November 30th, 1919 (election period):

A. DEAD.

Soldiers	...	...	...	...	...	1
Police	...	...	...	...	...	2
Socialists and other workers	...	...	...	...	...	28
Total ...						31

B. WOUNDED.

Soldiers and Police	...	...	...	...	24
Fascisti and Arditi	...	...	...	...	26
Socialists and other proletarians	...	...	...	...	200
Other civilians	...	...	...	...	42
Total					292

II.—From March 1st to May 21st, 1921.

A. DEAD.

Soldiers	...	...	...	...	...	7
Police	...	...	...	...	...	17
Fascisti	...	...	...	...	...	64
Socialists and Communists	...	...	...	...	...	195
Other Civilians	...	...	...	...	...	57
Total ...						340

B. WOUNDED.

Soldiers	...	...	...	...	...	56
Fascisti	...	...	...	...	...	266
Socialists and Communists	...	...	...	...	...	774
Other Civilians	...	...	...	...	...	339
Total ...						1435

C. IMPRISONED.

Fascisti	...	...	...	...	...	163
Socialists and Communists	...	...	...	...	...	1961
						<hr/>
Total						2124
						<hr/>

Different conclusions arise from the examination of these tables: The first is relative to the growing intensity of the fight. The total figures of killed and wounded during a period of three months in 1919 are respectively 10 and 5 times less than the corresponding figures for the same period in 1921. In the second place, the figures of Communists or Socialists killed and wounded are always much higher than those of the reaction. This is explained by two reasons: Firstly, the Government agents and the Fascisti were better armed and equipped than their enemies, and secondly, they have always been the assailants; this has enabled them to seize their victims on the spot, and constantly given them superiority. All the same, it must be noted that if, for the first period the figures of the proletarians killed and wounded is five (5/1) to 20 (20/1) times higher than those of the bourgeoisie, for the second period the relation is not more than 2/1 to 3/1.

This is because the proletariat had learnt to resist; has armed, and has little by little borrowed from its enemies their own methods of fighting.

[Another important deduction from the above figures is the number of imprisoned. The fascisti have only 163 in prison against 1961 Communists. Considering that the fascisti were the attackers they have very few members in prison. This is a further proof that the Law is a weapon used against the masses.—EDITOR, COMMUNIST REVIEW.]

Roumania

The White Terror

BUCHAREST, July 27th, 1921. The White Terror inaugurated by the Avaresco-Argetoyanon Cabinet still grows. It rivals those of Mannerheim and Horthy.

As it is proved that the "plots" forged by the Government are pure invention, crime and despotism have taken the place of justice. The Congress delegates imprisoned in the Fort of Jilava since the 15th of May have been thrown in dark and damp caves, beaten and starved; they are even denied the permission to receive their families and advocates.

To protest against these cruelties 90 comrades have declared hunger strike for eight days. They demand that they should be put under the political régime, and that their process should be taken out.

General Avaresco, the assassin of the insurgent peasants of 1907, has replied cynically: "In true Democracy, I can oppose no form of strike."

Besides the hundreds of "undesirable" citizens condemned to death in Bessarabia since the annexation of this revolutionary country to Roumania, they have commenced to apply the system become famous since the murder of Liebknecht.

The Communist, Brottmann, has just been shot by the gendarmes of the assassin Argetoyanon under the pretext that he tried to escape. He is the fifth Communist shot in this fashion in two months.

Conscious of its inevitable fall, the Government, overwhelmed by a public debt of more than twelve milliards, and incapable of re-organising the country, takes the offensive against the revolutionaries. By decree it has made invalid the mandate of the Deputy Moscovici, late Secretary of the Socialist Party, and condemned for the general strike of October 1920—also by decree. The Government has also taken away the right of pleading from E. Socor, a member of the General Council of the Party, condemned for the same "crime" as Marcovici. Even the non-revolutionary peasant deputies are chased from Parliament, and the *Communist Bulletin* and *Workers' Life* confiscated. The least partial strike becomes in the eyes of the authorities a "plot" that must be stifled.

Those are the means employed by the ruling classes to prolong their domination.

L'Humanité.

France

Declaration of the Committees of Revolutionary Syndicalists (C.S.R.)

THE Central Committee of the C.S.R. being unable to meet to-night, the undersigned comrades wish immediately to make the following declarations relating to the resolution voted at the Congress of the Red Trade Union International:—

1. They are surprised to find at the bottom of this resolution the signatures of the two French delegates, who have obviously outstepped their mandate.

2. They consider that revolutionary Trade Unionism would fail in its traditions of syndical autonomy if it accepted the conception expressed in this resolution.

3. They firmly believe that a Red Trade Union International based on these principles would be incapable of rallying the revolutionary Trades Union movements, and consequently of filling its rôle, and existing.

It seems to us that it is impossible to admit the necessity for a strict liaison between the Unions and the Communist Party on the national field, and between the R.T.U.I. and the Comintern on the International field.

This organic liaison would end above, as below, in mechanically falsifying the character of the Trades Union, and in preventing it being the class grouping open to all workers, in order that

it might become simply a grouping of tendencies. We would be assisting in the creation of as many Trade Union movements as there exist Communist or Socialist Internationals. A revolutionary T.U. International should be independent of a political International, as a T.U. organisation should be of a political organisation.

Therefore, nationally, the French Revolutionary Trades Unionism cannot admit organic connection with the Communist Party. Faithful to the Amiens Charter, it demands its independence which allows it to call to it all workers without distinction of opinion.

Internationally it recognises the right of other T.U. movements to act according to their own historic and economic conditions, but it demands the same right for itself. It considers that a R.T.U.I. that does not take into consideration these conditions would be condemning itself to inactivity and death; it would only rally a part of the International T.U. movement, whereas by respecting the original characters of the different movements, and in giving to the new International the two foundation stones of Russian Trades Unionism and the revolutionary Trades Unionism of the Latin and Anglo-Saxon countries, it is sure to march with great strides upon the Revolutionary path. We ask the Central Committee of the C.S.R. to propose to the R.T.U.I. to arrange as soon as possible a conference at which the question of the actual resolution will be discussed, and to ask the Lille Confederal Congress to begin by demanding the withdrawal of the C.G.T. from the Amsterdam International, deferring until the next extraordinary congress the demand for effective adhesion to Moscow.

We firmly declare that our present attitude is neither inspired by a sentiment of defiance for the Communist International, nor by an enfeebling of the fraternity that binds us to the Russian Revolution, but by the conscience of the higher interest of the world movement, which alone is our guide.

We repudiate Amsterdam to-day, as yesterday; and the provisional non-acceptance of some of our points of view by the Congress of the R.T.U.I. will not make us discover any merits in an International grafted on a war grouping of Allied Trades Unions, and whose action is organically tied to the International Labour Office of Monseigneur Albert Thomas and the Second Socialist International—that of the ministers and kings.

More than ever we desire that our Russian Comrades be represented at the Lille Congress, where we shall confront our points of view with profit for all.

Signed:—Monmousseau, Sépard, Barthe, Jouve, Cholber, Quinton, Racamond, Guinet, Teulade, Meyer, Fontaine, Rébillon, Briolet, Monatte, Verdie, Vadécad, Biche, Rambaut, Daguerre.

L'Humanité.

The Communist Party and the Trades Unions

IN its sitting of the 21st July, the E.C. of the French Communist Party unanimously adopted the following resolution.

The Executive Committee considering the contradictory opinions that the resolution voted at the Moscow Congress of the R.T.U.I. is arousing in Trades Union circles, recalls that the position of the Communist Party in France has been defined by the Tours resolution which states on the relation between Party and the Unions.

“The party includes workers of all proletarian organisations who accept its theoretical views and practical applications. Everyone, obeying the discipline submitted to his control, will propagate these ideas in the circles where he exercises his influence and activity. And when the majority in these organisations is won over to communism there is between them and the Party co-ordination of action and *not subjection* of one organisation to the other.”

In reply to the allegations of the present leaders of the C.G.T. the E.C. observes that the resolution voted at Moscow far from implying any “insubordination” of the T.U. Movement to the political organisation, merely envisages a “strict contact and organic liaison” between the executives of the Comintern and the R.T.U.I.

It also points out that the Social-dissidents after having on their own account demanded an entente and permanent liaison between the Unions and Sections, and between the C.G.T. and the Party, are badly qualified to pose to-day as the champions of T.U. independence of which the Communist Party has not ceased to proclaim the necessity in France.

The Executive Committee affirms once more its wish to neglect nothing in realising in France in the respect of the traditional autonomy of Trades Unionism the revolutionary unity of the proletarian front.

L'Humanité.

Communist Party of France (F.S.C.I.)

Against the Famine in Russia

Appeal to the Workers of France

THE Russian people is suffering from a cruel famine in ten provinces, those of the Volga and the South-East. It addresses itself to you as to all proletarians of the world, that you might accomplish your duty of solidarity regarding it. You will not fail.

If certain districts of Russia have gathered sufficient to subsist on, others are sorely tried. The drought has sterilised the earth there. The harvest has been feeble or non-existent; the population emigrate in quest of food. Children of tender age are decimated by the famine and the terrible diseases it gives birth to. It is a tragedy comparable to the most tragic of all times,

a crisis the more serious as there remains scarcely sufficient seed for the winter sowing.

In the past on many occasions under the Tsarist régime, millions of human beings died of hunger. When the Revolution broke out there was a shortage of bread in the towns, and the peasants fed themselves on grass. The war had torn away labour from the land, dislocated the economic system—already so backward in Russia—and abolished the transport system. Whatever efforts the Soviet has made to give the country the necessary equipment, and rescue it from the effects of the Tsarist policy, it has not been able to accomplish the whole of its task. Fighting internally against armed reaction, and against reiterated aggression from without, it has in spite of all its initiative remedied but one part of the evil. To thoroughly free themselves they should have been able to come into contact with the rest of the world, and take part in universal life.

Now the capitalist powers, in order to revenge themselves on the first country to accomplish the Social Revolution, have isolated Russia by their blockade, and to-day, owing to Russia's having a disastrous harvest, the crime is completed.

Thousands of infants die through being born in the shadow of the red flag. A whole people is condemned to death by the cold diplomacy of the possessing classes, for having rejected the old form of ownership. Workers of France, it is not in vain that we appeal to you. We know your generosity and also your intelligence. Women of the French proletariat, you would not like the little boys and girls of Russia, brothers and sisters of yours, to be the victims of class politics.

There is a solidarity of peoples superior to the hateful will of governments. If to-morrow there arises from the Russian famine the most gigantic epidemic of cholera that history has yet known, the so-called statesmen who rule us will be responsible. They have not yet understood that in leaving Russia to die behind the lines of a blockade they make a charnel-house of the world.

Workers of France, you must insist that the blockade be raised, so that the Russian people receives the victuals and medicaments which will permit it to subsist and combat the epidemic. The circumstances are pressing. But you will not be content with relying on the bourgeoisie to expiate its crime. *You will impose a personal and pecuniary sacrifice on yourselves*; you will give aid to your Russian brothers. You will affirm practically your solidarity with the masses of workers of peasants who have out there shaken the servitude of the old world.

In accomplishing this act of fraternity which is asked of you, in associating you with all the workers of the universe who are coming in aid of Russia, you will measure your power in the face of the counter-revolution which is already arming itself with the sufferings of the Soviet people. Demonstrate your strength, your spirit of sacrifice, your interest in humanity, and your high comprehension of the duty of the international proletariat.

The Executive Committee.

L'Humanité.

The Greetings of the R.T.U.I. for T.U. Autonomy Against All Subordination

THE Central Council of the Red Trade Union International sends to the Congress of the French C.G.T. assembled at Lille, its fraternal greetings.

It hopes that from this Congress French Trades Unionism will emerge at last regenerated, and will work in accord with the revolutionary organisations of all countries for the realisation, by Communism, of the freedom of the proletariat, and that it will join, after having repudiated the Amsterdam International of class collaboration, the Red T.U. International of Moscow, where it will find its Communist and Syndicalist friends of 12 countries (Spain, Italy, England, America, etc.).

The constitutive Congress of the R.T.U.I. voted by a large majority the exchange of delegations between the Executive Committees of the Comintern and the R.T.U.I. with the idea of making effective collaboration between the two Internationals on the revolutionary field.

But in spite of this liaison, the Congress has never intended diminishing the autonomy of T.U. organisms of the different countries, and the two Congresses have never had in view the subordinating of one of the Internationals to the other.

The manœuvres of the bourgeois Governments and the reformists who are trying to make the French militants believe that the Moscow Congress has decided on mechanical subordination of the T.U. movement of the world to the Communist International, will be frustrated by the proven and far-seeing revolutionaries.

Once more we hope that the revolutionary fighters of France will not fall into the traps that the Bourgeois Governments and their reformist servitors lay for them under the pretext of "autonomy."

Long live the Red Trade Union International!

Long live the World Proletarian Revolution!

For and by order of the Central Council of the R.T.U.I.:

The Executive Bureau: Losovsky (General Secretary); Nogin (Russia); Ailandis (Spain); Mayer (Germany); Tom Mann (England); Andveitchin (America).

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International Review

Review of the Month

A Winter of Discontent

MANY people imagined when the communists foretold, a few months ago, that the coming winter would be a severe one both for the masses, and for capitalism, that we were nothing more nor less than miserable pessimistic prophets. We warned the working class what was in store for them at a time when the moderate trade union leaders, Labour parliamentarians, and the press were assuring everybody that trade was picking up and that everything would soon be better than well.

Capitalism has passed into a chronic crisis. It is being ripped up by its own inherent contradictions. So desperate are the hungry masses that here and there they have forcibly attempted to get food. In several of the large industrial centres riots have taken place. Arising from the poverty stricken condition of the country the active members of the Poplar Council are now in prison for their illegal conduct in refusing to levy rates. Councillors in other districts may soon find themselves in the same place.

It is not correct to say that the Government has made no preparations to meet the great calamity that now faces the masses of this country. The Government is quite ready to meet every emergency that may arise. It has indeed made its first move. In a truly chivalrous British manner it has set in motion its machinery to the tune of "children first"—by reducing their milk supply!

The Government uses every crisis to test the timidity of the masses and the servility of the labour leaders. It reduced the unemployed dole and nothing happened. It then felt emboldened to plan a gigantic offensive against the best organised industry in the land. It manipulated the miners lock-out. It challenged the Triple Alliance and found that it was a mere balloon. It battered the miners, and many other powerful unions, down on to their knees and nothing happened. It is now ready to turn the screw once more. It intends to continue this policy until it has so broken the spirit of the workers that they will neither have the will nor the wish to fight for decent conditions. The Government hopes to so emasculate the masses that they in their apathetic servility, will desire nothing better than to be led industrially by a J. H. Thomas, or to be represented politically by an I.L.P. Mayor, like Mr. H. Morrison, who counsels them:—

"One day Labour will be responsible for law and order, and Labour men are bound to demonstrate that we are not lawbreakers."

Let law-breakers like Mr. George Lansbury and his Poplar colleagues put that in their pipe and smoke it. This admission that the I.L.P. is prepared to uphold *capitalist law and order*, rather than fight for the hungry masses in such terrible times as these, demonstrates to the Government to what depths of constitutional servility that party is prepared to submit. We assure the ruling class, however, that while it has every reason to smile at the cowardice of the I.L.P. (as was vividly demonstrated by the shameless and abject climb-down of the National Labour Press to the Government recently) it must not imagine that the workers are going to peacefully submit to the hell of starvation during the coming winter. Within the next few months the Government may make the startling discovery that when starving people are out for food they do not conduct themselves precisely in the same way as do middle-class intellectual prigs out for parliamentary careers.

The Vicious Vortex

WHEN we say that capitalism is now in a chronic crisis we mean that it is floundering in the morass of imperialism. To-day war is the *normal* condition of capitalism. "Peace" is merely a temporary and armed parley in order to enable the combatants to get new wind, make new alliances, elaborate fresh policies, and organise new wars. These breathing intervals enable the imperialists to tune the press, mobilise the intellectuals, educate the labour leaders in the need of saving the Empire, and to work up the necessary atmosphere to mobilise the masses as soldiers. Thus while sheer economic and physical exhaustion enforces "peace" the conditions of "peace" automatically create war. Here we have a contradiction.

Capitalism cannot extricate itself from its various contradictions. The rapacity of the national financial cliques forces them to fight each other to maintain their economic interests. The different nationals in doing this have to depend upon their national armies and navies. Thus each group in striving to preserve their *capitalist interest nationally* are in reality uprooting capitalism *internationally*! Here we have another contradiction.

The great financiers in the capitalist nations become violently *ultra-nationalistic and patriotic in the measure that their main economic interests pass outside the territory of their nation*. In the early days of capitalism patriotism meant the defence of the nation's territory, which was then the geographical area wherein lay the principal economic power of the ruling class. Modern patriotism, under imperialism, means that the great financial interests of the propertied class have shifted to some other part of the world, and have to be defended there by the armed power of the nation to which the financiers belong. In a word: imperialism means that national capital has become international, and in order to maintain its international character it must be defended nationally! This is the vicious vortex into which capitalism has plunged. Within the present system there is no way out. Communism is the only hope of the masses—all else is illusion. The class war alone can end national war. The Communist revolution is the only thing that can deliver the workers from the miseries of capitalistic evolution.

The Lesson of History

IT may be urged that the international capitalist class can see the folly of destroying each other nationally, and thus destroying their system internationally. Classes within propertied systems do not act according to the laws of reason and logic, but in response to their immediate interests. Commonsense never dictated the Versailles peace. Reason never sanctioned the indemnities now being torn from Germany. These were determined by what a covetous and rapacious ruling class in France and Britain imagined were their interests.

Since the rise of private property that institution has ever created divisions in society. It makes a separate division for every separate interest it brings into existence. Even where there may be a superficial unity of interests it will be found that there are so many shades of interests that the slightest thing splits up a seeming solidarity of aim and purpose. The operation of this law, well-known to every Marxian, is vividly illustrated in the international attack of the capitalist nations upon Soviet Russia. They were agreed that the existence of a Soviet Republic, in which the Communist Party was the actual driving force, was a standing menace equally to all of them. Very well, they united to attack Russia. But in planning their general attack each group attempted to so conduct its campaign that it fitted in with some particular and immediate national interest. Thus France, always hungering for coal, attacked through the Crimea, one of the nearest starting points for the Donetz coal basin. Britain, hankering after oil and

platinum, struck through the Murmansk coast, and hoped to reach the Urals, while her fleet kept greedy eyes upon the oil wells adjacent to the Black Sea. America and Japan paralysed each others efforts in the Far East, in attempting to use the Pacific coast against each other. The reactionary Russians who took part in every one of the campaigns were not inspired by the interests that impelled the various capitalist nations to attack Soviet Russia; these elements wanted to destroy the revolution and re-establish the monarchy in order to restore the conditions which suited them. Thus, there was a lack of unity in the attack upon Russia because the ruling class could not sacrifice their national to their international interests.

On the other hand, Soviet Russia, weak, hungry, ill-clad, poorly armed, smashed all the imperialist armies. She was not defending property but the common interests of the common masses. The communal character of her struggle created solidarity of purpose, of will, and determination and final victory. The propertied interests of her imperialist opponents produced disunity, corruption, internecine quarrels, chaos, lack of will, and final defeat.

Private property means division. It means class divisions and national divisions. Within the classes there are a whole series of divisions based upon propertied divisions. There are several grades in the propertied class itself—all fighting and struggling among themselves. There are hundreds of divisions in the working class. The very method of paying wages, in one factory, with its skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled labour; the differing wages rate for the different trades and crafts erects barriers between workers. Within the smallest groups there are similar divisions. Thus from top to bottom through the whole gamut of capitalist society, there is nothing but strife and struggle, jealousies and hatreds.

Communism won't make men and women angels, by any means. But it will, by destroying private property in the means of wealth production, make for human solidarity. It will create the conditions wherein may be developed—humanity.

MacDonald and Indemnities

ONE of the greatest swindles in the world is the economic fallacy that the workers in Britain can be materially assisted by collecting an indemnity from Germany. But an even greater swindle, so far as the masses are concerned, is the attitude of the Labour Party on this subject. It still clings to the jingo and anti-international falsehood that Germany can be made to pay for the war. Even if this were true it could only mean that the German working class would have to pay. The thing is so simple that only a knave or a fool dare breathe a word in favour of the theory of indemnity—especially in the international Labour movement.

Germany can only pay in gold or goods. Were she to pay in gold it would so react upon the market that prices would shoot heavenwards. But she can't pay the whole sum in gold, she can only pay mainly in goods. Any goods which enter Britain for which no equivalent has been given in exchange, undermines the

economic stability of this country. If Germany sends rails, ships, coal, engines, machinery, to this country, and gets nothing in return, these things throw ironworkers, shipworkers, miners, engineers, etc., on to the scrap heap. No one, in the Labour movement, can justify the indemnity theory and justify his sanity at the same time.

Nevertheless, the indemnity theory is still advocated by Mr. Horatio Bottomley and Mr. Ramsay MacDonald. That is perhaps the most damning thing that could be urged against it. Whatever doubts may linger in one's mind in favour of the theory is instantly swept away by the fact that it is supported by these two "statesmen." We are not, of course, surprised at Mr. Bottomley. As the unchallenged leader of the lowest dregs of extreme reaction; as the champion pulveriser of the Hun, and the guardian of unadulterated jingoism, Horatio is in his proper place. But the other gentleman is an internationalist. He is a leader in the Labour movement and the intellectual asset of the I.L.P. He is comrade-in-chief to Mr. Snowden, the eloquent though senseless advocate of increased production. Do our I.L.P. friends ever consider the economic stupidity contained in the MacDonald advocacy of indemnities on the one hand and the Snowden demand for increased production on the other? Try and put both into practice at once. They paralyse each other!

We are, therefore, pleased to note that the editor of the moderate Labour journal, *The Forward*, has once again attempted to try and teach Mr. Ramsay MacDonald a little lesson in elementary economics. The reason why he sticks so gamely to this almost hopeless task is because he is buoyed up, no doubt, by his wonderful sense of humour. In *Forward* (September 10th, 1921), he uses the one argument that may help to make MacDonald abandon the indemnity theory—that is that the capitalists are now opposing the indemnity themselves, and that the cry of making Germany pay can no longer win "ballot for majorities." His actual words are:—

"Indemnities are economic suicide for the receiving nation and so obvious has this become to the financial press, to the *Manchester Guardian*, the *Glasgow Herald*, the Glasgow Chamber of Commerce, and to every thinking section of the community, that the proposer of economic suicide is not now rewarded with patriotic hurrahs and ballot box majorities."

How well the I.L.P. editor of the *Forward* knows how to appeal to his great leader! He does not emphasise the economies of the case so much as he seeks to show that the indemnity stunt is no longer a vote-catching slogan. Oh, subtle one!

A Wonderful Party

ON the same page in the *Forward* in which the editor tries to show Ramsay MacDonald the criminal stupidity of advocating indemnities, there appears a short but pithy article showing how the indemnity reacts against the British working class. The title of the article is "To the Unemployed: Why are You Hungry?" Then follows a series of concrete illustrations,

so simple and elementary that they look as though they had been specially selected to interest Ramsay MacDonald and to enable him to follow the drift of the argument. After proving that indemnities produce starvation and are the result of sheer reaction, the article calls upon the workers to vote for Labour! Directly beneath that article there appears a statement by Ramsay MacDonald in which he denied "that the Labour Party were opposed to Germany paying." And even the editor of *Forward* has to ruefully admit that "the Labour Party has *not* formally repudiated indemnities from Germany."

Never mind. The Labour Party is tolerant. It can tolerate everything and everybody, from the most reactionary renegade down through J. H. Thomas to Ramsay MacDonald. But it is a broad Party. It is broad enough to hold pacifists and bellicose jingoes; free traders and protectionists; labourers to millionaires; indemnity maniacs to their opponents—in fact, it is broad and tolerant enough to include everybody but the straightforward and sincere Communist Party.

Democratic Dictatorship in Germany

WE beg to draw the attention of our readers to what is happening in Germany. There we see a social democratic party as the dominating element in the parliamentary institutions of the country. The democratic leaders of the moderate groups in the German Labour movement believed, as Wallhead and J. H. Thomas believe, that parliamentary power is the only cure for dictatorship tactics. The development of the concrete realities of social existence in Germany has forced the democratic republicans of the Labour movement to use dictatorial tactics against the extreme reactionaries of the Right and against the Communist revolutionaries of the Left. All the declamations, gestures, and phrases against dictatorship have collapsed in front of the cruel facts of human experience. The immediate problem for the masses is not, as the Labour Party contend, between a parliamentary democracy and a Communist dictatorship. The vital problem is whether we shall have a capitalist dictatorship masquerading in the name of liberal-labour democracy, or a bona-fide working-class dictatorship using every ounce of its power to suppress capitalism—with its war, unemployment and starvation. The history of Germany since the middle-class revolution, which dethroned the Kaiser, has demonstrated beyond all doubt that wherever the class struggle exists political power can only manifest itself in a dictatorship.

The Labour democrats are dreamy and dozy Utopians who peacefully slumber in a realm of sentimental abstractions. The Communists draw their philosophy, their tactics, and policy from the world of actual living realities. We scorn to mislead the masses. We declare to the whole world that as long as classes are in existence, dictatorship is the driving force in political action. We are out, therefore, to replace the dictatorship of Capital by that of revolutionary Labour. And there is no other way.

Capital's Death Agony

IT is false to say that the strike weapon has grown unpopular. The strike is not something that varies in fashion like a lady's hat or some trade union leaders' price. The masses shall always be compelled to strike so long as capitalism exists. It is not a question whether the strike weapon is popular or not. It is a tactic forced upon the masses by the pressure of the conditions under capitalism. When capitalism undergoes a period of expansion it can yield to its wage-slaves rather than face a strike. But to-day capitalism is finding it most difficult to conquer new markets and find new outlets. This compels the employers to cut down expenses by cutting into wages, and the working conditions of Labour. We have here the explanation why the class-struggle is keener to-day than at any period in recent times. So highly charged is the industrial struggle with revolutionary possibilities at the present moment that moderate labour leaders like Mr. Thomas, Mr. Snowden and Mr. R. MacDonald are striving to side-track it into the parliamentary reform plane where it can easily be misled for some little time.

Let us now quote a few figures to show that the industrially organised masses, in spite of timid leaders, are fighting desperately on the economic field.

STRIKE AND LOCK-OUT MOVEMENTS IN THE SECOND HALF OF 1920.

<i>Country.</i>		<i>Persons.</i>	<i>Lost Workdays.</i>
1. England	... ..	3,207,666	47,754,984
2. Germany	... ..	2,012,349	25,316,869
3. Italy	... ..	712,100	8,711,600
4. U.S.A.	... ..	476,600	7,580,300
5. France	... ..	366,800	4,427,300
6. Spain	... ..	627,200	4,166,800
7. India	... ..	150,000	3,178,000
8. Belgium	... ..	277,700	2,787,400
9. Austria	... ..	201,200	1,995,000
10. Balkan Countries	... ..	123,810	963,670
11. Ukraina	... ..	58,200	543,500
12. Norway	... ..	15,300	531,400
13. Argentine	... ..	44,500	473,000
14. Poland	... ..	59,740	325,040
15. South Africa	... ..	7,000	196,000
16. Czecho Slovakia	... ..	23,200	137,600
17. Holland	... ..	18,900	127,000
18. Switzerland	... ..	7,550	102,400
19. Sweden	... ..	8,000	93,700
20. Denmark	... ..	6,100	86,200
		<hr/> 8,403,915	<hr/> 109,497,763

During the same period, that is, in the last six months of 1920, the following industries were involved in strikes and lock-outs:—

<i>Industries.</i>	<i>Persons.</i>	<i>Lost Workdays.</i>
1. Mines	1,642,600	26,342,200
2. Iron and Metal	926,960	11,214,000

3. Textile	...	...	262,950	...	3,975,800
4. Timber	...	...	143,410	...	1,790,580
5. Stone, Cement, Pottery	...	...	122,315	...	1,513,965
6. Leather, Paper and Rubber	...	...	106,334	...	1,564,776
7. Building	...	...	326,550	...	3,894,150
8. Clothing, Laundries, etc.	...	...	193,688	...	2,312,556
9. Food	...	...	321,830	...	3,691,010
10. Printing and Publishing	...	...	204,712	...	3,168,732
11. Commerce and Transportation	...	...	2,033,916	...	17,134,224
12. Chemical	...	...	173,200	...	2,595,300
13. Municipal Aid, State Under- takings	...	...	235,100	...	2,617,600
14. Hotels, Restaurants, Artistical Professions	...	...	95,500	...	1,036,000
15. Agriculture	...	...	1,614,850	...	26,646,870
			<u>8,403,915</u>	...	<u>109,497,763</u>

These figures demonstrate the intensity of the class-war. That the masses did not achieve the victories which their valour deserved was due to the betrayals by the Amsterdam school of trade union leaders—the labour lieutenants of the capitalist class, as Daniel De Leon called them.

Capitalism is rushing headlong to its destruction. It is futile of the master class politicians, the press, and the modern labour leaders to prate about stabilising industry. The class-struggle means that 109,497,763 days, in which social wealth might have been created, are lost in six months. These figures only refer to the actual participants in the struggle. When it is remembered how strikes react upon other industries which are thus compelled to limit production; when to these are added the unemployed; and when we recognise the wanton waste and industrial chaos caused by imperialist wars, then we begin to get a faint glimmering of the sheer impossibility of capitalism ever struggling back into a condition of stability.

The above figures also demonstrate that capitalism in its dying phase is rending the very social fabric. National wars and class struggles are paralysing the productive forces of society. In self-preservation the masses will have to step in and conduct the industrial processes. Our figures further prove that modern revolutionary situations and upheavals are created by the death struggles of capitalism. It is nonsense to suggest that the Communists are the direct cause of all the strikes and lock-outs indicated by our statistics. We can prove that we are not responsible. Had we the power and the influence over the masses to give them the will to strike, we would have used that power, influence and will to have destroyed capitalism, to have instituted the proletarian dictatorship, and to have set up in the countries mentioned a federation of Soviet Republics. No! We regret we were not the driving force in all the strikes we have tabulated.

But the majority of the strikers were led by the leaders of the Amsterdam Trade Union International and tottering capitalism is still swaying.
W. P.

Rosa Luxemburg

Her Life and Work

By EDEN and CEDAR PAUL

ROSA LUXEMBURG was born in Warsaw towards 1870. While still no more than a schoolgirl she began to take an active part in the Polish revolutionary movement. At the age of sixteen, being in imminent danger of arrest and exile to Siberia, she was smuggled across the German frontier in a barrel. She made her way to Zurich, and studied jurisprudence and philosophy, taking a doctor's degree in both these branches. At the International Socialist Congress, held at Zurich in the year 1893, she acquired a position in the left wing movement which she retained to the day of her death. Always her activities were concentrated in the attack upon militarism and imperialism, as the chief embodiments of the evil genius of capitalism; throughout life she endeavoured to quicken the sluggish pace of the German Social Democratic Party and of the adherents of the Second International. At the Congress of Paris in 1900, speaking to the resolution on Peace, Militarism, and the abolition of Standing Armies, she uttered the stirring appeal: "Proletarians of all lands, while awaiting the hour when you will join forces for the decisive struggle against the capitalist order, unite for the daily battle with militarist and political reaction." Nineteen years later she was to lay down her life in this daily battle with militarist and political reaction, and in what may yet prove to have been a phase of the decisive struggle against the capitalist order.

The best personal description of "Red Rosa" we have come across was published not long ago in the *Liberator* (New York). The writer of the article had lived in Germany for many years, and had been personally acquainted with most of the revolutionary leaders. He describes the four signatories of the manifesto of the Spartacus League, Franz Mehring, Clara Zetkin, Rosa Luxemburg, and Karl Liebknecht. "None of them are really Germans except Mehring. Rosa Luxemburg is a Polish Jewess."

"What is she like personally?"

"Well, she is too busy to be human. She is very, very efficient, and the most brilliant debater in Germany."

"What does she look like?"

"She is short; stout, and lame. When she comes out you think she is going to eat you up. That is the first impression. She has not time to say, 'How are you?' She is too busy. She starts talking."

"Isn't she like Emma Goldman?"

"Well, something like. Rosa Luxemburg is like Emma Goldman in that she is one of those intense people who are all absorbed in the cause; but she is less emotional than Emma Goldman, more logical."

"Has she any humour?"

" Oh, yes, she has humour, but she has no time for it. . . . She is an artist, too. When I went to see her for the first time she was busy painting. She said: " That is how I spend my spare time.' "

" Painting pictures? "

" Yes, a landscape. When I gave her a letter of introduction from Liebknecht, she looked around twice, carefully; then she read the letter, and then she let me in. She was spied upon so much by the police."

" How old is she? Is she a grey-haired woman? "

" No, about forty-eight. She married a Dr. Luxemburg, with whom she never lived, merely to get his name."

" A passport marriage? "

" No, it was because she would have been deported from Germany if she had not been a German. In Germany no foreigner could agitate for socialism. They are so strict that if a foreigner is found reading a socialist newspaper he may be deported. I fancy the authorities have often wished they could annul the marriage, and make Rosa Luxemburg Polish again."

[It is interesting to note in passing that Emma Goldman is one of the four hundred odd " foreign agitators " who, towards the end of 1919, were deported from the Land of Liberty to Soviet Russia. The writer of the *Liberator* article from which we quote, found it expedient to withhold his name!]

Rosa Luxemburg was a frequent contributor to the socialist press, but in her life of action she was " too busy " to write many books. At the time of her death there were only two works by her in the British Museum Library, one in German and the other in Polish. The first of these, published at Leipzig in 1898, deals with " The Industrial Development of Poland," and is of little interest to-day. The second, published at Cracow in 1905, is a symposium on the Polish question in general, and Polish socialism in particular, edited by Rosa Luxemburg, and containing a long preface, together with several contributions by the editor. Her chief other writings, apart from newspaper and magazine articles, and apart from pamphlets which may have been overlooked by the compilers of the standard German book catalogue, would appear to have been: " The Prussian Electoral Struggle and its Lessons "; " Social Reform or Revolution," Leipzig, 1899, reprinted 1908; " The General Strike, the Party, and the Trade Unions," Hamburg, 1906; and " The Accumulation of Capital, a Contribution to the Economic Elucidation of Capitalism." The last-named, a work of 450 pages, was published the year before the war by the Vorwaerts Press of Berlin.

The most interesting of Rosa Luxemburg's contributions to periodical literature are those published in the *Neue Zeit* (New Times), the weekly organ of the so-called revolutionary wing of the German Social Democratic Party. The magazine is edited by Karl Kautsky. Rosa began to collaborate in the middle nineties, and her last essay was published in the issue of September 5th, 1913. The early articles dealt with Polish socialism and other aspects of the Polish question. Then comes a contribution entitled

"Back to Adam Smith," and a review of Paul Lafargue's book on "Socialism and the Conquest of Public Powers." A year or two later there is a series of articles on the achievement of socialist unity in France, and there are one or two minor contributions, such as an article on the question of socialists voting against the budget, and one on a phase of Belgian socialism. This brings us down to the year 1902, when there is a pause for a couple of years. But in 1904 and 1905 Russian questions naturally attract Rosa Luxemburg's attention. She leads off on July 16th and 23rd, 1904, with two articles on "Problems of Organisation facing the Russian Social Democracy." (This was a year after the celebrated split into menshevik and bolshevik sections). In January and February, 1905, there followed four articles upon what, before 1917, we were wont to term the Russian revolution. Plehve, the Russian Premier, had been assassinated in the summer of 1904. War is commonly the handmaid of revolution; and this assassination, and the mass revolutionary movement that followed was in large part the outcome of the dissatisfaction and the economic changes resulting from the unsuccessful war with Japan. As far as the working class is concerned, the mass revolutionary movement dates from the procession of St. Petersburg operatives led by the pope, Gapon. Reinforced by some of the social democrats they demonstrated in front of the Winter Palace on January 22, 1905. They went in peace; but were dispersed by the imperial troops, with considerable slaughter. To the Russian workers the day has ever since been known as Bloody Sunday. The first of Rosa Luxemburg's articles, "The Revolution in Russia" was published on January 28th. The other three, "After the First Act," "The Problem of the Hundred Nations," and "The Procession of the Proletariat," appeared in weekly succession. It is obvious that we are moving towards the questions that are of burning interest to-day, and on October 27th, 1906, she published an article on "The Two Methods of Trade Union Policy." It seems almost superfluous to add that these two methods are, industrial peace or social solidarity, on the one hand, and the relentless waging of the class war, on the other. It would certainly be superfluous to explain which method finds favour with Rosa Luxemburg!

Nearly two years later, in the *Neue Zeit* for July 24th, 1908, we find an open letter to Jean Jaurès." This earlier victim of the daily battle with militarist and political reaction had contended that the entente between England, France, and Russia, was a force making for world peace. All but the blind know better to-day. Many of us knew better in 1908, when we were already vigorously protesting against the legend of "Edward the Peacemaker," when we were demonstrating against the Anglo-Russian understanding. Rosa had little difficulty in showing that the entente was a mask for the capitalist interests of particular national groups, and a prop of the Russian reaction against the revolution.

The position of the German Social Democratic Party had been anomalous for more than twenty years before the war, when its members were to lead the way in the repudiation of socialist principles in favour of "a war of national defence." Nominally divided into two wings, revisionist and revolutionary, respectively

represented by the Bernstein trend and the Kautsky trend, it was in reality revisionist through and through. With the phrases of revolution on their lips, Bebel and Kautsky, no less than Bernstein and the revisionists, and like Jaurès and the French socialist parliamentarians, practised a policy of compromise and acceptance of nominal palliatives. With the phases of the class struggle on their lips, the German parliamentary socialists, like the French, chased the glittering bubble of social solidarity, sought industrial peace and ensued it. But by 1910, though the revolutionary hour had not yet struck, there was in Germany no less than in France and in Italy, no less than in England and in Russia, a truly revolutionary group, much influenced by the ideas of the French and Italian syndicalists. Of this group Rosa Luxemburg was, and to the day of her death remained, the most brilliant among the intellectual champions. Necessarily, therefore, she came into sharp conflict with Kautsky and his school. Early in 1910, Rosa had written eloquently in the "Dortmunder Parteiorgan" of the general strike as a practical revolutionary tactic. On April 8th and 15th, Kautsky replied in the *Neue Zeit* under the caption "What Next?" Having replied, he was naturally compelled to give space to a rejoinder in the pages of his own periodical. On May 27th and June 3rd, appeared two articles over the signature of Rosa Luxemburg, entitled *Ermattung oder Kampf?* The idiom is not very easy to translate. Literally it means "Exhaustion of Battle?" A freer but better rendering would be "Faintheart or Strongheart?" The articles are a paean in favour of the unflinching pursuit of the class struggle as a means leading up to the social revolution. The war had still to come, and the Russian revolution, clarifying all our ideas, and simplifying all our problems. The soviet as yet existed only in Russia, and even there only in embryo. But the ideas expounded by Rosa in *Ermattung oder Kampf?* and in a further rejoinder to Kautsky later in the same summer ("Theory and Practice," *Neue Zeit*, July 22nd, July 29th, and August 19th), pave the way for the thoughts voiced in the speech she delivered a few days before her death. Rosa Luxemburg insists on the view that so long as the methods of the socialist parliamentarians prevail, socialism will remain confined to the field of theory; socialism, she says, can only be realised by the fighting proletariat trained in the school of action.

This controversy apparently culminated in a definite breach between Kautsky and Rosa Luxemburg. Tempestuous as ever, Rosa complained that Kautsky was delaying the publication of her articles, and was grudging her the necessary space. Kautsky plaintively replied that an editor had other interests to consider than those of one particular theme of dispute; that as Editor Kautsky he had felt he was, in the matter now in debate, perhaps giving Contributor Kautsky too much space; that Comrade Rosa Luxemburg had occupied more than a third of several recent issues. Enough, the close of this controversy marks the close of Rosa's contributions to the *Neue Zeit*, the only series of her periodical writings we have followed with intimate attention. The silence is broken but once, on September 5th, 1913, by an article on "Official-Ridden Theory," a fifteen-page eulogy of the general

strike, a defence of direct action, and an attack on Kautsky's policy of "nothing-but-parliamentarism." During the war, no word from Rosa Luxemburg. But one thing at least the reader might have anticipated—a reader who fails to reckon with the intensity of partisan feeling. We, at any rate, desiring to verify the date of Rosa Luxemburg's murder, searched the file of the *Neue Zeit* for the expected obituary notice. We did not find it. Franz Mehring, another noted Spartacist, and an even more assiduous collaborator on the *Neue Zeit* than Rosa, died on January 29th, 1919. Mehring died in his bed. He was advanced in years, and had doubtless been somewhat more suave in his controversial methods than the other Spartacist leaders. The *Neue Zeit* of February 7th, 1919, contains a notice of Franz Mehring, with a brief but not ungraceful reference to his separation from the Social Democratic Party. Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg were butchered in the streets of Berlin on January 15th, 1919. Will it be believed that the file of the *Neue Zeit* from that date to May 23rd inclusive (the issue for March 28th is missing from the file) contains only the most casual references to "Spartacus week" in Berlin, and but one passing mention of the deaths of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg? So frail a thing, alas, is socialist comradeship!

Before dismissing Rosa Luxemburg's earlier writings, and passing to brief consideration of the activities that led up to and followed the last great speech of her life, two quotations may be useful, showing that her revolutionary trend was no chance product of the influences of the two November revolutions, that of Russia in 1917, and that of Germany in 1918. In the appendix to the before-mentioned "Social Reform or Revolution" (1899) she wrote: "In this atmosphere of bourgeois parliamentarism, which is so foreign to the essential nature of socialism, the social democracy, involuntarily and unconsciously, has assumed many of the characteristics of parliamentarism, characteristics which harmonise ill with the democratic characteristics of socialism. . . . The appearance of the parliamentary group as a closed corporation . . . may lead to grave inconveniences." Seven years later, in her book "The General Strike, the Party, and the Trade Unions," she penned a no less trenchant criticism of "the professional leadership of the trade union officials." Initiative and capacity for decision tended, she said, to become what might be called a professional specialty, while for the rank and file there was left the passive virtue of discipline. "There can be no doubt that this seamy side of officialism involves serious dangers." Do we not see here plainly foreshadowed the need for what has of late become known as "the unofficial movement," or, to put the matter in even more recent terminology, the need for Sovietism as the cure for parliamentarism and as the ginger for trade unionism?

In England during the war it was difficult enough for a revolutionary, an internationalist socialist, to keep out of gaol. In Germany it seems to have been practically impossible. Every one of the four best known Spartacist leaders had ample experience of prison life. Karl Liebknecht was liberated by the November revolution, to perish little more than two months after he had

imagined that the day of the people had come. Rosa Luxemburg suffered two long terms of imprisonment, being under duress throughout the early years of the war for having publicly accused certain officers of brutality to subordinates. Released in 1917 at a time when Franz Mehring had been incarcerated, Rosa carried on the series of "Spartacus Letters," and was then placed under preventive arrest. But she was at liberty at the date of the revolution.

No attempt can be made here to supplement the information conveyed in her last speech concerning the happenings between November 9th and the close of the year 1918.* She explains clearly why the revolution proved abortive—as the Allies obviously wished it to prove. The last thing they desired was a successful repetition of the Petrograd November revolution of 1917. A genuine socialist revolution to consummate the political revolutions throughout Germany, or a successful issue of "Spartacus week" in January, 1919, would doubtless have been made the excuse for an immediate occupation of Berlin by the allied armies. But, as we now know, the reconsolidation of the bourgeois power began from the very hour when the obsolete vestiges of German feudal aristocracy had been cleared out of the way; the workers were not ready to seize the reins of power; and, judged by results, the movement of Spartacus week was unquestionably premature. The rising of January, 1919, was a spontaneous attempt, in numerous and widely separated German towns, on the part of revolutionary groups of workers, of soldiers, and of sailors, to recapture the lost opportunity of the previous November. There is nothing in Rosa's speech of December 30th to show that she thought a renewal of the real revolutionary impetus at hand. She desired to push forward with the proper organisation of the workers' committees; to carry on propaganda in the army and the navy, and among the ex-service men; to await the ripening of the revolutionary situation. Such at least is our reading of her speech; and such is the lesson we would apply nearer home. But it was inevitable that the impetuous Liebknecht, and hardly less inevitable that the better balanced yet no less revolutionary Rosa, should, when the call came, promptly take their places in the forefront of the battle. Revolutionists who think the coach is going too fast may have to play the somewhat repugnant part of brake—but once the tocsin sounds, they must take their chances of failure or success. Human foresight is limited, and, as the artist in *Rasselas* sagely remarked, "Nothing will ever be attempted, if all possible objections must be first overcome." But when the artist put his flying apparatus to the test, he incontinently fell into the lake. The time was not ripe for aviation in the days of the Prince of Abyssinia.

What Rosa Luxemburg thought of the chances of Spartacus week she herself tells us in the last words she ever wrote. This article appeared in the *Rote Fahne* (Red Flag) on January 15th, 1919, the day of her death. Summing up the events of this

*This now famous speech appeared in issue No. 5 of THE COMMUNIST REVIEW. Copies may be obtained from the Communist Party, 16, King Street, Covent Garden, London, W.C. 2. Price 8d., post free.

frustrate insurrection, she wrote: "There was no chance of upsetting the Ebert-Scheidemann combination; there was as yet no chance of a successful revolution, owing to the backwardness of the movement among the soldiery, itself a symptom of the general unripeness. . . . The defeat of "Spartacus week" was partly due to the fact that the attempt was premature, that the ground had not been adequately prepared. It was partly due to the weakness and half-heartedness of the leaders. But the masses *will* throw up new leaders, and will march forward to victory." Thus Rosa Luxemburg was fated to fall in the aftermath of a revolutionary attempt which she had recognised to be premature, but from which she was temperamentally incapable of dissociating herself. On January 15th, outside the Eden Hotel, she met her death in circumstances which even yet have not been fully elucidated. Her very body vanished for a time, to be recovered five months later from the waters into which it had been cast. On June 13th, those who had enjoyed for five additional months the blessings of a capitalist peace and the privileges of a socialist-cum-bourgeois régime sitting on bayonets, were able to follow her remains to their last resting-place. Her mutilated body lies in Friedrichshof cemetery, but her spirit lives on in brothers and sisters ready to defy the kings of capitalism. "Not a grave of the murdered for freedom but grows seed for freedom, which the winds carry afar and resow, and the rains and the snows nourish."

Those interested in industrial problems should read

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Weekly

Capitalism in the Near East

By J. T. WALTON NEWBOLD

FOREWORD.

[With this issue we publish the first of a series of highly important articles which have been specially prepared for the COMMUNIST REVIEW by J. T. Walton Newbold. Each article, while complete in itself, will deal with a special phase in the operation of international finance-capital. Comrade Newbold will unmask the foreign policy and actions of the various imperialist States, and will show how these were dictated by the clique of money lords who now run the capitalist world. Newbold's analysis of pre-war international finances, which he embodied in his book, "How Europe Armed for War,"—the most brilliant study yet written of the economic origins of the 1914 war—will be continued in the articles which he has been commissioned to write for the COMMUNIST REVIEW. These articles, however, will be written with a greater and riper knowledge gained as a result of several years of additional industrious research work, reinforced during a period of unparalleled historical development.—Editor.]

EVENTS at Athens since the Armistice, particularly the exile of Venizelos the Cretan, and the triumphant restoration of King Constantine and the resumption by the latter in an even more dramatic manner of the policy of the former, have drawn attention to the fact that in the Mediterranean generally and in the Levant in particular, there is a strong divergence of opinion and of policy between the British and the French Governments.

During the war, and as long as the influence of the German Emperor continued paramount at Constantinople and the Greek Court, the interests of Britain and France remained in apparent unison. Both Powers supported Premier Venizelos in the establishment and maintenance of what was, in reality, a republic and, in name only, a constitutional monarchy. When, however, the war was over, and the military might and diplomatic intrigue of Germany were eradicated from the East, there came into view once again the centuries old antagonism of the Mediterranean Powers, Britain and France.

The latter had yielded, with an ill grace and tacit reservations against a day yet to come when circumstances might be more favourable, the political and economic position which she had occupied in the Near East. Only her preoccupation with the Prussian menace had prevented France, during forty years, pressing her historic claims to Egypt and other outlying provinces of the decaying Ottoman Empire.

The Genesis of the Eastern Question

FROM the 17th century onwards, from the days of the great Colbert to those of Napoleon the Little, France had contested, and with considerable success, the endeavours of the Turkey and old Levant Companies and the London merchants who fell heir to their commerce, to engross the trade of Constanti-

nople and Smyrna. Long forgotten enmities, the quarrels of the Bourbons of France and the Hapsburgs of Austria-Hungary, had made for an entente between the Ottoman Turks and the French Government. In the traditional rivalry of France and Austria was born the diplomatic orientation of French policy towards Poland on the one hand, and Turkey on the other. This was the determining factor in French statecraft in the East from the time of Louis XIV. to the fall of Napoleon I. During the next half century, the Empire of the Czars, which had suffered least of the States on the Continent from the ravages of the Napoleonic campaigns, made continuous onslaughts, diplomatic or military, upon the northern provinces of the Ottoman Empire. France made her contribution to the cause of Turkish defence in the form of loans which were readily forthcoming from the bankers of Paris and Lyons. Jewish finance was markedly friendly towards the Ottoman Empire, an element which reflected itself in the subsequent policy of Benjamin Disraeli. Britain and France, their statesmen joining forces to check the advance towards the Mediterranean of Russia, the enemy of the bourgeois whether as republican apostle or as Indian merchant, their bankers and men of commerce lending money to the spend-thrift and corrupt autocracy at Constantinople, stood together against Russia. Britain was pre-occupied at this time in enlarging her dominions in India and her trade with China. Her merchant ships still went to the East round the Cape of Good Hope and not by way of the Mediterranean. The Suez Canal had not yet cut across the friendship of the two Mediterranean Powers.

The Bondholders Enter Turkey

THIS was the period when the Turkish Government issued the firman of 1863, establishing the *Imperial Ottoman Bank*, which was "authorised to issue notes which are legal tender throughout the Ottoman Empire, and to receive the revenues of the Government, to manage the debt and to carry on a general banking business." (*Statist*, International Banking Section, October, 1919).

It was in its inception, and is to this day, a Franco-British institution. It was formed to administer the debt which Turkey incurred to her gallant allies of the Crimean War.

At the present time, it has upon its London Board two representatives of the old London banking firm of *Glyn, Mills, Currie & Co.*, and one each of the *Goschen*, *Stern*, & *Rothschild* groups, and, upon its Paris Board, representatives of: *Mirabaud & Cie.*, *de Neuflize & Cie.*, *Mallet Frères*, *Hottinguer et Cie.*, and *Heine et Cie.*—the chief private bankers of France.

In the "sixties," however, a rift appeared in the friendship, if so we may call this fiduciary alliance, which, for some years, had held together Britain and France. The advance of money to any state with an incompetent government and extensive dominions has always been the signal for its disintegration and the absorption of its territories by the governments representing its creditors. The setting up of a premanent administration of the debt in the form of a bank, issuing, as the Imperial Ottoman Bank

has done, loans on the security of provincial customs and taxes, meant in Turkey, as later in Persia, an acceleration of the processes of disruption.

Meanwhile, civil engineering had reached that degree of perfection which made it feasible to cut a canal through the Isthmus of Suez as well as to construct a railway across it. This the French commenced to do, and appeared destined to come into early conflict with the owners of India.

Both French and British financiers, as even a superficial study of Egyptian credit and mortgage banks will show, had been lending heavily to the Khedive of the Turkish province of Egypt, who, maybe, relied on the growing antagonism of his creditors one to another, to keep him from falling too completely into their clutches.

Britain versus France

THEN came the Franco-German War of 1870-71. France emerged battered and broken, always fearful lest Britain should consent to allow Germany to make a further attack upon her and, in consequence, never able seriously to dispute the resolute will of her predatory competitor. Britain, through the secret agency of N. M. Rothschild & Sons acquired control of the majority shares of the *Cie Universelle du Canal de Suez*, and availed herself of France's weakness to bring the province of Egypt more and more under her domination.

In the "eighties," France, more and more at the mercy of Britain in her career of overseas expansion, checked in Asia and forestalled in Africa, menaced by the ever increasing military might of Germany in alliance with Austria and Britain's naval satellite of Italy, drew closer to Russia, the adversary of Britain in Asia, the barrier to Germany in Europe.

The field of investment which Russia presented to the French bankers, as collectors and distributors of the available funds of the small-scale but very numerous class of investors in the Republic, deflected them, for some time, from other major areas of possible development. South Africa and China were secondary fields of French investment during the "eighties" and "nineties." About this time, indeed, the international financiers interested in railroad building were endeavouring to push ahead their several projects for a railroad or railroads across Asia Minor from the shores of the Bosphorus and from Smyrna towards Syria. They were a cosmopolitan congeries of interests, equally at home in Paris, Brussels, Antwerp, Rotterdam, London, and Frankfort.

Pre-eminent amongst them was the great financial house of L. Hirsch & Co., then presided over by Baron Hirsch, a veritable giant in the realm of international investment, and in which J. de Gunzburg, of the great *Crédit Mobilier Français*, is now one of the principal partners. The de Gunzburgs wielded immense influence at Petrograd under the Czar and were inter-married with the Sassoons of Bombay and London, who had an equivalent favour with the late King Edward and the Unionist Party.

In that shadow-land where the Cassels, Meyers, Rothschilds, and their kind flitted between London, Paris and Berlin, these concessionaires and bankers intrigued with the rival chancelleries of Europe for control of the various sections of the Bagdad Railway.

Commencing in 1888, there ensued a keen competition for rights of lease over existing lines, and of construction of new extensions from Ismidt or from Haidar Pasha or from Smyrna up into the hinter-lands of Asia Minor. In every case the railway companies borrowed money in sterling, francs, or marks through West and Central European houses, and obtained security for the payment of a minimum annual income per mile from the administration of the Ottoman Debt by the attachment of the titles of the provinces through which the lines were to run. For the most part the control of the finances of these schemes rested with the stockholders of the Imperial Ottoman Bank, *i.e.*, with the great banking houses of London and Paris. They were, however, concerned rather with the interest upon and security of the loans which in 1890, 1891, 1894, 1896, 1902, 1903 and 1908 they issued for the Ottoman Government than with the profitable operation of the railways which their money was supposed to be used to develop.

All during this time and up to the Young Turk Revolution of 1908, the Ottoman Empire was a field of unproductive exploitation by the form of money-lending capitalism which is characteristic of France. The French investor is a sucker. He does not care to develop his own estate, but prefers to have a mortgage on someone else's.

Who Financed the Young Turks?

BUT, in 1908, the government, subservient to the cosmopolitan moneylenders of London and Paris, fell, and gave place to a régime of Nationalists.

These new rulers, accustomed to the bourgeois thought and practice of Western Europe, had not the same sense of responsibility for their national trust as their predecessors, and were prepared to bargain with foreigners anxious to develop the natural resources of their country. It is, indeed, reputed that they disclosed to the enterprising mining prospectors who thronged to Constantinople the secrets regarding the mineral riches of the Near East, locked away in the archives preserved from the days of the Byzantine Empire. Certainly, German and Austrian agents were quick to solicit privileges of mining from the new government.

In 1909, the Turkish Government sanctioned the establishment of another banking institution, *viz.*, the *National Bank of Turkey*, with its headquarters and its administration in Constantinople under the direct control of Turkish subjects. This new institution was in the nature of a trade bank, and was in no way connected with the Ottoman Debt. It was to emancipate Turkey, by financing its economic development, from her complete dependence on the bondholders associated with the administration of the Debt and incorporated in the Imperial Ottoman Bank. It was to give a solid

material support to the principle of Nationalism. In the circumstances, it became, inevitably, a bank with German tendencies. But as the Entente released Italy upon Turkey in 1911 and that unhappy country has been at war practically ever since, the National Bank had very little chance to fulfil its destiny.

Again, in 1911, the British Government, through the medium of Messrs. Vickers and Messrs. Armstrong Whitworth, obtained control of the programme of naval construction of the Turkish Government and secured the building of the "Reshadieh" at Barrow-in-Furness. Her armament was made in Manchester, and under the supervision of British Admiralty inspectors who, we have reason to believe, placed upon it their own Government's stamp. Needless to say, neither the "Reshadieh" nor the "Sultan Osman" was allowed to be completed in time to join the Turkish Fleet, but were incorporated in the British Navy in 1914, one in August and one in October, as the "Agincourt" and the "Erin." Also, in 1912 or 1913, Vickers, Ltd., obtained an extended lease of the Turkish Navy Yard at Constantinople and commenced to "renovate" its equipment, and to "repair" the ships in the Turkish Navy.

About the same time, a syndicate of British engineering and constructional firms was formed for the purpose of carrying out public works and soliciting orders for engineering materials in Turkey. The same group of Manchester, Sheffield and Tees-side firms formed similar companies for trade with Siberia and Egypt. The British Government and the contractors upon its approved lists were going single-handed to the Near East, and not in association with France and her manufacturers. In fact, these engineering interests were almost as opposed, at any rate in an economic sense, to the Sterns, Rothschilds, Goschens, and their French money-lending colleagues, as were the German industrialists operating financially through the Deutsche Bank.

With the Flag to Constantinople

THEN came the war, when, of necessity, Britain and France had to present on the military and naval front a union of forces as complete as their money-lenders upon the financial front.

But, whilst the conflict was in progress, the British, at any rate, were preparing the economic landing party which should follow the Flag to Constantinople. At home and in Paris they were taking steps to make absolute their control of the Near East, and to complete on the Eastern Mediterranean as well as on the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf coasts the co-terminous boundaries of the protectorates that should make Britain's Empire continuous from the Cape to the Malay States.

Temporarily, the star of French political influence and ideological suggestion was in the ascendant in Athens. The prestige of General Serrail and the dapper little officers of the Army of the bourgeois Republic of France prevailed over the grim and not too pleasant impression of the ever-present British Navy, exerting an

intangible but merciless blockade of the Ægean. Britain was, moreover, the patron of Italy, which coveted the sacred isles of Ionic heroism and independence and nationhood.

Little Greece was dreaming age-old dreams, older dreams than plagued Serbia and tormented Bulgaria. France was a republic. Italy and Britain were Kingdoms. Greece was the classic home of Republican Liberty. Venizelos recalled the memory of Pericles and the great days of the Athenian Empire.

But there was a Greek greater than Venizelos. There was Basil Zaharoff. That Levantine master of intrigue, that friend of Russian Grand Dukes, returning insolvent from the Casinos of the Riviera, was the agent of Vickers, Ltd., in Paris. Much in Paris, also, before and during the war, was Sir F. Barker, described formerly as "European manager" of Vickers, Ltd., another gentleman with a romantic career down the coasts and in the troubled waters of the Ægean.

Colonel Repington, in his "Diaries of the First World War," reports a conversation he had with Maurice de Rothschild concerning the vast fortune and great power which Basil Zaharoff had acquired during the war, but as this individual has had all particulars regarding his activities guarded from publicity for many years, we can only locate him—like a submarine cruising below the surface—by the oil streak he leaves, literally as well as figuratively, on the face of the political waters.

He is to be found in one of the Walford Lines—the group which owned the "Jolly George"—which is a link between Vickers and France.

Basil, Sir Basil, as Mr. Lloyd George has had him made for his rich endowments to aeronautical science at our universities, has floated new banks in France. He is behind, so it is generally understood the *Banque de la Seine* and the *Banque Transatlantique*. He is, also, interested in shipping as in *La Société Navale de l'Ouest*, which, last year, formed a company in conjunction with the *Anglo-Persian Oil Co., Ltd.*, to import oil from Syria and to distribute it throughout France.

It was his bank, the *Banque de la Seine*, which, in 1919, formed the *Banque Commerciale de la Méditerranée*, to promote trade between France and the Levantine end of the Mediterranean. This concern is also in league with the *Banque de Paris et des Pays Bas*—the most powerful trade bank in France and the Netherlands—and with the *Imperial Ottoman Bank*.

Sir Basil Zaharoff has every appearance of being a financial collaborator with the British Foreign Office, in much the same way as the first Lord Rothschild was in the "seventies," in that little deal in Suez Canal shares.

It is he who has the credit of manipulating the puppet, Venizelos.

Enter the F.B.I.

MEANWHILE, in Britain, as early as 1916, Vickers, Ltd., and other great iron and steel masters, together with other capitalists were forming the *Federation of British Industries*. In 1918-19 its President was Sir Vincent Caillard, formerly on the Administration at Constantinople of the Ottoman Debt on behalf of British, French and Dutch bondholders, and now a director of Vickers, Ltd. The first notable achievement of the F.B.I. was their fathering on the Government of the Farrington Committee to enquire into credit facilities to British exporters after the war, and subsequently, the incorporation, on April 21st, 1917, by royal charter, of the *British Trade Corporation*, to carry out the recommendations of this Committee.

Lloyd's, Barclay's, the National Provincial and Union Banks, and the National and Standard Banks of South Africa, together with the River Plate Bank on the one hand, and Vickers, Armstrong Whitworth, Cammell Laird, Birmingham Small Arms Co., and sundry other firms and magnates on the other, subscribed the capital of £2,000,000 paid up.

Sir Vincent Caillard and Sir W. H. N. Goschen, of Goschens, were appointed to the board of directors.

Scarcely was the war finished than the British Trade Corporation bought up the National Bank of Turkey.

The manager of the former became chairman of the London Committee, whilst a gentleman of the suggestive name of de Belinski became chairman at Constantinople.

Sir Henry Birchenough, of the Inter-Allied Trade and Banking Corporation, Ltd., and of the British South Africa Company ("the Chartered Millions"), represented the quintessence of Capitalist Imperialism and Mr. Gulbenkian, the "Shell" group of oil interests on the London board.

Though the paid-up capital is only £250,000, the interests behind the National Bank of Turkey can only be described as tremendous.

In 1919 the British Trade Corporation organised the *Levant Company, Ltd.* :—

"to promote and develop trade of all kinds; and trade and financial relations between Great Britain, her dominions and Colonies, and dependencies on the one hand, and the Levant, Balkan States, Greece, Turkey, Asia Minor, Armenia, Persia, Mesopotamia, Palestine, Syria, Arabia, Egypt and the Soudan on the other side."

The paid-up capital was and is £600,000.

The chairman appointed was Sir Maurice W. E. de Bunsen, British Ambassador at Vienna from 1913 to the outbreak of War. They could have chosen no one with a greater inside knowledge of Balkan politics. Other directors were, Sir F. Barker of Vickers, Ltd., and the Assistant-Director of the Federation of British Industries. At the same time, the British Trade Corporation founded an auxiliary with little capital but great connections, viz., the *South Russia Banking Agency, Ltd.* It had only £40,000 of

capital, but it was held in equal parts by the British Trade Corporation, the London County Westminster and Parr's, the National Provincial and Union, and Lloyd's Banks.

Meanwhile, the Federation of British Industries, in harmonious co-operation with the Department of Overseas Trade, offspring of the Foreign Office and the Board of Trade, was appointing Trade Commissioners abroad in connection with its Overseas Service. Its first appointment was that of a Commissioner at Athens for the Near East, with a Sub-Commissioner at Constantinople.

The selection of Athens as the venue of the first Trade Commissioner is significant, in view of subsequent developments and the fact that French interests are very considerable in the *Banque d'Athènes* and generally, in the trade of Greece.

The British Trade Corporation is supported at Constantinople by an even greater force—the British Army is in occupation. Britain quietly encourages Greece but sits tight in Constantinople, the goal of Greek aspirations. Italy is the faithful friend of Britain, and the covetous neighbour of Greece, whilst the *Banco di Roma*, the *Banca Commerciale Italiana*, and above all, Barclay's ally, the Marconi venture, the *Banca Italiana di Sconto*, are all ensconced at Constantinople.

The French Counter-Offensive

NEEDLESS to say, France does not view with equanimity this relentless activity of British industrial finance in a quarter where, hitherto, her less efficient, but equally grasping, mortgage holders' finance has been pre-eminent.

True, she has acquiesced so far as not unduly to hinder British advancement in return for a comparatively—everything is comparative where the "dear Allies" are associated in the tasks of civilisation, and the mission of forwarding Democracy a comparatively free hand in Central Europe.

The Schneider-Creusôt Company appears to have taken over the old Navy Yard at Constantinople, which was formerly an appanage of Vickers, Ltd., and to have been using it for repair work in connection with naval and military operations in South Russia. At the same time Count Ostroroz, presumably the same man who is with Vickers in Poland, is with them in Constantinople and, as in Poland, Vickers and Schneider have been collaborating in the manufacture of war material, it would seem that they have been acting in collusion at Constantinople, for we have never known Vickers to give up anything they have once held.

In everything wherein French capital is concerned in the Near East, pushing the interests of French imperialism, we, always, find *Schneider et Cie.* They are as ubiquitous, in their way, as Vickers, Ltd.

Eugene Schnelder is on the board of the *Crédit Lyonnais*, of the *Banque de l'Union Parisienne*, and of the *Union Européenne Industrielle et Financière*. Comte Saint de Sauveur, who married into the Schneider family, and represented the firm in Petrograd, was associated with the Poutiloff Company and, now, appears to

have a roving commission for Schneider et Cie, all over Central Europe.

We find Schneider and the *Banque Française pour le Commerce et l'Industrie* in control of the Company for the working of the Orient Railway, which runs into Constantinople from Belgrade. Schneider and the *Messageries Maritimes*—the French equivalent of the Cunard—together with the *Banque de l'Union Parisienne*, have formed the *Cie Française du Levant*, to do for France what the Levant Company is doing for British trade.

Then there is the clique of irreconcilable enemies of Russia encamped at Salonica and Constantinople.

At the head of these is the *Russo-Asiatic Bank*. This is "an associate bank" of the *Société Générale de Paris*, and it, in turn, is the creature of the *Crédit Mobilier Française* and the *Banque de Paris et des Pays Bas*, and the great armament company, *La Société de la Marine et d'Homecourt*.

In the same grouping as the Russo-Asiatic Bank is the *Banque de Salonique* and the newly formed *Banque Franco-Polonoise*, which looks like Schneider in combination with a re-shuffling of the Russo-Asiatic Bank.

This group has various subsidiaries at Constantinople amongst them a Schneider "associate," the *Société Commerciale et Industrielle et Fiancière pour la Russe*.

The impression one gets of French capitalist endeavour at Constantinople at the present time is one of retention of existing interests and their defence against a more dynamic form of capitalism operating mainly from Britain and Italy. France, also, appears foiled by and undecided in her attitude towards her defaulting debtors, the Ottoman Turks and the Soviet Republic of Russia. She nurses her grievances and laments her losses whilst the vigorous commercialism of Britain scouts around looking for trade and keeping a vigilant eye open for some field of permanent investment with a view to development of natural resources.

At Athens, also, it is the inevitable Schneider group which one finds standing for a trade in the implements of war.

America takes a Hand

MORE formidable as competitors with the British in the commerce of the Near East and in the development of the resources of the territories formerly included within the Ottoman Empire, are the Americans. These first commenced to open up the market in these parts in 1911, when the American Chamber of Commerce for the Levant was formed, an association which now has branches in Greece, Bulgaria, Roumania, Smyrna, and representatives all over Turkey.

Last year there appeared at Constantinople that colossus of American finance, the *Guaranty Trust Company* of New York, one of the world's most powerful banks, and an associate of the Morgans and the Rockefellers. This bank is heavily interested in financing the world's cotton crops, and, as such, has an interest in the Levant. Then, there is the equally formidable *American*

International Corporation, which is an associate of the great National City Bank of New York, performs for American business equivalent functions to those of the Union Européenne Industrielle et Financière for France and the British Trade Corporation for Britain. It is heavily interested in shipping, shipbuilding and public works contracting as well as, and this has an important bearing on Levantine commerce in dried fruits, oranges and lemons, the fruit trade.

The *American Foreign Trade Corporation*, again, has "undertaken business on a very large scale, hiring big stores in the Golden Horn at a high rent for storing their goods; they have also purchased a big plot of land at the Golden Horn, in order to build stores, and have a high-class garage and works." (Report of Department of Overseas Trade on *Trade Conditions of Turkey*, Jan., 1921). Other American syndicates are the *American Express Company* (Vanderbilt group), the *Central European Corporation*, the *Export Steamship Corporation*, and, of course, the *Singer Sewing Machine*, and *Standard Oil Companies*.

This last named concern is, needless to say, interested in the eventual fate of Armenia, Georgia, Azerbaidjan, Mosul and other republics, and would be republics whose rock-strata ooze oil in commercial quantities. It is keeping a watchful eye upon the "Shell" and the Anglo-Persian Oil groups in the whole of the Near and Middle East.

Within the last few months it has participated in the organisation of the American Chamber of Commerce in Athens to advance American interests in Athens in rivalry with the established agency of the Federation of British Industries. The vice-president of the new body is the Athens representative of the Standard Oil Company.

This in itself is ominous, particularly in view of the correspondence between the British and U.S. Governments concerning oil in the Near East, the statement made in the very influential paper, the American "World's Work," in 1917, to the effect that "the future of America lies in the Balkans," the activity of American missions and philanthropy at Constantinople, and the care with which Washington has chosen its diplomatic representatives in Turkey from the ranks of "big business," and its hacks.

The capitalism of the United States has been steadily "penetrating" France, Italy and Turkey at the same time that it has been ingratiating itself into India. It has been helped by the great influx into the U.S. of emigrants from the countries of Southern Europe and the Balkans and the connections thereby established with the Mediterranean peoples.

Britain was able to detach Egypt from Turkey at a time favourable for herself and her projects of absorption and monopolist exploitation. She has not been equally successful in respect of the remainder of the rich spoil which, during decades and generations, she has marked out for her own as a means whereby she might round off her African and her Asiatic domains, connecting them together and knitting them into one vast scheme of Empire.

Report on Communist Party of Great Britain

Submitted by T. Bell to the E.C. of the Third International.

UP to last year's session of the International Congress, the movement for Communism in Great Britain was still divided. Discussion had been going on for nearly two years between the different parties and sections before it was realised that fusion could not be achieved through the agency of the officials or leaders but by some other avenue. A via media was finally found in a rank and file conference, which was charged to pass final judgment on the outstanding questions of differences and bind the contracting parties to its decisions. This conference was held in London on July 31st, 1920, and was a great success. It revealed a striking unanimity and determination for a Communist Party that would bring the British revolutionary movement into line with the Third International of Communism, while its decisions upon the outstanding differences in tactics and the acceptance given to such decisions by the conference as a whole showed that the rank and file had learned much from their experience of the old Socialist parties in the way of discipline.

The principal tactical difference which had prevented unity and given rise to the conference was the attitude of the new party to the Labour Party. One section was in favour of affiliation, and the other was against. It was argued by the former that affiliation to the Labour Party would give the Communists a wider platform and bring the party into closer contact with the masses, and that no restrictions would be placed on our freedom of criticism. The advocates of non-affiliation, on the other hand, held that since the Labour Party was a bourgeois opportunist outfit, association with that party would deceive the workers and lame the revolutionary movement. Further, that the independence of the Communist Party from the Labour Party would help to close the ranks and consolidate the revolutionary elements throughout the country, and that the Communists were strong enough to stand on their own legs. The conference decision went by a small majority in favour of seeking affiliation, which was formally done immediately the new executive got to work.

But it was found that the question was not to be settled by the Communists alone. The Labour Party itself had to have a say, and on this question they were quite emphatic. There could be nothing in common, said Arthur Henderson, speaking for the Labour Party Executive, between the Communist Party and Labour Party, i.e., between the Third International and the Second International. Our application for affiliation was accordingly rejected. Immediately this decision was taken, a tremendous struggle began in the local Labour parties against the action of the Executive in breaking from the traditions of the party and excluding the Communists simply because they stood for a revolutionary policy, while at the same time they admitted non-proletarian elements. Many sections repudiated the National Executive and refused to exclude

their comrades whose bonafides were above question. The leaders remained adamant. The Communist Party, in the meantime, carried the struggle a stage forward during the by-election at Woolwich last February (where Ramsay MacDonald was the Labour candidate). The Party openly opposed MacDonald as the apostle of opportunism and the Second International. He was defeated by 600 votes, and there can be little doubt that the Communist Party demonstrated to the Labour leaders that they had to face a foe of different metal from the old Socialist Parties in the past.

The experience of these few months of struggle with the Labour opportunists had a tremendous influence in clearing the atmosphere and solidifying the party. It paved the way for the January Congress at Leeds, at which final steps were taken to gather in the remaining elements that stood aloof from the August conference. There is not now two opinions among the Communists as to what is the correct policy towards the Labour Party. Here it should be pointed out that with the new constitution of the Labour Party which has broadened the basis of membership to include individual members, the driving force has passed out of the hands of the leaders of the Independent Labour Party (I.L.P.) to the petty bourgeoisie and black-coated suburbanites. These latter, groaning beneath the burden of taxation of the Lloyd George Coalition, are turning to the Labour Party as the party of "Peace, Retrenchment and Reform," and "ordered progress," and against the Party of Communism and revolution. The success which has recently attended this coalition of the petty bourgeois elements with the proletarian sections of the Labour Party is causing some uneasiness in the ranks of high finance. It is not to the liking of the latter that the gains of the Labour Party are steadily increasing. And so to split the petty bourgeois elements from the Labour Party no effort is spared by the powerful press of the Coalition to identify the programme of Labourism with Bolshevism. We even get the Prime Minister going out of his way to lecture his coupon-holders in Parliament on the approaching danger. This danger he finds revealed in the fact that in the election of 1918, the Labour candidates polled half the Coalition votes, while taking a survey of the by-elections of 1920-21 he said, "A change of four per cent. in voting would give the Labour Party the majority in the House, and that there was a percentage of from 15 to 20 in the electorate that abstained from voting."

The present anomalous situation where a candidate in a three-cornered contest is elected though his opponents' combined votes outnumber him, is not likely to be tolerated by the bourgeoisie if it is giving the Labour candidates the seats. The continuation of such a method may be favourable for the chances of a Labour Government, but assuming the bourgeois element are unable to unite against Labour, there yet remains the "reforms" in the electoral method which would remedy such an evil (for the ruling class) of a simple majority election.

A few words here on the composition of the Labour Party will prove serviceable to many Continental comrades not conversant with it. At its annual conference in Scarborough, 1920, it reported a delegation of 3,709,000. This number was made up of representations from 139 trade unions, with 3,398,000 votes, 246 local

trades councils and Labour parties with 258,000 votes, and six Socialist societies with 53,000.

So far as the trade union representation is concerned; they are seen to be in the overwhelming majority, but it has to be realised that these numbers do not indicate in any way the actual weight which the unions pull on matters of political policy. Many of these unions are affiliated by a simple majority which has often been achieved without 50 per cent. of the membership voting. Thus the value of the nominal adhesion to the Labour Party is more financial than anything else, with the result that many of the members supposed to be affiliated are found to be voting Liberal and Tory at election.

The same with regard to the Socialist parties affiliating. These parties pay affiliation fees out of all proportion to their actual membership, merely to get votes at the congress. Small wonder the party lacks either fire or driving power.

The Communist International has laid it down as one of the most important tasks of a genuine Communist Party to preserve constantly the closest contact with the widest masses of the workers. There is probably no other country in the world outside Great Britain where such a task is rendered so easy to accomplish. For that reason we make bold to say the Communist Party of Great Britain has done more in this direction proportionate to its numerical strength than most of the parties adhering to the Third International. The principle of large proletarian but non-partisan organisations for immediate political objects is native to the soil of the United Kingdom. Perhaps the most outstanding illustration in recent times being the "Hands Off Russia" Committee Movement.

Since the March Revolution of 1917 in Russia the agitation against intervention in Russian affairs has never wavered in Great Britain. Conferences of Trade Unions, political parties, co-operative groups, etc., have been held by the thousand in all parts of the country, and considerable influence has been exercised upon the masses generally by the demonstrations held and contact established. On the other hand millions of leaflets and circulars have been distributed focusing the attention of the workers generally upon the machinations and trickery against Soviet Russia adopted by the Government from time to time.

This movement undoubtedly got its driving force from the revolutionary elements of the former Socialist Parties and shop stewards, now centralised in the Communist Party. That driving force has not abated.

It was just such a movement which paved the way for the famous but now defunct "Council of Action"—another of those non-partisan bodies which are peculiar to Great Britain, but which, nevertheless are of tremendous importance for our revolutionary work. That the formation of the "Council of Action" was largely the outcome of our Communist agitation cannot be gainsaid. And though it is true to say the element of war weariness played an important part, the predisposing factor that gave rise to such a spontaneous rally against Churchill's threat to go to war against the Soviet Government was just the "Hands off Russia" agitation inspired by the Communists. Combining as it did, all the elements

of the Labour Movement, the Council of Action formed the basis for that general staff of Labour which had been talked about for so long in Trade Union and Labour Circles by the leaders and writers.

The Trade Unions and political Labour Parties were united in the single determination to prevent war. Local Councils sprung up in all centres and an unprecedented wave of solidarity passed over the entire world of labour. Everywhere the Communists were to be found inspiring and encouraging workers to go forward and not merely remain passive. The Party urged the leaders during the vacillating period of negotiations to "fix a date" and strike. But the Labour Leaders recoiled before the prospects of an open conflict with the government, and temporised. So manifest, however, was the opposition of the masses to another war that the Government was compelled to stay its hand. Immediately the prospects of war vanished the labour leaders proceeded to explain that since the object for which the Council of Action had been called into being had been achieved, it should be dissolved. In vain did the Communist Party urge for the retention of the new body, and after a few weeks it fell away and died out.

Not the least important side to this movement was the demonstration as to how far the fundamental proletarian organ of the Soviet had caught on with the masses. Various districts had different ideas of the kind of machinery to be erected, but the following proposals for a Council of Action by the Merthyr Borough in South Wales indicates the general trend of opinion behind the whole movement.

It was proposed by this Borough to form a Central Council composed of 24 representatives from the organisations affiliated or eligible for affiliation to the Trades Council. They must be appointed by mass meetings of the workers, under the distinct understanding that the representatives have the right to call the workers out of work or instruct them to work, as the Council shall determine.

The Central Council shall be made up as follows:

GROUP.	NUMBER OF					
	REPRESENTATIVES.					
1. Miners	6
2. Railway workers	3
3. Steelworkers	3
4. Building Industry	3
5. Shop Assistants and Bakers	2
6. General	3
7. Co-operative Guilds and Women	3
8. Labour Press	1

These representatives were to be appointed at mass-meetings of the respective industries or trades and were to be controlled by a General Council of three delegates appointed by each society affiliated, or eligible for affiliation to the Trades Council, who must meet each month, or any shorter period to be decided by the Central Council.

Any delegates absent from two consecutive meetings (except in the case of illness) shall be reported to his society by the Central Council, and a new delegate must be appointed.

The Central Council shall set up from among its own members Committees of which the following are immediately, counselled:—

1. Transport Committee.
2. Propaganda Committee.
3. Finance and Economic Committee.
4. Social Welfare Committee.

The British bourgeoisie has not escaped from the industrial sickness and paralysis that has crept over the capitalist imperialism since November, 1918. As with their competitors in America and the "Far East," where the ravages of war did not interfere with the technical apparatus for production, the armistice for the British capitalist was the signal for a return to that deadly struggle for markets which had resulted in the holocaust just closed. And for a time hopes ran high. Intoxicated by the victory over German Imperialism, and the acquisition of the latter's colonies, the cry went forth for more and more production to capture the expected new markets. The wildest speculation prevailed, especially in textiles, etc. Thus intensifying the artificial demand. A tone of confidence was assumed and paradoxically the workers were urged to speed up their output to ensure the continuation of the "boom" period. But it did not last long. At the close of 1919 the enthusiasm for increased output began to weaken. Murmurs began to be heard of a failure in demand, and in the last part of 1920 there appeared definite indications of a collapse. Since then idleness has continued, resulting this year in one of the most acute crisis in the annals of British industry, the coal, iron and steel, shipbuilding, and textile industry being at the present moment at a stand still. This colossal failure of capitalism to recover itself is one of the most important features of the general situation in Britain. It proves beyond a shadow of a doubt that the "boom" period was fictitious and represented but the final spasm of the artificial conditions that prevailed during the war. The technical advantage of the boom offset for the bourgeoisie was that general uneasiness created by the closing of the munition factories and the demobilisation of the troops, but the resort to "doles" and schemes for dealing with the unemployed problem has not by any means been successful. There is no question about it that the situation to-day is more revolutionary in its potentialities than any period since the armistice. Putting aside the effects of the coal strike, and taking numbers which have managed to filter through the bureaucratic sieve of the labour exchanges there is an army of over 3,000,000 unemployed. Added to the miners dispute, 5,000,000 represents a fair estimate of industrial derelicts during the first two weeks of June. In other words nearly one half of the population is reduced to a state of beggary or the status of vagrants. As to whether a resumption of coal getting will solve the problem or not, in face of the depression in America, where there is no coal stoppage and where prices have been lowered; not even the yellowest gutter rag of the capitalist press dare assert that.

Such a situation was bound to provoke class conflict. The bourgeoisie had expectations of a world revival of industry with potentialities for piling up huge fortunes from the results of its

barbarous policy of destruction. As soon as it realised these expectations could not be fulfilled, it proceeded to use the occasion for an attack on all labour organisations. It is no mere accident that the miners were chosen as the first union to be attacked. A defeat for the miners was to be taken as a precedent for dealing with other industrial organisations. Such has always been the policy of the British bourgeois class that knows the weakness of its opposition. There was only one road to success for the working class and that was to close up the ranks with the miners, assume the offensive and challenge the power of the capitalists. That this policy was not adopted was not the fault of the rank and file. The sacrifices the workers have made since the capitalist conspiracy began leaves little doubt on that score. But the group of traitors who manipulate the Labour Unions are afraid of revolution, and though the Communists everywhere urged forward the policy of a general offensive, we were not strong enough to overcome the treachery of the labour leaders, and so the result of the trade union policy of relying on their banking account has brought about the financial collapse of nearly every Union.

If however the bourgeoisie in Great Britain think their present policy of strangulation and the mailed fist will save them or bring industrial peace they are making the mistake of their lives. The financial minds of the bourgeoisie can only think in terms of £s.d. It imagines if it breaks the financial back of the unions it will have everything its own way when the commercial machine begins to run again. It little reckons with the accumulated resentment sullenly being nursed by a working class little prone to forget the trickery and deception practised upon it since 1914. Instead therefore of looking forward without hope, the situation is rather the reverse. There is bound to accrue from the bankruptcy of the leaders, plus the financial bankruptcy of the Unions, a plethora of unofficial strikes. The problem before the Communist Party must be to co-ordinate these activities and lift them above the conservative trade union standard on to the revolutionary plane of the struggle for power.

A most gratifying feature in this respect is the unification of revolutionary workers' committees into a single organisation—the National Workers' Committee Movement. On the other hand the Communist Party has already given proof of its vitality and capacity for revolutionary activity amongst the masses. So much so, that the government has thought fit to launch a vendetta against everything identified with the name of Communism and the Third International. Since January of this year from 70 to 80 of our Party members have been imprisoned or are presently in jail; the Party headquarters burgled by the police and the national Secretary arrested and charged with sedition. This record alone is the best proof of the Party's worth.

The British bourgeoisie has thrown off the mask. It no longer relies upon its hypocritical policy of compromise. It looks now to armed force for its defence. Can it complain if the workers are thus driven to reply to it with its own weapons? The Communist Party declares that there is NO alternative but to wage the class struggle and to facilitate the rapid transition from organisation and agitation to an open conflict for the conquest of power.

The Communist Party Conference at Jena

By M. PHILIPS PRICE

IN order to understand the crisis, which arose this summer in the German Communist Party, it is necessary to take a glance back into the history of the "left wing" movements in Germany during the last few years. Communism, as a practical force in Germany began to crystallise first in the so-called Spartakusbund—that small group of clear thinkers within the old Social-Democratic Party. The first congress of the Spartakusbund in January, 1919, however, showed that not only was it afflicted with all the infantile diseases that proletarian parties are heir to, but that even at that time, the party was in reality little more than a sect without any connection with the masses of German labour. The disillusionment, however, resulting from the failure of the November Revolution to bring any appreciable improvement in the lot of the workers was not long in rescuing the Spartakusbund from its comparative isolation. Within the Independent Socialist Party there grew throughout 1919 and 1920 a large body of opinion, which decided in October of the latter year, to break with sentimental pacifism and with barren anti-militarist phrases and to throw in its lot with the Communist Party. At the first congress of the United Communist Party of Germany in December, 1920, for the first time in Germany history, the Communist idea was incorporated in a mass party of nearly half a million workers.

But this influx of revolutionary elements from the masses did not result in strength. The smooth course of the first congress was in this respect deceptive. The new additions created new weaknesses. The material, which had been thrown together, did not mix. A large bulk of the elements which had left the Independent Socialist Party had done so for purely negative reasons. They were dissatisfied with Reformism and with Pacifism and that was all. They carried with them into the new party the lack of discipline which existed in the old. No small number of them, moreover, were prone to "syndicalism" and "putchism." The old Spartakusbund had already, in October, 1919, at the Heidelberg Conference, weathered a crisis, in which the syndicalist element had been expelled. Now the whole problem of infantile disorders had appeared again and came last month before the Second Congress of the United Communist Party at Jena.

The Third Congress of the Third International devoted no small attention to the German Party. Germany, with its teeming millions of industrial workers—all feeling on their own bodies the pressure of the indemnities and reparations, by which Entente capital hopes to save itself from post-war bankruptcy—is obviously a most favourable ground for the spread of the Communist idea. Not the least important aspect of the crisis in German Communism was the question of tactics adopted by the party in the March action, and of the so-called "offensive theory." The history of

the March action and of this theory is broadly as follows. Early in this year a body of opinion within the German Communist Party began to crystallise round the personality of the brilliant chairman of the Central Executive, Paul Levi. This group objected to the tactics of the Executive of the Third International in making the continuance of Serrati and of other leaders of the Italian Socialist Party in the Third International contingent upon their immediate renunciation of all connections with the Reformist Italian Trade Union leaders. This attitude of the "Levites" involved important tactical problems of how to deal with large bodies of wavering elements, who hang on the border-line of Communism. It was not the first time that a difference of this kind had appeared in the German Communist Party. Early in 1919 tactical divergences had appeared between Rosa Luxemburg and Leo Yogisches, on the one hand, and the Hamburg followers of Karl Radek on the other, on the question whether the situation in Germany was such as to enable the Spartakusbund to declare all power to Soviets without the active support of the masses. The crisis, which in consequence threatened the Spartakusbund in January, 1919, and was delayed by the long period of illegality during the Noske Terror, broke out in full force after March, 1921. It was precipitated by certain agents of the small bureau of the Moscow Executive, who, exceeding their mandates, had begun to interfere in the internal affairs of the German Party, and to spread the idea that the international position of the Russian Soviet Republic made an "offensive at all costs" obligatory for the German Party.

How far the March action was caused, as Paul Levi alleges, by the activities of these agents, spreading the "offensive at all costs" theory among the unsteady elements of the young German Communist Party and how far it was the result of the provocation of the agents of the "Orgesch" and of the Pan-German counter-revolution, using the Majority Socialist, Hoersing, as a tool, is difficult to say. In all probability both interpretations are partly correct. But in any case, the results for the party were disastrous, not only because of the resulting break in the legal work of the party, but because of the moral effect, which it had on the leaders. Thus the military occupation of the mining districts of Middle Germany was used as an excuse by the Executive of the German Party, from which Paul Levi had by this time resigned, to declare an armed rebellion for the overthrow of the German Government. A purely local issue, on which it was impossible to rouse the masses in the rest of Germany, was artificially expanded into a national issue with of course the disastrous results that both collapsed. Not content with this lesson the German Executive announced in a series of theses the so-called "offensive theory," whereby it was solemnly laid down that it was the duty of Communist parties to assume the offensive even when in a minority, in order by defeat to rouse the masses from passivity. Shades of Babeuf and Louis Blanc! Certain doctrinaires of the Spartakusbund had united with the unclear heads of the rank and file—legacies of the Independent Socialist Party—and had finally brought the crisis of the German Party to a head. It is no exaggeration to say that after March of this year till the Third World Congress in Moscow, the Communist Party of Germany has been reduced to virtual impotence by

the defeat. Indeed, only since the Jena Congress have signs of healthy growth appeared again.

The process of healing the party's wounds has been made much more difficult by the tactics of Paul Levi and his followers. Levi had, after March, a magnificent opportunity to expose the fallacies of the "offensive theory." Unfortunately, he showed his incapacity for leadership by starting a campaign of extraordinary virulence and personal rancour against those who were responsible for the disaster. He has thus placed himself outside the party and his career is at least for the time being checked. Moreover, judging from his latest writing in his organ, *Unsere Weg*, he is showing unmistakable signs of sliding down the slippery slope into "opportunism" and "Menshevism."

Nevertheless, the Moscow Congress, in its thesis on tactics, justified the attitude of Levi on the March action, though it approved his expulsion for breach of discipline. The Congress called the German Party sharply to its senses, told it to come down to earth again and in future actions to prepare the ground more carefully by unceasing propaganda and contact with the masses in all existing mass organisations. And the Party Congress at Jena has adopted with qualified approval these Moscow decisions. This qualified approval is due to the fact that the protagonists of the "offensive at all costs" still have some following in the Berlin and Hamburg branches of the Party. The leaders of this group, while ready to admit the failures of last March, seem anxious to cover their retreat, and to use every future occasion to return to their previous interpretation of the offensive. For they were strong enough to insert in the Congress resolution on tactics a protest against certain aspects of Moscow's criticism of the March action, on the grounds that "Comrade Trotsky had failed to see that the mistakes last March were due not to the offensive philosophy but to the passive attitude of the former party leaders."

The difference of opinion within the Communist International over the theory of "offensive at all costs" is not a doctrinaire dispute between hair-splitting theorists. It has a deep-rooted cause particularly affecting all Communist parties in Western Europe. For it concerns at bottom the question of the nature and rate of development of the world revolution. It is not pure accident that has caused the German Communists to appear as the impatient war-dogs, straining at the leash and the Russian Communists as the restraining hand. For it was noticeable also in the discussion on the world economic situation at Jena that two theories were contending for the mastery. The difference of opinion on world economics, like that on tactics, is nothing new. It goes far back into pre-war days, when Lenin and Rosa Luxemburg were disputing in Switzerland over the latter's "reproduction theory." Rosa Luxemburg in her "Accumulation of Capital," which, by the way, ought to be translated into English, since it is now a classical work on the Continent, projected the view that capitalism in the highly industrially developed countries by penetrating the colonial areas with surplus values, prepares a revolutionary psychology in the masses of the areas penetrated. Capitalism, in fact, in reproducing itself, reaches a point, when its further development is arrested by the

growing resistance of the colonial peasants, coolies and serfs, who do not need to pass through the school of the industrial revolution as in Western Europe, to reach the stage in which they can acquire the control of production. This theory is incidentally a perfect justification of the Russian Communists' concession policy to Western capitalism and of their reliance on the psychology of the proletarian layers of the population in Russia to make the development of capitalism in this colonial area impossible. It is an irony of history that Lenin, who opposed Rosa Luxemburg's "reproduction theory," in Switzerland before the war, and who wrote on the eve of the October Revolution a book entitled, "Imperialism, the Latest Phase of Capitalism," representing a theory entirely different to her's, should be the very man to carry her's out in practice in Russia to-day.

Still more remarkable is the fact that the Russian Communists have always up to now taken as their Bible the work of the arch-Menshevik, Hilferding, on "Finance-Capital." Like Luxemburg, Hilferding starts out with the theory of the export of surplus values to the colonial areas. But after starting with this premise he diverges from Luxemburg in holding that the colonial areas must first pass through the stage of industrial capitalism before becoming ripe for the social revolution. The social revolution, he holds, will be precipitated not by the revolt of the slaves in the colonial areas but by the internal crises within capitalism, causing competition for spheres of influence among the banks and consequent wars. During one of these crises, it is assumed, Labour will come into power automatically by the mechanical collapse of capitalism. The Menshevik theory thus assumes a purely objective development and decline of capitalism: all subjective factors, such as the reactions on mass psychology are left out of consideration. Yet the Russian Communists are accused by many of their German comrades of inconsistency. For, it is said, when they came into power in Russia, they carried out in practice the "reproduction theory" of Luxemburg, but now they are in power they see the world economic situation through the spectacles of Hilferding.

Thus at the Jena Congress Trotsky's economic thesis came in for sharp criticism on the grounds that it admitted a certain stabilisation of capitalism in Europe since 1919, and further, that it seemed to show that this process of stabilisation and apparent prosperity must be passed through till capitalism mechanically enters upon a new crisis, precipitating another imperialist war. Particular exception was taken to Trotsky's attempt to forecast with precision an Anglo-American War for 1924. The nature of these criticisms are seen in the following passages in the debate on the economic thesis at Jena. Thus Schmidt (Hanover): "The Russians do not sufficiently consider the impossibility of the reconstruction of capitalism in Western Europe without an increasing exploitation of the masses, whose resistance must stiffen. Trotsky particularly neglects the increasing class tension in Germany, and pays too much attention to the possibilities of new imperialist conflicts. His thesis might be interpreted to mean that revolutionary mass psychology and action resulting therefrom is only possible after 1924—the year of the probable new Anglo-American War. We say that the apparent and temporary improvement in the

capitalist position must not be made an excuse to relax efforts to rouse the consciousness of the masses." Again Heinrich (Cologne): "We have a right to criticise Trotsky's thesis and to say, 'Is not the time come when German capitalism can produce no more surplus values for accumulation? Can reparations be any longer paid without exhausting the reservoir of surplus values.'"

That much of this criticism was not justified is seen from the passage of the speech of Heckert (Berlin), who sat with Trotsky on the Economic Thesis Commission in Moscow: "What Trotsky meant," said Heckert, "was that it is not true that only in periods of breakdown of capitalism can there be a revolutionary wave. In periods of capitalist consolidation this is also possible, as witness the growth of the revolutionary movement in Russia in the period of capitalist development between 1905 and 1917." Again to the charge that he based his thesis solely on the Menshevist philosophy of Hilferding, Trotsky can reply by quoting that passage in his speech at the Moscow Congress, where he said: "We, Communists, unite the dialectical with the practical, the subjective with the objective. We not only rely on the subjective desire of the masses but take into consideration the fact that the revolution will come, because the objective economic conditions are a pledge of this." In view of this, it is clear that much which was said at Jena, was said without full knowledge of the Russian Communist attitude (the full stenogram reports not having all come from Moscow). Nevertheless, the debates at Moscow and at Jena have shown the existence of two tendencies within the Communist International, one emphasising the apparent recovery of world capitalism since 1919 and the other holding that the breakdown of capitalism in Europe is already there, and that it is impossible to re-establish an economic equilibrium even for a temporary period. The German Communists who, in the main, represent the latter tendency, have more than once in the past over-estimated their powers in attacking their native capitalism. The Russian Communists, who represent the former tendency, unacquainted as yet with the theories of the Rosa Luxemburg school, may, on the other hand, have under-estimated their own strength in their present struggle with world capitalism.

It was Rosa Luxemburg, with her almost uncanny wisdom and insight, who found a way to combine a Communist outlook on the development of the world revolution (her "reproduction theory") with a tactical line of mass action, which renounces "offensives at all costs." Had she lived, much would have been made clear in the discussion between the Russian and the German Communist points of view at Jena. But the Pan-German reaction knew what it was doing when it murdered that great woman.

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Lenin's Letter to the Jena Congress

THE Communist Party in Germany is in a difficult situation. On the one hand the international situation in Germany has intensified the revolutionary crisis, and pushed the revolutionary to the immediate taking over of power. On the other, the German and International bourgeoisie having drawn experience from events in Russia, and being admirably organised and armed to the teeth, has thrown itself with hatred against the revolutionary German proletariat.

Since 1918, the German revolutionary movement has followed a difficult and tempestuous course. But it marches forward no less.

One can assert that the German working masses have clearly taken a step to the Left.

The K.A.P.D.

The difficult situation of the V.K.P.D. is complicated by the opposition from the K.A.P.D. and the Levi-ists

For what it is, we allowed the K.A.P.D. to participate in the Congress of the C.I. We consider that so long as parties are not yet solidly organised, semi-anarchist elements can be useful.

In Western Europe the transition from revolutionary mentality to revolutionary activity is a very slow and tedious process. The anarchist tendencies, and the contradictions that arise within these very tendencies must be left to develop themselves. But there should be limits to this tolerance.

In Germany we have tolerated the semi-anarchist elements for a very long time. The Third Congress of the Comintern at last has given them a time-limit. If they exclude themselves from the C.I., so much the better. We must let them die a natural death. The infantile malady of radicalism will pass, and as the Communist movement grows so will it totally disappear.

The Case of Paul Levi

We all act inconsiderately in the polemics we wage against Paul Levi. Nothing suits him better than to continue the dispute with us. After the decisions of the C.I. we must forget him, and concentrate all our forces to a peaceable and objective activity without polemic, without dispute, and without a return to the past. I consider that Comrade Radek, by his article appearing in July in the *Rote Fahne*, Nos. 14 and 15, and entitled "The Third International Congress, the March Movement, and the Ulterior Tactics of the Party," has erred against the decisions adopted unanimously by the Congress. This article is specially directed not only against Paul Levi, but against Clara Zetkin. However, Clara Zetkin has herself, so as to seal the Party unity, concluded during the Third

Congress an agreement with the Central Committee of the V.K.P.D. which has been sanctioned by us all.

Radek has pushed things to inaccuracy when he infers that Clara Zetkin "wished to hold up all general action of the Party until the day the great masses would be with us." In writing such words he has rendered Paul Levi a signal service. For the latter has no other object than to see the Party more and more divided, and finally, to expel Clara Zetkin. Radek has given a striking example of how the Left can aid Levi.

I agree with a good number of Levi's criticisms on the March movement (of course, excluding from the very first the appellation of "putsch" given by him to this movement).

But Levi has given to his criticisms a noxious form. And he who preaches prudence and balance so much to others has acted like a schoolboy in throwing himself hastily and blindly into the fray, so that he lost when he could have gained.

By the series of stupid errors he has made, Levi has drawn away attention from the very thing that is of importance, that is, the use of the errors committed during the March movement, and their *mise en point*. These errors are very instructive.

To repair and correct these errors, which no one considered pearls of Marxism, it was necessary at the Congress of the C.I. to place oneself on the Right. Otherwise the line of the Congress would have been false. It was my duty to do this so long as I found myself in the presence of comrades who only enunciated words of reformism and centrism, and who did not wish to recognise the mistakes made in March. Such people transform revolutionary Marxism into a caricature; the fight with Centrism is a sport.

The German Communists could do no better than to put an end to internal discussions as soon as possible, and forget the case of Paul Levi on the one hand, and the K.A.P.D., on the other, and to set themselves resolutely to positive work.

The Role of the Third Congress

The Resolutions voted at the Third Congress represent an immense progress. It will be necessary to make every effort to put into practice what has been decided.

Communists should, to commence with, promulgate their principles in the face of the world. That is what the first Congress did. Further, the work of building up the organisation of the Communist International had to be done, the fixing of the conditions of admission, and the establishment of a clear line of demarcation between Communists and Centrists, that is to say, between Communists and all those direct or indirect agents of the bourgeoisie who still find themselves mixed up with the workers' movement.

That was also the work of the Second Congress. The Third Congress could at last commence definite work. We have throughout the whole world a Communist army, which, it is true, is still

badly educated and organised. We must work at perfecting it. It must be put to experience in the different operations of tactics, and the lessons one can gather therefrom must be examined with the greatest honesty.

The stumbling block in the International situation of the Communist movement, during the year 1921, is found precisely in the fact that certain of those who belong to the élite of the Communist International have not quite understood the task that confronts them, that they have somewhat exaggerated the fight with Centristism, and that they have rather overstepped the line of demarcation that separates fighting from sport, and they have reached a point where there is a risk of compromising revolutionary Marxism.

They have not broken bounds to a very great extent, but the dangers of their exaggeration is immense.

If this exaggeration had not been fought, the Communist International without doubt would have perished. No one in the world is in a position to prevent the victory of the Communist International over the Second International and the "Two-and-a-Half" International, so long as the Communists themselves do not hinder victory. To exaggerate the fight with the Centrists means to save Centristism, strengthen its position, and increase its influence on the proletariat.

The Fight Against Centristism

In the period that has elapsed between the Second and Third Congresses, we have learnt to wage a war with Centristism crowned with success in relation to the International Movement. That has been proved by facts. This fight—the exclusion of Levi and of Serrati's Party—we shall pursue until the end. But what we have not learnt, is to fight against misplaced exaggeration in the battle against Centristism. However, we have recognised this default, and precisely because we have recognised it will we be able to free ourselves from it. Then we will be invincible, for without the support of the proletariat itself (by the intermediary of the capitalist agents operating in the Second and Two-and-a-Half Internationals) the bourgeoisie of Europe and of America will not be able to maintain power any longer.

Let Us Go to the Masses!

The essential task is the conquest of the masses of the proletariat. It is true we do not conceive the conquest of the majority in the same manner as the champions of petit-bourgeois democracy united in the Two-and-a-Half International. If, in the month of July '21, at Rome, the whole proletariat—including the workers belonging to reformist unions and Serrati's Party—support the Communists in the fight against the Fascisti, this fact is equivalent to the conquest of the majority of the working class for our cause.

Such a fact, it is true, does not yet signify a decisive conquest. It was only a partial victory, but in point of fact it was a conquest of the majority. This conquest is going on throughout the whole world without anyone being able to stop it. We want to prepare the fight in this sense in a systematic and profound manner, giving to it all the necessary reflection. We let pass no serious occasion for using the revolutionary situation the bourgeoisie is creating at this moment. We must learn to estimate at their correct value the occasions which are offered to us for fighting in concert with the proletariat.

Thus will victory be assured us. Our tactics and strategy seen from the international point of view are far from being up to the level of those of the bourgeoisie, for which the experience undergone in Russia has been an advertisement. But we are incomparably richer in effectives. We will be able to acquire the art of strategy and tactics.

In ending, permit me to express the wish that the Jena Congress puts an end to the petty squabbles between the Left and the Right. A truce to the disputes that are rending the Party! Down with all those who in one way or another are prolonging this fight. Let us consecrate all our energies to perfecting the Party organisation and gaining a more and more intimate contact with the masses. Let us work for the perfection of working class strategy.

LENIN.

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Send for a Card To-day

The Problem of Communist Organisation

By GEORG LUKACS*

In Lukàcs' article the March rising in Germany and the expulsion of Paul Levi are made the texts for a discussion of the psychological problems involved in Communist Party organisation.

FROM the time of the conflict over the Serrati question down to the acute crisis in the Party over the Levi affair after the March rising, the United Communist Party of Germany has been passing through a crisis. This crisis was the logical outcome of the 21 points, of the conditions of admission to the Communist International adopted at the Second Congress. These conditions, if they were to be taken seriously, could not be fulfilled by the simple act of adoption, by the determination to realise them in matters of organisation. They could only serve to set in motion the process which must ultimately lead to the formation of genuine Communist parties. All the opportunists of the Third International from Serrati to Levi, had a sound instinct when they opposed the 21 points. This is why these opportunists were inclined to echo the howl of rage uttered by the Centre, although the echo came at first pianissimo. The demand of the Centrists and opportunists that admission to the Third International should be determined by the political situation, implied that no steps were to be taken towards the formation of Communist parties. It implied that mass parties were to be formed out of pseudo-communists, that is to say, out of the general mass of the workers who have no definite communist principles, however revolutionary their sentiments may be, and who can be led by the nose by the opportunists. This false route was definitely closed by the resolutions of the Second Congress. But these resolutions could merely begin the process of directing the movement into the right road. The Party crises which have occurred everywhere during the interval between the two congresses show that the process of clarification, though well advanced, is still far from complete. The task of the Third Congress will be to make a comprehensive use of the experience gained in these crises, and to carry a stage further the development which has been thus happily begun.

Among these experiences, those of the March rising occupy an important place, mainly because, in Germany, party and revolution are in an advanced stage of development. It must be obvious, even to outsiders, that there was no effective centralisation of action; this revealed that the centralisation of the party existed only on paper. We have also seen that the rank and file of the party, with true revolutionary instinct, was quick to perceive this defect of organisation, round which the discussions of the March rising have centred. We are therefore justified in hoping that improvements will take place.

*Translated from *Die Internationale* June 15th, 1921, by EDEN and CEDAR PAUL.

The defects in organisation existed before March. Why was it that they did not become manifest until the March rising? In my opinion, the reason is that organisatory centralisation and the tactical initiative of the party are mutually determinative ideas. This reciprocal action is primarily technical. On the one hand, every attempt at initiative made by the party must remain a paper proposal, must remain mere phrase-making, unless there exist so perfectly centralised an organisation that all segments of the party, persons and institutions alike, are as ready for co-ordinated action as the limbs of a healthy individual. On other hand, a well-established system of centralisation cannot fail, in virtue of its own internal energy, to impel the party towards activity and initiative. In the Kapp affair the feeling and the knowledge of weakness in matters of organisation paralysed the activities of the Spartacus League and were mainly responsible for the irresolution of its tactics. But a type of organisation that has been thoroughly systematised in the revolutionary sense will serve of itself to activate the tactics of the party.

This leads us to consider the psychological ties between tactics and organisation, between initiative and centralisation. A high level of class consciousness is an essential pre-requisite to capacity for revolutionary organisation, to an adequate understanding of its importance. An emotional, an instinctive readiness for revolutionary activity does not suffice. It is not even enough if we clearly recognise that the final crisis of capitalism has now begun. In addition, we must be absolutely convinced that the moment for action has arrived; that we are at the decisive hour when the devotion, the self-sacrifice, the complete voluntary subordination of every revolutionist, has become a matter upon which the fate of the revolution turns. Revolutionary organisation is no merely mechanical affair. In the absence of the requisite psychological conditions, the most splendid resolutions (like the acceptance of the 21 points) remain no more than resolutions. In such circumstances, with the best will in the world, those who vote the resolution will lack a real understanding of its significance and of its consequences. Almost everywhere, this has been characteristic of the adoption of the 21 points. Doubtless we should welcome the decision of the U.C.P. of Germany to take the offensive. Unquestionably those who initiated this decision are right in believing that in no other way can the vanguard of the workers exercise a decisive influence upon the whole proletarian class. But we have reluctantly to admit that the vanguard itself is inadequately organised for the fulfilment of the desired rôle. Its inadequacy in this respect simultaneously serves to show that in the psychological field it is not yet competent for its tasks.

The foregoing criticism must not be interpreted as implying disapproval of the offensive. In an earlier article I gave theoretical grounds for my unqualified acceptance of this tactic. When, however, we are concerned with the practical details of action, we must not blink matters. Not only must we be careful that no individual defects are glossed over. In addition, it is essential to discuss the general significance of every defect. I cannot here go into details, but I may point out that both groups of those who have criticised

the March rising, leaving Paul Levi out of account, have been guided by a sound instinct. The Executive is right in pointing to a lack of discipline in action as the main cause of failure, and is right in its desire to take stern measures against such indiscipline in the future. But the adverse critics are equally right when they say that, alike in the preparations for the rising and during the rising, the central organs of the party were at a loss. Both criticisms amount to the same thing. It is right to insist upon discipline; but discipline can only be effective if the central authority which demands discipline is unified in spirit, if it is animated by a definite aim, and if the conditions exist through which its definiteness of aim can secure expression. No attempt should be made to conceal the deficiencies that were disclosed in these matters. Beyond question, in the March rising, definite aims must have been present at times in the minds of those who were directing the movement. To maintain the contrary is to distort facts maliciously; it diverts attention from the problems of organisation concerning which we have still much to learn; and it leads to futile controversy as to the personal merits of this individual or that. But we are certainly entitled to doubt whether the central Executive could command the organisatory means by which it might have been empowered to give unambiguous expression to its aims, by which it might have been able to diffuse throughout the party a definite understanding of these aims. Now the existence of such organisatory means is an essential pre-requisite of party discipline.

It is often contended that the U.C.P. of Germany has passed from the propagandist phase to the phase of action. If this is not to be an empty phrase; we must interpret it in the sense of giving increased importance to propaganda, of undertaking its effective organisation. As long as the party remains on the defensive, circumstances will see to it that the defects in the organisation of propaganda shall remain hidden. What a defensive attitude really means is that, however powerful the revolutionary sentiments and consciousness of the party, the active manifestations of party life do not originate in the party itself, but are determined by the behaviour of the counter-revolutionaries (social democratic or bourgeois). We may admit that the boundary line between initiative and enforced reaction is indefinite. The most powerful of mass parties, animated by a determination to take the offensive, has its actions and decisions partly determined by the behaviour of hostile groups. Conversely, however weak a group in point of numbers, the extent to which its actions are forced upon it by circumstances will largely depend upon its will and resoluteness. But though the boundary is thus indefinite, the difference cannot fail to be reflected in matters of organisation. As long as the behaviour of the party has a defensive character, imposed by circumstances, the aim of propaganda must be to draw attention to the doings and omissions of the counter-revolutionary powers (open or concealed). The aim of such propaganda is to hasten the development of revolutionary class consciousness, and thus to contribute to the utilisation of the political and economic situation for the release of spontaneous mass activities. Now, however necessary a psychological and tactical uniformity in the doings of the Communist Party may be for this

kind of propaganda, it is not here that its complete lack of organisation will be disclosed. Since the defensive tactic is imposed on the party from without, the propaganda and the activities of the Communist Party are diffused and lack concentration (and would exhibit these characteristics in such circumstances even if its organisation were a great deal better). There is little hope of overcoming this lack of concentration as long as the party is still in the phase when increase in membership is the chief aim. It is compelled to turn in one direction after another, to attract simultaneously energies of the most varying degrees of intensity and ripeness, to seize every opportunity for appearing in the limelight. The party is forced to welcome spontaneously originating movements, so that in this phase there is little chance of realising what proportion of such diffuse activities is the outcome of tactical purpose, and what proportion is the outcome of defective organisation. Above all, as regards propaganda, it is possible that the party organs, working quite "independently," may achieve wonders. If they merely follow the tactical line of unmasking the counter-revolution and that of favouring spontaneous outbursts, they can do much—within certain limits—to further the movement.

Organisation of such a character, typical of almost every Communist Party (outside of Russia) in the early stages of its existence, is far from being all that might be desired. But it involves dangers that are positively catastrophic at a time when the movement and the party have grown so strong that action has become possible, and is essential to the further progress of the revolution. It is true that propaganda has still to be directed towards the same ends as before; but its function has been transformed, and it must be guided by an inner purposiveness. I do not wish to imply that henceforward the Communist Party will be in a position to set the pace for the revolution. It must, however, create by its propaganda, the psychological conditions requisite for unified, resolute and continuous action on the part of the Communist Party, the workers' vanguard. It must do this, not only by reacting in a revolutionary way to all the doings of the counter-revolution, but also by seizing every opportunity which seems appropriate to the party for resolute intervention in matters of tactics and organisation. In this connection, one of the first tasks of organisation is to prepare and intensify propaganda. The apparatus must be so well in hand that the whole propaganda shall work like a unified instrument. This is where, in my opinion, many of the critics of the March rising go astray. It is an error to say that the action of the U.C.P. of Germany was misdirected, since it was not supported by the masses of the proletariat, and because the party has for this reason been isolated of late. For, first of all, the statement does not apply to all parts of Germany; and, secondly, if this were so, it would not be a decisive objection. The possibility must be foreseen that when the moment for advance comes, the action of the party may remain misunderstood, and that defeat will therefore be inevitable. But such a defeat may subsequently lead to a strengthening of the party, should there ensue upon defeat those economic consequences (reductions in wages and increase in the hours of labour in Central Germany) which the party had endeavoured to avert by its offensive.

To conceive that as a preliminary to action the entire proletariat must be prepared by propaganda, is opportunist utopianism. Only by the lessons of repeated offensives (some of which will fail) can the workers as a whole be brought to understand their situation and to adopt the methods which their situation demands.

The main weakness in the March rising (I am talking not of "ideas" but of actions) lay in the failure of the revolutionary vanguard to act rapidly and vigorously enough. For the most part, the call to arms came "unexpectedly." I do not mean that it was not the logical outcome of the situation. But the propaganda apparatus was not properly designed and trained for the transmission of such orders. The watchwords of the Executive seemed to be foreign bodies in the party press. In their leading articles, their commentaries upon daily events, etc., the party papers continued to sound the old note. Doubtless there was a great deal of sabotage on the part of the editors. But there can be no question that it would be wrong to refer all the local failures to such sabotage. On the other hand, in so far as any widespread sabotage of the Executive's orders was possible, we must infer that the propaganda apparatus of the party worked automatically, that in matters of organisation it was not controlled by the Executive. The central organ of the party was hardly less backward than the provincial organs, and this shows that there must have been a radical defect in the psychological principle of organisation.

The essential thing, therefore, is, not merely to create an iron revolutionary discipline, but at the same time to produce in the general structure of the Party the psychological and organisatory pre-requisites for such discipline. Upon the degree to which this can be achieved will depend whether the U.C.P. of Germany will prove to have been strengthened or weakened by the March rising. If the party is able to grasp the idea of revolutionary organisation in all its bearings, and to deduce all its consequences, a victorious issue from the crisis will have been achieved. Otherwise, "the idea of the offensive" will remain a mere proposal, and a renewed attempt at realisation will only involve more aggravated crises.

Every Communist Party possesses, from its very nature, a higher form of organisation than any opportunist or centrist party. Since, however, this new type of organisation cannot be brought into existence merely by taking over the old apparatus and transforming it in conformity with the new aims, since the old organisation must be to a great extent destroyed and since the rank and file must be incited to revolt against the old party discipline, it inevitably follows that every Communist Party must pass through grave crises in the struggle for a new and higher type of organisation. The 21 points of the Second Congress have caused a number of such crises. *A genuine renewal of health in the party can only result if the conditions of adhesion are not merely accepted, but are put into effective operation. It is equally important that the 21 points should not only be recognised as demands of the International and "conscientiously" carried out, but that the whole psychological bearing of the points should be grasped—at least by the revolutionary vanguard.* In the U.C.P. of Germany, the process has begun. The

one thing now needful is that there should be no stagnation, that the process should be carried through to an end.

The fundamental distinction between the Menshevik and the Bolshevik forms of organisation was already manifest at the time of the original schism in the Russian Party. It is to be found in the claims that can be made upon the members of a Bolshevik party. At that early date, Lenin coined the notion of the "professional revolutionist," and his ideas were completely misunderstood by the non-Russian public. Without any want of respect for Rosa Luxemburg's memory, we are entitled to maintain that her opposition to Lenin in the year 1904 arose from a misunderstanding of his proposals. Even she, at that time, was thinking only of the old party structure. She regarded that structure (correctly, so far as Central and Western Europe were concerned) as tending to counteract revolution; and she appealed to the spontaneity of the masses as the motive force of the revolution. From this standpoint, she opposed Lenin's demand for centralisation; but she overlooked the cardinal point of the new type of organisation—the enlarged demands made upon the individual party member.

It is no chance matter that the opportunists, including of late Paul Levi, have continually appealed to the lowest instincts and the greatest weaknesses of proletarians. Since every tie to earth still has much power over the workers' minds, this, contend the opportunists, is a reason for passivity, for the condemnation of revolutionary activity. True, as Lenin phrases it, we have to make the revolution with the human material at our disposal. But the vital problem here is, what persons are admitted to the revolutionary vanguard; and above all, what work and what sacrifices are demanded from the comrades entitled to regard themselves as the vanguard? Gorter and those of his way of thinking are right in this matter, in the view they take of the ethical demands implicit in the Bolshevik conception of organisation. But they have hastened to corrupt their sound insight by an unduly mechanical logical consistency, and by a still more mechanical application of their ideas. To expect that such a nucleus of stalwarts shall come into existence, shall gradually extend its ranks by the force of example, and shall thus (as Gorter assures us) educate to revolution the proletariat which is not revolutionary to-day—is quite as utopist as the opportunist belief in the "mass parties" which in like manner are by degrees to extend until they comprise the whole proletariat or at least organise the majority of the workers, and thus bring about the revolution. For though the development of the Communist Party and that of the proletarian revolution determine one another mutually, nevertheless their growth is not a unified process and does not even display complete parallelism.

The separation of these two lines of development is of immense practical importance because opportunism, which, in any given set of circumstances is always able to rationalise itself by thinking out an appropriate "theory of evolution," constructs for itself here an organisatory line of defence. Taking its tactical start upon the ground that the intensifying economic crisis will "naturally and inevitably" revolutionise the whole of the proletariat (a theory

which the Communist Parties require to use for propagandist purposes merely, until the time comes for them to take charge of the spontaneous revolutionary movement), opportunism takes its organisatory start upon the ground that the origin and growth of the Communist Party is merely a sanction of the revolutionary situation of the respective countries. This organisatory opportunism is far more dangerous than tactical theoretical discussion of the relationships between organisation and revolutionary activity. Inasmuch as the importance of this relationship has not as yet penetrated the minds of the masses, opportunism in point of organisation is rarely recognised, and still more rarely exposed.

Opportunist concealment of the matter at issue, which co-operates tactically with the problem of the Putsch [ineffective rising], brings to the front in point of organisation a false dilemma of mass party versus sect. Organisatory opportunism makes, in this connection, a very adroit use of the ideas of Gorter and his adherents—ideas that are one-sided, anti-realist, and unhistorical. The problem is distorted in such a way as to give the impression that the only choice open is between an organisation of the Communist Labour Party type and an organisation of the party of Socialist Intellectuals type. No doubt such an antithesis would be sound if in actual fact there must either be an organisation of intellectually convinced and resolute Communists completely detached from the unthinking masses, or else a "revolutionary evolution" of the masses towards Communism. It is, however, obvious that neither historical reality nor the dialectical method knows anything of such an alternative. The realisation of the "realm of freedom," the historically decisive influence of the resolute vanguard, consisting of those who clearly understand the historic process and are ready to participate in it, takes place within historical reality in continuous dialectical interaction with the objective economic crisis and with the masses that are revolutionised by that crisis. In my previous article I discussed the tactical significance of these considerations. As far as organisation is concerned, it follows that the elaboration of the conscious revolutionary nucleus—of the genuine band of leaders—out of the mass of the proletariat is a process which (while, indeed, it takes place in continuous interaction with the subjective and objective revolutionary element of the working class) is, in its essential nature, the deliberate and free act of the vanguard itself.

The organisatory principle of those parties which have come to understand their aims with continually increasing clearness since the foundation of the Russian Bolshevik Party must, therefore, be directed towards the psychological and organisatory consolidation of this conscious nucleus. In Russia, the vanguard was able to work its way to complete clarity and consciousness during the interval between the two revolutions. In Hungary, only the collapse of the Soviet Dictatorship created the psychological and organisatory conditions essential to such a party. As far as Germany is concerned (and presumably like conditions obtain in most countries of Western Europe), the problem is that large masses of the workers are already so strongly permeated with the spirit of the revolution that, as a point of organisation, they adhere to the Communist

International even before the vanguard itself has acquired sufficient clarity as to these essential pre-requisites. The problem, therefore, is not the static, unhistoric and undialectical problem—mass party versus sect. It is the dynamic problem, arising out of the revolutionary process and leading back to that process again—how is the revolutionary mass party to be transformed into a genuinely Communist Party?

Once more, it would be opportunism to separate this organisatory problem from the tactical problem, and to postpone a policy of action until the completion of the work of organisation. On the other hand, to construct the organisation solely with an eye to the revolutionary offensive, would be no more than a new form of Putschism; it would be a false separation of tactics and organisation. In this matter, likewise, tactics and organisation are inseparable. It is essential that every member of the U.C.P. of Germany should acquire an intimate realisation of the momentous importance of revolutionary centralisation; that each individual comrade, being resolutely prepared for the decisive struggle and willing to stake his life upon it, should clearly understand how much depends upon the solution of this problem; that *organisation must no longer be treated as a technical question* (this was the attitude towards organisation in the old party), *but as the supreme psychological problem of the revolution*. The debates ensuing upon the March rising show that the process has already begun. The way in which individual districts have treated every breach of discipline, the way in which, with true instinct, they have punished such breaches of discipline more severely in party officials and in comrades in a position of trust, than in simple party members, etc., are indications of a growing insight in this direction. But the matter of chief importance is, that the matter should not remain at the stage of "resolutions," but that there should be henceforward a progressive development of revolutionary discipline.

Above all, the Executive must act with deliberate initiative. It must create the apparatus which shall render revolutionary discipline possible; and must ensure that the theoretical consideration of the problem shall receive unceasing attention, and that the masses shall become aware of its enormous significance. *However important the initiative rôle of the Executive, it is impossible that the centralisation of a revolutionary party should be effected by bureaucratic methods*. Doubtless the centralised organisation of a party is an indispensable pre-condition to the revolutionary discipline of its members. But conversely, *a clear understanding of the issues on the part of all the members is indispensable before any such centralisation can be carried out*. Thus the problem of organisation proves to be a psychological problem. The hindrances to be overcome are *psychological in character*. They consist of vestiges of capitalist ideology in the Communist's own thoughts and feelings; of bureaucratic routinism; and of individualism, with its claims to "liberty," and its contempt for detail work. Throughout the party there now prevails a general understanding of the great dangers attaching to the libertairian ideology of individualism. Many still fail to recognise that a tendency to shirk the detail work of organisation is the expression of a still more dangerous individualism, of an

individualism which is even harder to eradicate. In this respect, above all, it is urgently necessary that we should undertake a psychological and practical examination of the problem of organisation.

Not until the question is thus stated can we realise that the same psychological problem underlies revolutionary leadership and the centralisation of organisation. The problem is, how we are consciously to intervene in the world crisis, to intervene in historical evolution, so as to favour the inauguration of the "realm of freedom," to favour the process of historic determinism. Objectively regarded, the situation is ripe for revolution. The decisive obstacles to the victory of the revolution are ideological in character. The vanguard, by its revolutionary initiative, must eradicate Menshevism, the petty-bourgeois spirit, from the minds of the workers. Not merely does it behove the Communist Party organisation, centralised for revolutionary ends, to facilitate this offensive. In addition, the vanguard, the shock troop, must purge itself of the leas of capitalist ideology, thereby fitting itself for its historic mission.

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BEGIN ON THIS JOB TO-DAY

Earth Bound

By LYDIA SHIEL

WITHIN my hand lies a pinch of brown dust a breath could scatter, which, given the rightful conditions of soil and space in my garden, will in due time rise as flowers that flaunt their coloured beauty in the summer sun. A germ of Life is in every seed, every seed is an object of wonder for it is the treasury, the store of Life, which every coming spring will spread before us like a glorious and holy carpet.

As men personify their machines, instruments, ships, engines, etc., so they personify God and powers, it belittles and brings them nearer to ourselves and understanding, thus Nature and Mother-earth become humanised and dearer to our hearts.

The phrase Mother-earth catches the fancy and the imperial passage of her seasonal pageant charms the eye. Deep down in the damp darkness design and beauty, colour and perfume lie in her fecund womb, till in the fulness of time comes the quickening and bringing forth to the light of day. From the first murmuring stir of spring, through the full-throated shout of summer, to the harmony of autumn and the silence of winter is heard the Song of Life. Mother of all, none born of her can live without her, she produces all and sustains all, her reproductive powers are the source of all wealth.

When at birth the gift of life is placed in our hands, the power to labour and sustain it is ours also; but the means are withheld from us by those who own the land, and now, the greater part of humanity have lost their birthright—the right to live by access to the land, because no man can find raw material, either stick or stone that is not claimed, nor the wherewithal to cover his body, nor food to sustain life. He can raise no shelter, raise no food for himself by the works of his hands, he has no material upon which to apply his labour power; therefore he must sell the one thing he has—his power to work—and must accept the terms offered or cease to live, because they, the land and property owners, have the power to make the terms upon which he must consent to work—or die

The earth—that which *all* must use to live, a *few* now own, and to own land is not only to own the means of life, but to lay claim to the living creatures in brake and covert, the fish in the rivers, the substances and natural supplies beneath the surface and all the gathered labour of the generations of men who, through long ages evolved the city from the cave.

In days long past our forefathers toiled with rude implements and little skill. To preserve life they killed wild beasts; their work cleared forests, drained marshes, and made roads. They lived their day and passed, but the results of their labour became the inheritance of following generations, who, in turn, did their part adding their share to the treasury of toil.

These passing generations supplied all the needs of their time and the surplus of their labours made great accumulations of wealth possible, which were claimed and held by those who owned the land. By the power this wealth made possible, they became owners of more than land. When in much later times the discovery of coal, and the invention of steam-engines brought machinery to the aid of labour, these became the property of the owners of land and wealth, and the individual workers and craftsmen were displaced and swept into the factories built by the machine owners, where they could still labour, receiving as their share from what they produced, the lowest amount upon which they would consent to work and live.

The discovery of coal—locked up in the land—liberated by labour, nature's gift for the good of all, forged the strong fetters which the workers wear to-day, where landless, coal-less, and workless, they wait the will of their masters—the owners of land and capital—the accumulated results of labour.

Slowly this cruel capitalism has crept on and overtaken us; all unseen it has sapped the dignity of labour, lowered the uprightness of man, gathering strength from the very labour it feeds on, and growing with the increase of numbers. It is the cause of the deep disease which marks the rich and strikes down the poor, fermenting the inevitable labour problems and class struggle of this our present day. The dominant note in the discord is capital. The division of classes is based upon the amount of money earned, social distinctions are mainly gradations of spending power, and to make money or increase capital is the madness that goads on the entire capitalistic system of society.

Social systems—the particular form of any particular state or system of Society follows from its particular form of property holding, and economic conditions arise from the terms on which labour is applied and hired, together with the consequent division of the wealth labour produces. These social and economic *conditions* are not "laws" based upon "divine decree," but are changeable and the direct outcome of human arrangement. Herein lies the hope, as men have made them, men can remake them. We cannot change the past, but our direction of the present having added experience and knowledge *can* cause desirable changes in the future readjustments: and there is here a clear call to all who labour in the various fields of public helpfulness. Let all such withhold their energy in striving for mere reforms, and work to remove the need for such reforms. The task is tremendous, but it is within our power, and if all the well-meant scattered efforts now being poured out in the pitiful patching up were drawn together and directed in a united effort at securing the source of wealth for the good of all; a grand sweeping outline would be drawn of a new order of society into which all human effort could be fitted in truer relationship and proportion. A re-adjustment of the social system directed by a unifying idea, would be a society adjusted to the essential and inseparable relations of life and land, and machinery, restoring the unrestricted use of land to labour, and the unfettered control of tools, a society freed of

dividing lines by recognition of the rightful use of Labour as the real social measure and as the only test of citizenship, a society adapted to growing needs, by the understanding of the invariableness of the law of cause and effect, and a utilisation of its working from within—outwards, a society dethroning the old Gods of appeal, bowing to the Necessity that encompasses all.

Society as the third combination of the cell into organs, organisms, organisations—is an organisation which, harbouring corruption, as history proves must cleanse itself or decay. Capitalism is corrupt, because it depraves one part of society and deprives the remainder. The mass of mankind is caught in its chains and live and die in the fight to earn a livelihood under the unequal conditions capitalism imposes. As the cause of the strain within our present-day society, it is not obscure, and when not clearly seen it is keenly felt in the struggle to live, and a smouldering discontent or a burning resentment marks those on whom it presses most. To allow the cause to continue, is to allow the effects to accumulate with the progress of time. To restore the freedom of the land to the peasant, to restore the great machines to the proletariat, is to restore freedom to live, to release one is to unchain the other—for land and tools and life are inseparable.

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“Communist Review”

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So great was the demand for the August issue that we printed an additional supply. This is the celebrated number that contains the now famous speech by Lenin on the modern tactics of the Russian Communist Party. It also contains a remarkable statement on revolutionary policy prepared by Lenin, Trotsky, Zinoviev, Radek, Bukarin and Kameneff. There is, further, the interesting theses by Zinoviev on the relation of industrial organisations to the political party and a series of half-tone portraits of distinguished leaders in the International Revolutionary Movement. The August issue of the

“Communist Review”

was a special International Congress number. Branches and Agents should note that this particular issue should be placed in the hands of all new members of the Party, and that they ought to stock sufficient copies to last until the fourth International Communist Congress takes place.

Vicious Pacificism

WHEN PHILIP SNOWDEN DEFENDED THE
SHOOTING OF STRIKERS.

[We notice, according to a large advertisement in the "Labour Leader," that a pamphlet written by Mr. Philip Snowden over fourteen years ago is being reprinted. Mr. Snowden wrote many things fourteen years ago and as we desire to emulate the spirit of the advertisement published in the "Labour Leader," we, too, reprint one of his most interesting contributions to a problem which interested the Labour movement in 1907—exactly fourteen years ago. We refer, of course, to the shooting of strikers during the famous Belfast strike. Mr. Snowden used his pen on that occasion to defend the Liberal government and its murderous policy. Despite the fact that he blames the "riot" upon the calling up of the military, he, nevertheless, upholds the murder of the strikers.

We publish the article, word for word, together with the comments of the disgusted editor of the "Sheffield Guardian." We have italicised several passages in order to draw the reader's attention to the peculiar reasoning of Mr. Snowden. We suggest that the "Sheffield Guardian" murder article would make a valuable appendix to Mr. Snowden's other remarkable literary performance—"The Christ that Is To Be."

In fairness to Mr. Snowden we must admit that while he defended Capitalism when it used force to smash the workers, that he repudiates the use of force by the workers to smash Capitalism.—Editor.]

From Labour's Standpoint

By PHILIP SNOWDEN, M.P.

THE BELFAST AFFAIR.

THE recent tragic incidents in connection with the dispute at Belfast have been the cause of some unreasonable talk in certain quarters. I think nobody would charge me with a bias in favour of the capitalists, nor with a strong desire to come to the support of a Liberal Government in a difficulty of its own creation. But there are times when the interests of truth and fair play demand that one should have the courage to dissociate one's self from the sayings or actions of certain members of one's own party.

I am glad to know that it is generally admitted that in the Belfast dispute the leaders of trade unionism have shown a sense of responsibility and a desire to conduct the strike without violence which have been in every way admirable. The suffering attending a labour war is, under any circumstances considerable, and it is the bounden duty of all who have influence to exert it in the direction of discountenancing excess of violence in action or in speech.

INDEFENSIBLE CONDUCT.

A strike is war; and war arouses the worst passions in man. It may be that the strikers had some excuse for the illegal practices in which some of them indulged. I believe it is true that the police acted with quite unjustifiable violence in preventing the pickets from getting near the men at work. All my sympathies were with the men on strike; but I cannot admit that I am called upon to

defend everything that the men did. Nobody can defend the beating of the men at work, nor the wanton destruction of property. Such actions naturally encourage retaliation. Excess on either side must result in excess upon the other.

THE DUTY OF THE CIVIL POWER.

It must be admitted, too, that it is the duty of the civil authorities to protect the lives and property of the non-combatants, and to give protection to both the parties to the dispute so long as they are acting within the law. It is just as much the duty of the police to protect the strikers in picketing as it is to protect the men at work from violence. Admitting that, it follows that the civil authorities must take all the steps which they consider necessary to ensure the public peace.

But it is equally an obligation upon the civil authorities to do nothing which may be an encouragement to violence. The civil authorities at such times have great powers, but their responsibility is equally great. If they abuse their powers they are responsible to the law for the consequences of their actions. *There are certain circumstances in which every sensible person would agree that the employment of the military to quell disorder was not only defensible but necessary.* An infuriated mob engaged in the indiscriminate destruction of life and property ought to be opposed by a force strong enough to overthrow it. This, I think, everybody would admit. Therefore, in any case, in the Belfast case, for instance, the employment of the military must be justified on the circumstances of the case. A body of armed troops can do terribly destructive work. But so can a mob of thirty thousand maddened men armed with paving stones and broken bottles. And just as the firing of the troops may kill the innocent, so the innocent are at the mercy of the unreasoning mob.

THE DIFFICULTY OF THE OUTSIDER.

Those who were not on the spot cannot express any opinion worth giving as to whether the state of affairs justified the Lord Mayor in calling out the military. But it does seem to be the opinion of unprejudiced men on the spot that *the military were called out by the Lord Mayor in obedience to the requests of the terror-stricken shipowners and traders* who anticipated riots, and not because the state of things at the time was so serious as to require the military. The inevitable effect of calling out the military was to precipitate the need for their services. Their presence in the streets incited the passions of that portion of the Belfast population which is almost as much accustomed to rioting as a savage tribe is to constant warfare.

"How oft the sight of means to do ill deeds
Makes ill deeds done."

So it was in this case. One cannot state with certainty, of course, but *it does seem from all the evidence one can get that it was the calling out of the military which incited the mob*, rather than in the first instance their services being necessary to disperse a mob.

A LESSON TO LEARN.

There is one lesson of this tragic affair which the workers should learn. We are hearing from some quarters the usual violent denunciation of the Government and the capitalists as murderers. *Mr. Birrell is being put into the same chamber of horrors as Mr. Asquith, who happened to be Home Secretary at the time of the Featherstone riots. The Labour and Socialist movement has got beyond such wild, irresponsible, and unfounded talk as this. It might have been well to indulge in such extravagances when the movement had to fight to command a public hearing. But now the party is becoming recognised as worthy to be entrusted with the responsibility of administration, and it must show some sense of the fitness of things and some regard to fact and truth.*

WHO IS RESPONSIBLE?

Neither Mr. Birrell nor the Government is responsible for what has happened in Belfast. I totally disagree with Mr. Birrell's political ideas, but any man who charges Mr. Birrell with deliberately permitting the military to be called out to shoot down the workers in the interests of capitalism stamps himself a fool of the most colossal dimensions. There is not a political opponent of Mr. Birrell's who knows him but will say, that he believes Mr. Birrell has worked day and night during this trouble to bring it to a peaceful settlement. This much I will say in justice to Mr. Birrell, even if saying it does involve the loss of material for attacking the Government.

It is as well that the truth should be known. The responsibility for calling out the military rests with the local civil authorities, and with them alone. The War Office cannot refuse the demand from the magistrates for the assistance of the military. A little thought upon this point will show the reasonableness of this uncontrolled power being given to the locality. How can the War Office in London know whether the state of affairs in Belfast was such as to require the military? Nobody but the people on the spot could decide that, and to them by law the power has been given and also the terrible responsibility of taking the consequences if they do not use the power with discretion.

THE CLASS SENTIMENT.

The Lord Mayor and the Magistrates of Belfast alone are responsible for the calling out of the military. These men derive their power from the people, if they are not in sympathy with the people, the people themselves are to blame. The class of men who constitute the local civil authorities are in every district to-day, men who, from their social position and their material interests, are in sympathy with capitalism. The whole atmosphere of national and local authority is anti-working class. This prevailing sentiment affects every official connected with the administration of civil authority down to the police and the jailer. The only way to put an end to the use of the civil authority in the interests of capitalism is for the workers to capture

and control the civil authority. They have the power to do this. If they will not use their power, if they prefer to hand it over to the propertied class, then they have no business to complain if that power be turned against them.

There are other lessons which one might draw from the Belfast strike. The waste and uselessness of the strike as a means of gaining concessions from capitalism is one such lesson. If such huge monopolies as the railway and the shipping companies, which derive their power from concession granted by Parliament, will not give fair conditions of employment, then Parliament should insist upon fair conditions in return for the privileges granted.

One other lesson is this. Under no circumstances should the military be armed with modern rifles and ball cartridge when quelling a mob riot. *Such is not necessary to achieve the desired result.* Disciplined troops ought to be able to disperse a crowd without killing.

I have already acknowledged the ability and reason with which the Trade Union leaders have dealt with this deplorable dispute. *The Labour Party in Parliament are equally deserving of praise. They have not, as some of their wild supporters in the country urged them to do, indulged in heroics and denunciations in the House of Commons,* but for the last few weeks they have been unceasingly active in the more effective way of trying to bring the dispute to an end by conferences with ministers and others of influence. The fact that within three days after the riot the dispute was settled is in no small measure due to their efforts and to the cordial assistance they received from the Chief Secretary.

[We are rather surprised that Mr. Snowden does not appear to be aware that the Military were used to protect the docks at the very beginning of the strike, so *that peaceful picketing was rendered impossible* so far as the dockers were concerned. The carters came out in sympathy, and it is no wonder that public feeling was aroused when organised Capital took such a high hand with a crowd of under-paid and badly treated workers.—EDITOR.]

Small Shot

(Editor's further note on article).

"Dog should not bite dog," says an old proverb. Mr. Snowden has a right to his own opinion about the Belfast bloodshed, but he should not forget that he is sent to Parliament as a spokesman, not of nice ladies and gentlemen who observe all the amenities of a high civilisation, but of the grimy mob who form the foundation of society, and whose emancipation from poverty and enslavement is the driving force of the Socialist movement.

Clare Sheridan on Russia

[We reprint the following article, from the American "Freeman" written by Mrs. Clare Sheridan on Arthur Ransome's book: "The Russian Crisis."]

Mrs. Sheridan, who is a celebrated sculptor, spent many months in Russia last year. She came in contact with all the leaders of the Communist Party. The story of her impressions of the Soviet Government has been published in her "Russian Portraits."

We ask our readers to contrast the opinions of Russia held by Mrs. Sheridan and to contrast them with the libellous and reactionary rubbish written by Mrs. Philip Snowden, of the I.L.P. The penetration of the former saw a regular spring cleaning in progress, in which the dirt and debris of corners and cupboards had been cleared out and brought to the light. Mrs. Snowden saw the dirt, too, and without trying to comprehend what it meant, rushed home scandalised.]

MR. ARTHUR RANSOME'S new volume is a calm recital of conditions in present-day Russia which might very well have a steadying effect upon those who view the Soviet Government with mingled hatred and terror, if they would only read it—but, of course they won't. The crisis in Russia, as Mr. Ransome sees it, is identical with the crisis in Europe. The economic and industrial break down of the country is but the symptom of a wasting disease that has seized the whole continent. Mr. Ransome vividly describes the collapse in transportation which began before 1914; and by so doing he effectively answers the taunt of those who try to minimise the effect of the blockade when they say: "Russia exported grain to all the world, why not feed herself with it now?"

The main fact (says Mr. Ransome) in the present crisis is that Russia possesses one-fifth of the number of locomotives which in 1914 was just sufficient to maintain her railway system in a state of efficiency which to English observers at that time was a joke. For six years she has been unable to import the necessary machinery for making engines or repairing them. Further, oil and coal have been, until recently, cut off by the civil war. . . . By making it impossible to bring food, fuel and raw material to the factories, the wreck of transport makes it impossible for Russian industry to produce even that modicum which it contributed to the general supply of manufactured goods which the Russian peasant was accustomed to receive in exchange for his production of food. On the whole, the peasant himself eats rather more than he did before the war. But he has no matches, no salt, no clothes, no boots, no tools. . . . Clothes and such things as matches are, however, of less vital importance than tools, the lack of which is steadily reducing Russia's actual power of food-production. Before the war, Russia needed from abroad huge quantities of agricultural implements; not only machines, but simple things like axes, sickles, scythes. In 1915 her own production of these things had fallen to 15.1 per cent. of her already inadequate peace-time output. In 1917 it had fallen to 2.1 per cent. The Soviet Government is making efforts to raise it, and is planning new factories exclusively for the making of these things. . . . Meanwhile, all over

Russia, spades are worn out, men are ploughing with burnt staves instead of with ploughshares, scratching the surface of the ground; and instead of harrowing with a steel-spiked harrow of some weight, are brushing the ground with light constructions of wooden spikes bound together with wattles.

There are the simple facts. The mere record of the onset and progress of this creeping paralysis shows that the industrial breakdown of Russia is due neither to Communism nor to the Soviet Government. In the face of this steady ruin of a great nation, all that European and American civilisation could do was to add the torture of the blockade. Small wonder, then, that to Mr. Ransome (who, it may be noted, is not a Communist) the urgent, crucial necessity of the time is that the politicians and militarists who now rule in Europe shall take their hands off Russia and leave the cure of this terrible sickness to those who have the courage and energy to grapple with it. Russian *émigrés* in London, Paris and Washington can not help the Russian people. For good or ill the organisers of Russia are in the Kremlin to-day; if they are driven out, black chaos will enter in.

What the old world—strange, is it not, that this term has now come to include America?—finds most unforgivable in Communist Russia is its arrogance; the arrogance of youth. A few years ago Russia was “a giant with feet of clay,” “a bear that walked like a man,” “the gendarme of Europe,” “the steam-roller,” something huge, and ancient, and only remotely menacing. To-day Russia, youthful, rebellious, and headstrong, is regarded by the rest of the world with terror and dismay. This proud young experimentalist, smashing all conventions, wrecking all traditions, throwing out to the four winds of heaven the secret and hitherto sacred, archives of the diplomats—this untameable creature horrifies an old-fashioned world. So an old-fashioned world applies an old-fashioned, and always ineffective, remedy. The offender, says the old-fashioned world, must be punished. But Russia knows that she has to hold out but a little longer, for the old world is dying of decay, as all old things die. When one has been close to the revolution, as Mr. Ransome has, one knows that nothing so strong and so youthful as Russia is to-day can be destroyed by cabled lies from Helsingfors or by editorial ravings in London, Paris and New York. Just as in Ireland they can kill the Sinn Féiner, but not Sinn Féin; so in Russia, blockade and intervention can kill the Bolshevik, but not his faith!

As an illustration of the tremendous hopes that nerve these people in their almost impossible task, Mr. Ransome records a conversation he had with Rykov, the President of the Supreme Council of Public Economy.

We may have to wait a long time (said Rykov) before the inevitable arrives and there is a Supreme Economic Council dealing with Europe as a single economic whole. . . . In so far as is possible, we shall have to make ourselves self-supporting, so as somehow or other to get along even if the blockade, formal or perhaps willy-nilly (imposed by the inability of the West to supply us), compels us to postpone co-operation with the rest of Europe. Every day of such postponement is one in which the resources of

Europe are not being used in the most efficient manner to supply the needs not only of our own country but of all. . . . Diamonds and gold, they can have as much as they want of such rubbish; . . . diamonds and gold ornaments, the jewellery of the Tsars, we are ready to give to any king in Europe who fancies them, if he can give us some less ornamental but more useful locomotives instead. . . . Platinum is different, and we are in no hurry to part with it. . . . In platinum we have a world-monopoly, and can consequently afford to wait.

One seems to hear in those last few words a hint for the blockaders. Some day, perhaps, they may find the tables turned, and Russia become the blockader, exacting privileges and concessions by virtue of its monopoly in this essential metal.

Mr. Ransome pleads for consideration of the ultimate consequences of the conflict. He warns us that if the struggle continues, if angry and ignorant men persist in seeking the overthrow of the Soviet Government, the complete collapse of European and American civilisation may result.

Collapse of the present Government (says Mr. Ransome) would mean at best a reproduction of the circumstances of 1917, with the difference that no intervention from without would be necessary to stimulate indiscriminate slaughter within. I say "at best," because I think it more likely that collapse would be followed by a period of actual chaos. Any Government that followed the Communists would be faced by the same economic problem, and would have to choose between imposing measures very like those of the Communists and allowing Russia to subside into a new area for colonisation. . . . Those who look with equanimity even on this prospect forget that the creation in Europe of a new area for colonisation, a knocking out of one of the sovereign nations, will create a vacuum, and that the effort to fill this vacuum will set at loggerheads nations at present friendly, and so produce a struggle which may well do for Western Europe what Western Europe will have done for Russia.

Those who profess concern and sympathy for the fate of the Russian people would do well to ponder the warning words set down by this proved and far-seeing observer in his latest interpretation of the Russian scene.

THE editor of the COMMUNIST REVIEW has had some artistic advertisement cards made which draw attention to the REVIEW. These are particularly suitable for branch rooms, workmen's clubs, factories, meetings, literature depots, etc. Anyone who wishes one of these cards should send their name and address to

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Women's Work in Germany

By BERTHA BRAUNTHAL

THE National Womens' Secretariat of the United Communist Party of Germany submitted a detailed report to the Second International Womens' Conference, held recently at Moscow, from which we are pleased to learn that the Communist Womens' movement in Germany has made tremendous strides since the Unity Congress of December, 1920. Between 10 per cent and 20 per cent i.e. about 50,000 members of the party, are women. They are not satisfied, as is the case in the Menshevik parties, to allow the feminine members to simply pay their dues and vote for the social-democrats at the elections. The Communist women, in joining the party, or in coming over from the Independent Party, have assumed the difficult task of assisting, as active fellow-combatants at the side of their male comrades, in accomplishing the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship.

To this end, an extensive educative and propaganda campaign was commenced by the National Women's Secretariat. On the basis of the guiding principles formulated by the Communist International for work among the women, it was resolved to institute women's agitation committees in every district and locality and this resolution was carried out in important politically well organised districts, such as Berlin-Brandenburg, Middle Germany, Rhineland-Westphalia and Saxony. The women leaders of the district and local women's agitation Committees were represented with a seat and vote in district and local management councils. These women's agitation committees were supplied with abundant material for propaganda among the women, by the publication of a great number of elementary and instructive pamphlets. Clara Zetkin's two famous speeches, on the Women's part in the class struggle, which were delivered at the Unity Congress, have been issued in pamphlet form. The following list of titles of small booklets which have been widely distributed are as follows: "What we have to say to the Women"; "The Women and the Communist Party"; "The Women's Part in the Reconstruction and Defence of Soviet Russia"; "Mother and Child in Germany and Soviet Russia"; "The Woman Worker in Soviet Russia"; "The Women and the Election to the Prussian Landtag." Widespread distribution of leaflets has been supplemented by an even more widespread organisation of lectures about children's misery, the housing problem, and the International Women's Day. The very diligent educative work thus carried on was supplemented by the organisation of special courses for women, and for the further theoretical education of women officials by the holding of regular conferences for them, as well as of district women's conferences on organisation and political problems. The fortnightly periodical

The Woman Communist and the "Woman's Page" in the large provincial weeklies of the Party are doing excellent propaganda work for the attainment of the active co-operation of the proletarian women. It must be said to the honour of the German Party that it is following in the footsteps of the Russian Party in this respect. Not only does the Central Council of the Communist Party of Germany lend every assistance to the furtherance of the work among the women, but the advice and the aid of the National Women's Secretariat is being called in much more frequently than before, and the establishment of special district women's secretariats is being accomplished on every hand. So far, however, owing to the lack of diligent and capable women secretaries, it has been possible to establish only six such district women's secretariats in the most important industrial centres, which have become the spiritual and organisational centres of various political districts and have proved very valuable.

In conclusion we desire to mention the increasing interest of the German women Communists in international problems. On May 7th last, a Women's National Conference was held at Berlin, at which delegates from every part of the country appeared. The agenda of the International Women's Conference was discussed, and hearty sisterly greetings were sent to the Conference. The proposals of this National Women's Conference formed the subject of discussion at the Second International Women's Conference, and we trust that these will aid in the establishment of relations with the women Communists of all countries, and will give an impetus to the world revolution through the co-operation of the proletarian women of the world.

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France and Germany

The Need for Unity of Action

By PAUL FROLICH

THE problem of reparations is dominating European politics. Even though the capitalists of the Entente and Germany have now come to terms, it is none the less clear to every foresighted person, that there will be a big clash of opposing interests the moment this treaty is seriously put into operation—new sharp conflicts are bound to arise, firstly, because it is simply impossible to carry out the treaty, secondly, because any attempt to do so is bound to produce a violent class struggle in Germany.

This situation demands from the Communist International, and especially from both Communist Parties which are most immediately concerned—the French and the German—an identical Policy. It is fully in keeping with the general spirit of the Second International that the parties who form part of it may tear each other to pieces over this problem, for they are only destined to be pawns in the hands of their masters, the bourgeoisie. It is also natural for the supporters of the Second-and-a-Half International to seek a solution which, they hope, may bring about harmony between the bourgeoisie of the countries concerned, and between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. This corresponds to the fusion tactics which they honour with the name of the class struggle, and which can only lead to the victory of the bourgeoisie over the proletariat in all these countries. The Communist Parties have taken up the struggle against the restoration of the capitalist order by inaugurating a single harmonious policy guided only by the interests of the workers.

We are of the opinion that up to now it was impossible that there could be any question of any such single policy.

Tendencies were manifested in the German Party which were influenced by the pacifist ideas of the Independent Socialist Party, but they could not find expression outside the walls of the meeting room of the group in the Reichstag. On the other hand we witnessed prominent leaders of our French comrades expressing themselves in parliament on this question, in a spirit which was not Communist. We do not by any means ignore the position of the Communist Party in France. Public opinion, even in the labour masses, is against it. However, in our opinion, the only right policy of the Communists is to combat these prejudices among the workers, by means of a clear, definite attitude, and in this way to reveal the counter-revolutionary intentions of the bourgeoisie. Our view is that if the bourgeoisie attempts to restore the territories which were destroyed by the war, they can only do so at the expense of the proletariat. It is in the interests of the bourgeoisie to divide the proletariat by representing its own interests as those of the nation, and by hypocritically representing restoration as a moral problem of punishing the perpetrators of the war. We Communists must insist that the restoration of the disorganised economic conditions can only be achieved by the victorious proletariat—if we hold on to that faith a single policy will evolve of itself. The peculiar conditions in separate countries can then be taken into

account when we frame our tactics without thereby destroying the unity of the policy.

However, the Party has other tasks to fulfil. It is quite natural that conflicts between the German and the French bourgeoisie appear at the present time far more dangerous to the German than to the French proletariat. This is due to the fact that the French proletariat can easily be swayed by the illusion that its bourgeoisie represents its interest, whereas it becomes more and more clear to the German proletariat that it will have to submit to the double yoke of home and foreign capitalists. It is for this reason, and also owing to the revolutionary development in Germany, and the greater weakness of the German Government, that the German working class reacts to the conflicts within the camp of the international bourgeoisie, much quicker and much more energetically than the French. The success of such struggles on the part of the German proletariat will naturally be more decisive and greater if the Communist Party of France lends its assistance to such struggles. Our French comrades will always have an opportunity of lending us this assistance if they make use of all the means that the conditions in their country permit them, against their own bourgeoisie and their own government. It is mainly in France and Germany that we must attempt to bring about a co-ordination of our plan of campaign.

We must strive to bring about such co-ordination in our policies, also for the future when no immediate conflicts threaten.

We refer especially to the military occupation of German territory by Entente troops. It was proved very clearly during the March rising that the mailed fist which is menacing the German Government will strike down upon the German proletariat if it attempts to rebel against its own bourgeoisie. We have had personal experience with the regular troops that occupied Russian and Finnish territory during the war, which has convinced us that such troops, although for the greater part proletarians, can become quite efficient white guard storm troops, who would at a given moment be entirely prepared to play the part of the executioners of their own fellow proletarians in their own or any other country. In those days we could hardly be expected to make much headway against such developments, as the revolutionary party was then still very weak. It is in the future interest of the French proletariat, to exert every effort to prevent, while there is yet time, the organisation of a white praetorian guard on the Rhine. We therefore desire that our French comrades should carry on systematic propaganda among the soldiers of the armies of occupation, in co-operation with us. Only such co-operation between our parties can bear the desired fruit.

In conclusion, we consider it necessary for the proper co-ordination of practical revolutionary action to arrange an exchange of propagandists between both parties. This will assure a regular exchange of experiences, a clear insight into the conditions and revolutionary possibilities in both countries, and stimulate the progress of our mutual revolutionary labours. The German delegation will welcome a discussion of these questions, which will no doubt interest other parties as well, and the practical details of such co-operation would then follow as a matter of course.

Trade in Soviet Russia

The Reason Why the Tax in Kind was Introduced

By PROFESSOR E. VARGA

A FOREIGNER in Soviet Russia at present will no doubt remark at the lively trade being carried on in Moscow and other Russian cities. This appears to be in contradiction with the economic system of Communism. We must point out first of all, however, that the period of the dictatorship of the proletariat is not the era of Communism. In this period of transition, therefore, trade within certain limits is justifiable.

But it is a fact that a year ago, for example, trade activity in Russia was much slighter than it is to-day. This is a consequence of the change in the economic policy of Soviet Russia, which was initiated by the abolition of the government monopoly of all agricultural products and the levy of a tax in kind. The basic idea of the monopoly system was that the agricultural population was obliged to surrender to the State its entire surplus of foodstuffs, after deducting the portion required for the feeding of the members of the family, and for carrying on the establishment, in return for which the proletarian State was to place at the disposal of the peasants all the products of industry they required. Under that system there could be no legal trade, as all the surplus food, according to the law, belonged to the State. Under the system of the present tax in kind, on the contrary, the peasant can freely dispose of all his products, after he has paid his tax in kind. The peasant is thus enabled to exchange the surplus of his products for articles of the non-nationalised small industry.

It will of course, occur to everybody to ask the question: Why did not Soviet Russia take this course from the very beginning, why was the system of State monopoly introduced at all? The answer to this question is very simple: as long as Russia was obliged to carry on war, the government was compelled to lay claim to everything the population possessed, in order to be able to feed the army and the indigent population of the cities. The State monopoly of all the products of peasant agriculture was, therefore, a necessity of war that became untenable as soon as the war ceased.

It was untenable for various reasons. First, because it was possible while the war lasted and the defence of Soviet Russia against its external foes was being conducted, to make the hundred million peasants understand why they had to surrender their surplus to the State. And the peasants for the greater part yielded to this necessity voluntarily, because the struggle against the foreign enemy meant not only the protection of the Soviet power, of the proletarian dictatorship, but at the same time the protection of the property of the soil gained by the peasants during and by the revolution.

The peasants knew full well that if either Denikin, Wrangel or Koltchak succeeded in overthrowing the power of the Soviet government, it would signify the return of the great landowners and the reversion to the latter of the land taken by the peasants. Because they were aware of this fact, the peasants were prepared to accept the system of State monopoly. The same trend of thought kept millions of peasants in the Red Army as fighters for the proletarian power, which they otherwise did not entirely favour, made the system of State monopoly for them, if not entirely agreeable, at any rate tolerable.

On the cessation of the defensive war, this system had to be given up. It had all the more to be abandoned, as the injurious economic consequences of the system were undeniable. For it was a contradiction, that on one hand the peasant was the de facto private owner of his land and his other means of production, and on the other hand, under the system of monopoly, was only permitted to keep a part of the proceeds of his labour, whether great or small, for the sustenance of his family. There was consequently no stimulus for the peasant private owner to produce very much. That was the reason why the cultivated area since 1916 constantly diminished (the grain monopoly was already then introduced by the Tsaristic government). This diminution of the cultivated area, the noticeable tendency on every hand of a return to the antiquated form of self-sufficing home production, could only be prevented by abolishing the monopoly and enabling the peasant private owner to increase his income by more intensive labour. Such is the economic significance of this transition.

Naturally the aim of the proletarian government is to confine trade within certain limits. This is accomplished in two ways: first, by the monopoly of the means of transport; and secondly, by lending every support to co-operative societies, which appear to be the proper bodies to place all the surplus products of the peasants. This eliminates the middleman who cannot intervene between the peasants and the industrial population in exchanging their products. The introduction of the tax in kind, in connection with the permission of local trade, is therefore no retrogression, as the Mensheviks of all countries declare but simply the abolition of war measures, which have become untenable due to the return of peace.

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Report of Red Trade Union Congress

By J. T. MURPHY

I.

Examination of Past Tactics

THE first Congress of the Red Trade Union International is ended. The delegates have left the Mecca of the proletarian revolutionists to carry out decisions of a far reaching character, after completing a very important stage in the development of the international working class movement.

When the Provisional Council of the Red Trade Union International was formed in 1920 it had three important tasks to accomplish. First: it had to open the fight against the Amsterdam International, which had become the rallying ground of the remnants of the Second International. Second: it had to rally the whole of the revolutionary industrial movement and give a new gravitation centre for trade unionism. Third: it had to provide a new policy for the union movement of the world.

That it has successfully carried out the first task the labour and capitalist press of the last twelve months can testify. In every country where the union movement exists, the message of the Red Trade Union International has been delivered until the issue, "Moscow or Amsterdam," has become the order of the day. The first Congress has witnessed the successful accomplishment of the other tasks I have indicated. Indeed, it has shown that even more has been accomplished. It has also shown how far the undermining of the power of the Amsterdam leaders has gone on in the most important countries where the unions are affiliated to the Amsterdam International, viz., France, Germany, England and Italy. In France we have almost succeeded in wrenching away their leadership of the C.G.T. The German comrades claim that there are 3,000,000 supporters of the Red International in the unions of Germany, although the union movement has not yet been detached from Amsterdam. The British comrades claim a support of 300,000 workers in the union movement of Britain. In Italy the issue is undecided, although there is every reason to believe that when the issue is put to the membership of the Confederation of Labour they will vote in favour of detaching the 2,500,000 workers of the Confederation from Amsterdam and swing them over to Moscow. Steadily the Amsterdam International is breaking at its foundations. Another twelve months' work and the leaders of the Amsterdam International will be looking for a new home if the same rate of progress is maintained.

The second task of rallying the revolutionary industrialists has been successfully carried through. Practically all the revolutionary syndicalists of the world along with the I.W.W. rallied to the Moscow Congress. With the ending of the Congress the third

task has also been completed. The most important decisions of the Congress are as follows:—

1.—This Congress resolves to take all the necessary steps for bringing together, in the most energetic manner, all the Trade Unions into one united fighting organisation with one international centre, the Red Trade Union International.

2.—To establish the closest possible contact with the Third (Communist) International, as the vanguard of the revolutionary labour movement in all parts of the world, on the basis of joint representation at both executive committees, joint conferences, etc.

3.—That the above connection should have an organic and business character, and be expressed in the joint preparation of revolutionary actions and in the concerted manner of their realisation, both on a national and international scale.

4.—That it is imperative for every country to strive to unite the revolutionary Trade Union organisations, and for the establishment of close every-day contact between the Red Trade Unions and the Communist Party, for the carrying out of the decisions of both Congresses.

5.—That revolutionists should not leave the Trade Unions but work within them to revolutionise them in preference to the policy of leaving the unions and attempting to build revolutionary competing organisations.

6.—To encourage organisation by industry as against old-fashioned unionism of organisation by craft.

To have successfully carried through these decisions and to have still retained the good will and membership of the syndicalists is certainly an achievement. They have made important concessions thereby. It is true they have issued a manifesto indicating that they will fight for their point of view in the International, but the struggle between the policy of the Communists and the syndicalists passes into a new and far less dangerous stage. Both have agreed to unite in action. Hence experience and internal discussion in the International will solve the rest.

Having succeeded therefore in rallying what we may term the "left" industrial forces, it follows that the new incoming forces must come from the Amsterdam International, so far as Europe is concerned. The struggle accordingly takes on the character of a struggle against the "right" forces in the union movement. How this fight is to be conducted is of supreme importance, especially in view of the decision of the Executive Committee of the Red Trade Union International to dissolve the Bureaux in the Far East, England and America.

These Bureaux have during the last twelve months been the improvised machinery of propaganda for conducting the fight against Amsterdam and rallying the unions to the Moscow Congress. They have served their purpose very well, focussing the issues in the union movement in a very special manner. This was necessary and urgent, but it had big disadvantages for the Communist Parties, creating overlapping machinery of propaganda

which was conducted mainly by the Communists and to some extent weakening the direct efforts of the Parties.

Whether the new Executive Committee of the R.T.U.I. had these points in mind when it reviewed the position of the Bureaux I do not know. The observations are, I believe, correct, and the decision to dissolve the Bureaux is a fact. The responsibility for the conduct of the agitation is accordingly thrust upon the Party, especially in the countries where there are no unions affiliated to the R.T.U.I. It becomes of importance, therefore, to view the R.T.U.I. Congress in the light of the development of the Communist International.

II.

The Future Policy

MUCH has been made of the fact that the question of international trade union organisation was raised at the Third Congress of the All-Russian Trade Unions during the Kerensky period, and that nothing immediately followed in the way of organisation on account of the blockade, etc. But the Communist International grew in spite of the blockade.

The truth of the matter is that the leaders of the revolutionary movement did not recognise the importance of the unions, and what a conservative force they could be until after the experiences of the German revolutionary period. The idea was uppermost that the world revolution would develop so quickly that the union movement could be left alone until after the revolution. So much was this the case that the first Congress of the Communist International hardly referred to the union movement at all. It was not until the West failed to respond to the revolutionary appeals, and experience had shown what weighty forces were operating in the working class movement against a short revolutionary period, that the magnitude of the task of conquering the unions for Communism began to impress itself upon them.

By the time of the Second Congress of the Communist International in 1920, it had become of great importance. Negotiations had been opened with several trade union leaders and conversations carried on with the "left" industrialists who had arrived in Moscow in response to the call of the Communist International. The E.C. had sent out the call to revolutionary industrial organisations as well as revolutionary political parties. The Congress thrashed out a policy for the parties in relation to the unions, but as yet were quite unclear as to whether the unions which rallied to the call, which had been sent out, should become a section of the Communist International or be the basis for a new industrial international. I well remember the controversy led by Radek and Zinovieff last year. Radek was against accepting industrial organisations into the C.I. and Zinovieff in favour. But neither was clear as to the future of the industrial organisations in relation to the C.I. or in the C.I. Even after the Provisional International Council had been established after the Second Congress, the situation was not clear. A struggle was proceeding between those who visualised the Communist International as inclusive of all

revolutionary working class organisations, and those who thought in terms of an international party of struggle independent of, but connected with the other working class organisations, such as trade unions, co-operatives, etc. As a matter of fact, both conceptions are correct and the real question is one of precedence. History has already answered. The practical task of rallying the revolutionary industrialists and of overcoming the neutralism of the unions as to politics, pushed the Provisional Council more and more into the position of an independent organisation, and the idea of the trade unions becoming a section of the Communist International receded. By this process, however, the Trade Unions have come nearer to the Communist International than ever before. How near the decisions of the Red Trade Union Congress make manifest. Meanwhile, other important developments were taking place, which it is necessary to indicate in order to measure the full significance of the R.T.U.I. decisions.

The Communist International at its inception was composed of a number of small parties, one of which was leading the proletarian revolution. This latter was rapidly becoming a large party. It had been forced out of its position as a mere agitational party to that of a mass party of struggle, controlling and directing the work of other organisations than itself. The impetus given to the revolutionary movement of the world was enormous. Other large mass parties were affected and the process of transforming them by splits and other means was begun.

The Second Congress, however, was engaged principally in a struggle with the "left," shaking up sectarianism and demanding of all sections that they pass out of the agitational stage as quickly as possible and become organs of revolutionary struggle. The following twelve months witnessed the influx of large parties and a great fight of the E.C. of the Communist International with all its sections in its effort to make the new International into a party of international insurrection. So intense became the fight along these lines that the Third Congress was called much earlier than was generally expected. The revolution demanded and compelled the Communist International, led by the Russian Communist Party, to face the realities of the revolutionary struggle. The problems of the International were not problems of abstract Marxism, but problems of "applied Marxism." The International had to do things, and to do them it needed the masses. The masses came and the test which had to be applied to them, and which will have to be rigorously applied to them in the future, is not the test of belief in ultimate Communism in some distant future, but the test of *action*, leading towards the dictatorship of the proletariat. Thus, the practical requirements of revolution struck blows left and right. At the left, for the retention of sectarianism, which prevented the masses from rallying to the party; at the right, for its avoidance of struggle and drift towards reformism. Almost all the time of the Third Congress was taken up with this work, criticising the actions of the sections, perfecting the International as an organ of struggle.

III.

The Role of the Mass Party

IMMEDIATELY this transition of the International from a collection of small groups to a large international party waging a terrific fight, leading the world proletariat through the succeeding stages of the world revolution, is realised, every decision becomes of the utmost importance. The more the International develops along these lines the more important becomes the task of winning the support and leadership of the unions and other working class organisations, especially in those countries where capitalism is highly developed. To win through to the leadership of the labour organisations the sections or parties of the international must win the masses and recruit its best elements into its ranks. This in turn involves each party in becoming a party of the masses as a means of becoming a mass party capable of the manifold tasks thrust upon it in the struggle with capitalism. I mean by a party of the masses, a party which actually interprets the needs of the masses in the daily struggle, that knows how to make the fullest possible use of every incident of conflict, to show to the workers what they must do *now* and relates revolutionary principles to the immediate needs of to-day as well as to-morrow. The mass party does not necessarily do that, but the mass parties of the Communist International must do that and more. They must be organised in a way which will bring every member of the party into action, testing leaders and rank and file alike by what they do to forward the working class towards the conquest of power. To carry out its work it must have numbers sufficient to function as a vanguard. But numerical strength is not the fundamental test. It is of relative importance. If the party becomes a party of the masses it will win numbers. If it is a party of action it will clean the party of "undesirables." Good leadership, a rank and file of action, and a party organisation which by its activity brings its best revolutionists into the leading positions and pushes out all sleeping passengers, are the demands of the Third Congress.

Intermediary organisations between the masses and the party have obviously disadvantages as well as advantages. They demand a great deal of extra work on the part of the members of the party and do not always ensure that the party shall receive the full return for the labour expended. The passing of the Bureaux of the Red Trade Union International is the passing of an intermediary organisation between the party and the unions. It is significant that this decision coincides with the party developments I have indicated. It thrusts back upon the party the task of waging the fight in the unions for the conquest of the "right."

The significance of the Congress proceedings as a whole can be summed up briefly as follows:—

The establishment of the R.T.U.I. as an independent organisation made clear the line of development of the mass organisations of the workers as they move towards the Communist International and rally to it as the leader of the proletarian revolution. It marks an important stage in the passing of sectionalism and sharp antagonism among the revolutionary forces by the drawing closer

to the Communist International of the syndicalists and "left" revolutionary industrialists. It has prevented the setting up of an oppositional revolutionary industrial international and transformed the struggle with the "left" to an internal discussion, but agreed upon unity and discipline in action. It has established a new centre of gravitation for the union movement of the world and sharpened the conflict between the revolutionary workers and the Amsterdam International of reaction. Having drawn the "left" forces closer to the Communist International than ever before, it demands of the Communists and the parties, greater direct efforts in the conquest of the unions for Communism. Hence, whilst serving as a rallying centre for the broad revolutionary masses, it assists the process of perfecting the Communist International as the the vanguard organisation of the proletarian struggle.

Thus the revolutionary army of the working class grows and grows, creates and perfects its organisations in the furnace of conflict, and marches on to the conquest of capitalism.

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Aggressive Tactics

Transition from Defence to Attack

By BUCHARIN

THE course of the world revolution, a formidable historic upheaval of which men have never seen the like, shows us a mixture of various elements, of phases of development, ways, tactics, methods, struggles and forces. It is obvious that at different moments in this process and in different phases of its development, the proletariat is faced with different problems, and particularly, different tactical problems. This is not a specific character of the proletarian revolution. We could have seen the same thing happen when the capitalist régime replaced Feudalism. The French Revolution, which, for Europe, traced a path of capitalist development, itself passed through very different phases whose, world, historical, and social signification (that is to say, class signification) was nevertheless one. This Revolution began, if we may speak in such cases of "beginning and end," in 1789, and ended, say, in 1815, with the Napoleonic Wars and the Fall of the Empire. In a quarter of a century, the Revolution passed through many phases marked by the different tactics used by the bourgeoisie against the old landlords.

The bourgeoisie began by *insurrection* against Feudalism, then it set up its *Dictatorship* against the nobility. It pitilessly cut off heads and used all means to suppress counter-revolutionary plots and revolts. There followed a period of bitter resistance to external reaction, the struggle against the Holy Alliance of kings, who were most displeased by robbing lords and beheading monarchs. As always happens during a civil war, production within the country was ruined; poverty was everywhere; the finances were in a desperate condition; speculation flourished in spite of all repression, and the blockade and class war with the reactionary states made things worse.

The energy of the mass of the bourgeoisie won through. Having strengthened its organisation and created an army which fought to the sound of the revolutionary Marseillaise, the bourgeoisie passed from the defensive to the offensive. A new period opened, that of the revolutionary wars, which, in fact, abolished serfdom in Europe. Everyone knows, of course, that a change of power had taken place in the interval. The Jacobean small bourgeoisie had been supplanted by the great bourgeoisie first, and then by Napoleon's military bourgeoisie dictatorship. But everyone knows, too, that by comparison with the European monarchs, Napoleon was a revolutionary power. Heine knew exactly the historical importance and the value to freedom of the Napoleonic wars; they undermined the old régime in Europe. If we compare them with Socialism and the proletariat, they are no doubt counter-revolutionary. But there was then no question of Socialism; the only question was the victory of Capital over European serfdom. Pacifists and social patriots of the character

of Jaurès are ignorant enough to deplore the passage from defensive to offensive, and see in it the loss of the idea of the great Revolution. Marxists should understand the childishness of this point of view. The protecting envelope of feudal serfdom in Europe was diseased enough at that time, but it was only broken by the bayonets of the revolutionary armies. Force here played the part of the chrysalis in the birth of Capitalist society, and the passing of the bourgeoisie as a state power from the defensive to the offensive merely showed the growth of the revolutionary forces.

That was the situation over a century ago.

We ask: Can such a situation be reproduced by a proletarian dictatorship?

Some are troubled by this "treacherous" question: is it not a bourgeois tactic? How could the proletariat behave like the bourgeoisie?

This argument is clearly worthless. I would say more: it is fundamentally opportunist and (I beg the pacifists' pardon) thoroughly silly. Arguments at one time were used against the proletariat's revolutionary tactics on these lines: "Insurrection? Good God! The bourgeoisie used that. Barricades? Heaven save us! That is a bourgeois method. The proletariat is the majority and has no need of such cruel means. Dictatorship? Terror? Still bourgeois!" So conciliators of all kinds spoke, speak and will speak.

What matters to the revolutionary workers is not the form but the class nature of things. It is obvious that between the aggrandisements of the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, there is the same difference as between the classes themselves, as between Capitalism and Communism. A man who cannot see that is incurable and hump-backs are only cured by death.

Clearly the international bourgeoisie has interest in limiting the dictatorship of the proletariat territorially. It wisely argues: "If, unfortunately, the workers have taken power in one country, they must stop there and be bottled and corked."

This bourgeois argument is quite comprehensible, but if an alleged Socialist declared himself in principle an adversary of proletarian expansion, it is clear that he is no working class revolutionary, but only a petit-bourgeois.

Arguments of the kind, "The bayonet is an indecent arm for such delicate causes as the great Socialist idea," are as absurd as they are mild. They are the catchwords of the Liberals. Is not insurrection a bayonet? Is not revolution a bayonet? Is not civil war always a bayonet? Delicate Communism is only useful for drawing-rooms and taking tea. It has no value in the struggle for life, in the battle where men fight and die for a cause. Such is life, rough and cruel, but real, the realisation of great ideas, and not merely platonic aspiration.

It is written in the Communist Manifesto that the proletarians will conquer the whole world—how? By revolution. Therefore, by the bayonet. If in any country the proletariat takes power and is strong enough to attack the bourgeois states that means that the power of the force of the revolution is great, that its power to organise is vast, and that it has a good chance of victory.

Here arise new arguments against the employment by the victorious party of the world proletariat of such tactics. One cannot allow intervention. A Soviet power artificially instituted and not automatically arising is no good; it would be a foreign institution, imported Communism and so on.

Let us ask then: Why does the bourgeoisie of one country intervene in another and profit by it? Would you find a Pole bourgeois foolish enough to protest against French or English intervention? Would you find a Hungarian bourgeois similarly protesting? No. They are business men; they are not as simple as that. The Polish bourgeoisie to defeat automatically its revolutionaries, cannot rely only on its own forces or it would die. Instead, it receives men, officers, generals, tanks, instructors and gas, and resists the proletarian armies with the aid of this intervention.

The bourgeoisie is intelligent: some social pacifists are not.

That is the misfortune; that is why a profound error has some credit still in working class circles. This error must be put right. Social pacifist ideology is really a revival of extinct bourgeois liberal ideology; it must be destroyed because the workers cannot conquer under its influence. If the modern bourgeoisie can help itself without shame, why should the international proletariat forbid fraternal intervention for the sake of its own success? In such and such a case, no doubt, the intervention may be regarded as premature or the force as inadequate, but there can be no objection on principle.

On the other hand, as soon as the intervention has happened and external Sovietisation has commenced, the Communist Parties support it with all their power. Any other attitude would be treason. Would it not be, in fact, treason for a Communist Party not to support an insurrection against Capital? The question of a Red intervention is exactly the same. The intervention should be supported by all means.

The over-estimation of national feeling in the working class is like the opportunist cry of "Premature insurrections." There are certainly such things, but even so, the parties must let their position be known by struggling against the current and not following middle class jingoism and shop-keepers' politics.

We have put the question in a more or less abstract manner, but it is clear that these questions are passing from theory into practice. We are crossing the boundary between proletarian defence and proletarian attack against the citadels of Capitalism. If not to-day, at least to-morrow, the question must be faced squarely. We have said a thousand times that only a world revolution can win. Every possible means of hastening the fall of Capitalism in other countries is thus for us a necessity. The masses, tired of the struggle, will suffer a thousand times more if the revolutionary process drags on. We are only saving our energies, if we have the power (as we do not always) to drive into the worm-eaten edifice of the bourgeois system, the steel point of the armed proletarian dictatorship.



Manifesto of the Executive Committee of the Communist International to the Proletariat of all Countries

The E.C. of the Comintern has issued the following appeal :

THE Third Congress of the Communist International has ended : the great review of the Communist proletariat of all countries has come to an end. It has shown that during the course of the last year Communism in many countries, where it is yet only starting, has become very powerful, capable of setting the masses into motion, and threatening Capital.

The Communist International which, on the day of its inauguration, did not represent anything very important outside Russia, save some small groups, and at its Second Congress still sought means whereby to create great mass parties, now disposes of not only in Russia, but also in Germany, Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, Italy, France, in Norway, Yougo-Slavia, Bulgaria, parties rallying in huge masses to their standards.

The Third Congress asks the Communists of all countries to persevere courageously on the road undertaken, and to put everything to work to rally millions and millions of new adherents to the Communist International. For the power of Capital can only be broken if the *Communist Idea* is translated by the irresistible push of the great majority of the proletariat, conducted by the Communist parties, who should constitute the "Iron Battalions" of the proletarian class.

Go to the Masses

GO to the masses ! " That is the battle-cry that the Third Congress sends out to the Communists of all countries ! Prepare for great struggles !

These masses are coming towards us, they are ever drawing nearer ; for world capitalism proves to them more clearly every day that it can only continue to upset the world more and more, and by augmenting day by day the chaos, misery and slavery of the masses. Confronted by the world economic crisis that has thrown

millions of workers on to the streets, the Social Democrats, lackeys of Capital and the bourgeoisie, who for years have turned to the workers saying: "Work, work," are obliged to keep quiet. For before calling upon the working class to work, they must be called upon to fight. And the call to work can only follow when Capitalism will have been destroyed, and the proletariat will have acquired the means of production.

Capitalism and Imperialism

THE capitalist world finds itself on the brink of new wars. The Japanese-American and Anglo-American conflicts, the quarrels of the Near and Far East, compel the capitalists to finance armaments. They are anxiously wondering: "Should Europe enter a new world war?"

It is not that they are afraid of having a few million men killed, for, even after the war, they allowed, with perfect sangfroid, millions of human beings to die through fasting, as a result of their blockade of Russia.

What they fear is that a new war might finally throw the masses into the arms of the world revolution, that it would lead to the definite uprising of the world proletariat! They are, therefore, trying to create a delay, as they did before the war, by diplomatic means. But when there is a relaxation on the one side it only creates a tension on the other, the negotiations of England and America on the limitation of armaments of the two countries automatically creates a front against Japan. The Anglo-French agreement delivers Germany to France and Turkey to England.

The efforts that world capitalism is making to restore some sort of order out of the universal chaos, far from bringing peace to the nations, only augments their enslavement, and subject the conquered peoples to the victorious bourgeoisies. The world capitalist press speaks at present of a relaxation, because the bourgeois of Germany has submitted to the Allied conditions, and because, in order to retain its power, it has delivered the German people over to the hyenas of the Paris and London Bourses.

But at the same time this Press, which is in the hands of finance, announces the economic ruin of Germany, and speaks of formidable taxes that are going to fall in the autumn like hail, on the masses condemned to unemployment. This will considerably increase the price of every mouthful and every article of clothing.

The Failure of the Capitalist Regime

THE Communist International, which in its policy is founded on a calm and objective examination of the world situation—for it is only in dominating the field of action with clearness, and in clearly taking into account the situation, that the proletariat will be able to conquer—the Communist International says to the proletariat of all countries:

"Capitalism has up to now shown itself incapable of assuring to the world even the relative order that it enjoyed before the war. For what it is doing to-day cannot lead to any consolida-

tion, or to any new order, but can only prolong your sufferings and the process of decomposition of Capitalism. *The World Revolution Marches*. Everywhere world capital trembles on its foundations. The second appeal that the world congress of the Third International sends out to the workers of the world is as follows: We are approaching great new struggles, prepare yourselves for new fights."

PREPARE THE UNITED FRONT OF THE WORLD PROLETARIAT!

The bourgeoisie is incapable of assuring the workers employment and bread, lodging and clothes, but it shows marked proficiency in the organisation of war against the proletariat.

Since the first moment it began to flounder, since it began to be inspired with fear of the workers returning from the war. Since it has resolved to prolong, after the war, the alliance with the traitors of the proletariat—i.e., the Social Democrats and Trade Union bureaucrats—the bourgeoisie has concentrated all its powers on organising white-guards against the workers, and disarming the masses. The world bourgeoisie is still at this moment armed to the teeth, and ready, not only to suppress by arms, any proletarian uprising, but also, if necessary, to provoke risings so as to wipe out the proletariat before it has succeeded in forming a general and invincible front.

To this strategy of the bourgeoisie the Comintern should oppose its own. If the Capitalist classes can send armed bandits against the organised proletariat, the Communist International has a weapon that will not fail: that is, the industrially organised proletarian masses; the firm and united front of the proletariat.

When the millions and millions of workers go forth to battle with closed ranks, then the bourgeoisie will be at the end of its resources, and its forces will serve it no longer. The trains carrying the White Guards directed against the proletariat will stop running. The White Guards will be paralysed with fear. The proletariat will tear from them their arms, to use against other White Guard units.

If the proletariat establishes a united front against Capital and the bourgeoisie, this will make the enemy—who will have lost the first condition of success—understand the belief in victory that only the betrayal of Social-Democracy, and the division of the working masses could still give it. Victory over world capital can only be realised by conquering the hearts of the majority of members of the working class.

Against the Social Democrats and T.U. Democracy

THE Third Congress of the Communist International asks the Communist Parties of all countries, and the Communists within all Trade Unions, to direct all their efforts to the liberation of the working masses from the influence of the Social-Democratic parties, and the T.U. Bureaucracy.

And this can only be done if the Communists of all countries, in these times of hardship, where each day brings new privations to the working masses, prove that they are the advance-guard of the working class, that they support it in all its distress, and can lead it to battle and free it from the burdens which Capital piles higher and higher on its shoulders.

It must be proved to the working masses that the Communists alone work for the amelioration of their lot, and that reactionary Social-Democracy and T.U. bureaucracy are ready to let them die of hunger rather than fight for them.

There is no longer any question of fighting the traitors of the proletariat, and the bourgeois agents on the theoretical field, by arguments on democracy and dictatorship, they must be beaten on questions of bread, wages, unemployment, and housing.

Moscow against Amsterdam

AND the first and most important field of battle on which to fight is that of the T.U. movement; before all must the fight of the Red Trade Union International be waged against that of Amsterdam.

Before everything else, it is a question of capturing the champions of the enemy in our own camp. *Purify your organisations of centrist currents, develop the fighting spirit!*

It is only by fighting for the most elementary and immediate needs of the working masses that we will be able to form a unity of front of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, and be able to put an end to the scattering of the proletariat, which alone assures the bourgeoisie the possibility of continuing to rule! But this proletarian front will only be animated by the joy of combat when maintained by Communist parties, whose spirit is uniform and strong, and where the discipline is of iron.

That is why the Third Congress of the Communist International, at the same time as it issues the appeal to Communists of all countries calls to them:—

"Go to the masses"; "Make a united front!" "Clear from your ranks all those elements who are capable of enfeebling the morale and discipline of the shock troops of the world proletariat and the Communist Parties!"

The Congress of the Communist International confirms the exclusion of the Italian Socialist Party until such time as it will have broken with the capitalist reformists, and will have excluded them from its ranks! This decision confirms the conviction of the Congress that if the Comintern wishes to lead millions and millions of workers to battle, it cannot have in its ranks reformists whose aim is not the victorious revolution of the proletariat, but the rehabilitation of capitalism through reform. Armies that tolerate at their head leaders who think of reconciliation with the enemy will be delivered and sold to the enemy by these chiefs.

We Lack Revolutionary Spirit

THE attention of the Communist International has been drawn to the fact that in a series of parties, although they have excluded the reformists from their ranks, there are still currents which prove that they have not yet completely dominated the reformist spirit, and although they may not envisage reconciliation with the enemy, their propaganda for preparing for the fight is not energetic enough.

They do not work in a way sufficiently decided to revolutionise the masses

These parties are not capable in their daily work of giving the revolutionary call that animates the masses; they are not capable of daily fortifying, by their passion and vigour, the fighting spirit of the masses.

These parties think they are not obliged to make use of favourable situations for combat, they let themselves be immersed in the ebb and flow of larger currents. This was notably the case at the time of the occupation of the factories in Italy, and the December strikes in Czecho-Slovakia.

The Communist Parties should develop the fighting spirit from within. They should educate themselves to be the General Staff capable of immediately seizing favourable situations for struggle, and when spontaneous movements among the proletariat occur, to give them the maximum of impetus by a clear and courageous directorship.

Be the advance-guard of the working masses that are moving, be their heart and their spirit, that is the cry that the Third World Congress of the Communist International sends out to the Communist Parties.

And to be the advance-guard means to march at the head of the masses, as their most courageous and far-seeing party.

It is only when the Parties will constitute such an advance-guard that they will be able to form not only unity on the proletarian front, but in leading them to the fight, to vanquish the enemy.

To the strategy of capital oppose the strategy of the proletariat, prepare for your struggles.

The enemy is strong, for it has for centuries exercised power, and that has made it conscious of its strength, and the will to conserve it. The enemy is strong, for it has learnt during hundreds of years how to divide the proletarian masses, how to subject and master them.

The enemy knows how to be victorious in a civil war, and that is why the Third World Congress of the Communist International draws the attention of all Communist Parties to the danger there is in the inequality of competence in matters of strategy between the ruling and possessing classes, and the working class fighting to acquire power.

The March events in Germany have shown the great danger that exists when the front ranks of the working class, the Communist advance-guard of the proletariat, are forced to fight before the great masses are ready to throw themselves into the fray. The Communist International has welcomed with joy the fact that hundreds of thousands of workers throughout the whole of Germany should have come to the aid of the threatened workers of Central Germany.

It is in this spirit of solidarity, when the workers of a whole country, or even of the whole world, rise to aid a threatened proletarian party that the Communist International recognises an augury of victory.

It has approved of the German Communist Party's being at the head of the working masses when it came out to defend their threatened brothers. But at the same time the Communist International thinks it is its duty to say openly to the workers of the world:

In a case where the advance-guard is obliged to accept battle, and when this combat can contribute to hastening the mobilisation of the whole working class, the advance-guard must not forget that alone and isolated it cannot deliver any decisive assault; that forced to fight on its own, it should, as much as possible, avoid armed conflict with the enemy, for the victory of the proletariat over the armed White Guards can only be brought by the whole mass of the proletariat.

If this mass in its majority does not march, the advance-guard, in so far as it is the unarmed minority, should not attack the armed enemy.

Thanks to the March risings, the Communist International has learnt one more thing, to which it draws the attention of the workers of all countries: the entire working masses must be prepared for the future combats by a daily propaganda that is incessant, always more intense, and yet more extended. And they must be made to enter the battle with rallying cries susceptible of being understood by the proletarians.

Proletarian Strategy

TO the strategy of the enemy must be opposed the intelligent and reflected strategy of the proletariat. The combative ardour of the advance-guard alone does not suffice, nor does their courage and decision. The struggle should be prepared and organised in a fashion that will draw in and mobilise the largest masses, making them understand that they are marching for their own most vital interests.

The more critical the situation of the world capital becomes, the more it will try to prevent the coming victory of the Communist International, by beating its advance-guards, and isolating them from the masses. There must be opposed to this plan, to this danger, a propaganda that sets going the whole masses. An energetic work of organisation of the Communist Parties, that

assures their influence on the great masses, and renders them capable of judging the situation with sang-froid; and refusing to fight where the enemy forces are superior, and giving battle when the enemy is divided and the mass united.

The Third Congress of the Communist International knows very well that it is only in fighting that the working class will form Communist Parties capable of attacking the enemy with the rapidity of lightning, where an opportunity is perceptible, and avoiding struggle in the contrary case. That is why it is the duty of the world proletariat to learn to profit from all the lessons and great sacrifices that the working class of a country has undergone, and to use these to carry them on to the international field.

Prepare for Great Fights

PRESERVE *well your fighting discipline!* The working class and Communist Parties of all countries have not a calm period for propaganda and organisation before them. Behold the coming great assaults that capital must hurl against the proletariat to crush it, or to try and make it support all the gloomy results of its imperialist policy.

In this fight the Communists should develop the strictest discipline. The executive committees of their parties should take into consideration all the lessons learnt during the recent struggles, and dominate every field of battle. They should combine the utmost spirit and verve with the utmost reflection. They should, under the observation and criticism of the comrades of the Party, form a plan of action reflected on by the whole Party.

And all the organisations of the Party, the press and the parliamentary groups should, without stumbling, follow the direction of the Party, and inspire each other by their words, their spirit, and their conduct.

To Work!

THE review of the Communist advance-guard is ended! It has proved that Communism is a world force. It has proved that it must once more form and educate great proletarian armies. It has shown that great victorious struggles are reserved to these armies which have announced one wish—to gain victory in their conflicts. It has shown to the world proletariat how they should prepare and achieve victory.

It now rests with the Communist Parties of all countries to enlighten their members on the decisions of the Congress, born from the experiences of the world proletariat, so that all the Communist working men and women can lead hundreds of non-communist proletarians into the coming battles.

LONG LIVE THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL!

LONG LIVE THE WORLD REVOLUTION!

TO WORK FOR THE PREPARATION AND ORGANISATION OF OUR VICTORY!

The Executive Committee of the Communist International for:—

Germany: Heckert and Frochlich.
 France: Souvarine.
 Czecho-Slovakia: Burian and Kreibich.
 Italy: Terracini and Gennari.
 Russia: Zinovieff, Bucharin, Radek, Lenin and Trotsky.
 Ukraine: Chumski.
 Poland: Glinski.
 Bulgaria: Popov.
 Yougo-Slovia: Marcovicz.
 Norway: Schefflo.
 England: Bell.
 America: Baldwin.
 Spain: Merino Garcia.
 Finland: Sirola.
 Holland: Jansen.
 Belgium: Van Overstraeten.
 Sweden: Kilbohm.
 Lettland: Stutschko.
 Switzerland: Arnold.
 Austria: Koritschener.
 Hungary: Bela Kun.
 Young Workers' International: Voungeirtch.

Moscow, 17/7/21.

The Second Congress of the Young Communist International

By MUNZENBERG

COMRADE ZINOVIEV has stated that the Second Congress of the Communist International was in fact its first real congress. This applies with even greater justice to the Second International Congress of the Young Communists International, the official opening of which took place recently in Moscow.

Even if we consider it merely from the numerical and organisational standpoint, the Congress of the Young Communist International appears the first really great and really international World Congress of Youth. All the former international Congresses of Young Socialists, such as those of Stuttgart in 1907, of Copenhagen in 1910, of Berne in 1915, and of Berlin in 1919, were only international conferences as far as their composition was concerned. None of these gatherings numbered more than 20 delegates from relatively few countries. But the recent Congress of Young Communists was attended by well over 100 delegates. At the ordinary Congresses of Young Socialists the delegates generally came from eight or ten European countries, but at our Congress delegates arrived from the Young Communist organisations of Mexico,

Northern America, Scandinavia, all the Balkan States, Italy and Portugal, from the Far East, Khiva, Bokhara, Korea, China, and elsewhere. The recent Congress becomes the starting point of a new period of the young proletarian movement even more by reason of the questions of principles and tactics which were discussed, than owing to its unexpectedly large and representative membership. The importance of the first Congress of the Young Communist International which took place in Berlin in November, 1910, lies in the liquidation of the last Social Democratic remnants in the International and the transformation of the latter into a Communist organisation, also in the open and definite conversion to communism and the official affiliation to the Communist International. The great International of Young Communists will have to concern itself first and foremost with the further development of vital questions.

The report of our work was read at the Congress—the Third Congress of the Communist International. The Young Communists took part in the Third Congress, and they took the opportunity of once more expressing their agreement with it and its resolutions. The most important part of the agenda was the second point, which dealt with the relations of the Young Communists' Organisations to the Communist Parties. The new position of Young Communists will be made specially clear in this connection.

From the theses proposed by the Executive Committee of the Young Communist International, it can be seen, that the Young Communists understand very well, that now, at a time of development of strong Communist mass parties, it can no longer be their task as during the war to form independent political parties with correspondent political functions, but that its first and foremost duty consists in collecting the millions of young workers of all countries into Young Communists Organisations, to train and teach them in these organisations and then bring them to the Communist Parties as trained, capable, and tried revolutionaries and Communist fighters. This means of gaining millions of young Communists is above all an economic struggle, which was proposed by the Executive Committee of the Young Communist International, and which will soon become a very prominent part in the work of the Young Communists' Organisations.

The Young Communist International which in the years 1917, 1919 and even 1920 proved by its intensive revolutionary propaganda and far-reaching Communist agitation, by the active co-operation in the construction of Communist Parties, how well it understood the requirements of the moment, and which had the courage to and live up to their convictions, proved the truth of their views at the Second Congress. The Young Communists will attach the foremost importance to become an integral part of the Communist International. They will thereby show their appreciation of the necessity of the strictest centralisation and an iron discipline in the Communist movement. The Young Communists are precisely that part of the revolutionary proletariat which is best hated and most persecuted by the bourgeoisie of all countries. The International White Terror is picking out its victims precisely in the ranks of the Young Communists. In Hungary, Finland,

Latvia, Lithuania, Esthonia, Spain, Italy and Germany thousands of youths were killed and shot, tortured to death, burned and buried alive; at the present time thousands of Young Communists are imprisoned in all the countries. In all the countries, with France at their head, the bourgeoisie is preparing new exceptional laws and campaigns for the persecution of the young revolutionary communists.

The composition, the course and the result of the Second Congress of the Young Communist International will once more prove to the bourgeoisie that no persecutions, no barbarian penalties, no white terror will prevent the revolutionary youth from doing their duty as young communists, as successors of the imperialist war and the first proletarian revolution of Russia. Young Communists are fully conscious of the task which history has imposed on them, which was scientifically expounded by Marx and Engels, the realisation of which was attempted by Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht, and which now the Russian Revolution has started to realise, to emerge from the state of necessity and enter the realm of freedom.

Moscow

ADDRESSING the All-Russian University and College Convention, the People's Commissar of Education, Lunacharsky, emphasized the importance of linking the universities with the masses, thus drawing large human reserves into the scientific field. "The success obtained by the Proletarian University," he said, "spells success for the soviet power, for Communism, for the social revolution." A report by Preobrazhensky shows that the aggregate number of higher schools in Russia at present is nearly 5,000 with 500,000 students.

Switzerland

(HOW SHOULD ONE WORK FOR FAMINE RELIEF?).

THE Central Committee of the Swiss Communist Party has referred to a special committee the carrying out of the work of aid for the stricken regions of Soviet Russia. This committee has immediately undertaken the work and elaborated the following programme:—

In the first place, a collection on a grand scale must be organised. The committee is of the opinion that the purchase of food (conserves, condensed milk, dry vegetables, etc.), can be made in the most reasonable fashion in large quantities.

For that it is necessary that the collected monies be centralised. It is the same with the purchase of medicines and bandages. A collection of clothes and linen will not be made at present.

So as to set the work of collecting going rapidly and efficaciously, the organising committee will send in a few days' time the requisition lists to the leaders of the Swiss Communist Party. The latter will be charged with forming in each locality

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aid committees who will put themselves in communication with the Central organising committee.

The local committees will have to execute the collections in their respective regions, and wherever possible, to organise artistic soirées under the slogan: "Against the Famine in Soviet Russia." Swiss Communist Party (Aid Committee for starving Russia).

L'Avant-Garde.

Italy

COMPROMISE SIGNED BETWEEN SOCIALISTS AND FASCISTI.

THE negotiations leading to an agreement putting to an end the fight between Socialists and Fascisti, begun by M. Bonomi and continued by the President of the Chamber, M. De Nicola, ended Wednesday in a happy conclusion. On Wednesday morning the representatives of the parliamentary group of the Central Committee of the Fascisti, of the executive of the Socialist Party, of the C.G.T., and of the Socialist Parliamentary Group, met at the house of M. De Nicola and signed the agreement which put an end to the state of violence which has caused so much damage to the nation.

The papers rejoice unanimously at this agreement, and hope eagerly that complete pacification of spirit will follow.

Stefani, Rome.

THE TENURE OF THE PACT.

The text of the "Peace Treaty" signed Wednesday between Fascisti and Centrists is composed of eleven articles.

By this pact the five Fascisti and Socialist delegations undertake to set to work immediately in putting a stop to threats and reprisals of all kind; the distinctive signs and marks of one or the other parties should be respected; the two parties undertake to disavow any violation of the clauses of the agreement; the Socialist Party declares itself to be no part of the organisation of the "People's Arditi"; every breach should be referred to the judgment of arbitrators. To this effect, in every province, arbitration Courts have been set up composed of two representatives of the Socialist Party, and two representatives of the Fascisti, presided over by a mutually chosen President with the agreement of the President of the Chamber. The two parties undertake to reintegrate within their capabilities the officials who were rendered homeless by the violence, and to restore their belongings, or any sequestered objects that might eventually have become in the possession of the associations of isolated members of the two parties.

L'Avant-Garde.

Jugo-Slavia

THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT IN JUGO SLAVIA.

JUGO SLAVIA, like all other States newly created after the war, is in complete financial and political dependence on the Entente. It is the most expressive representation of Entente imperialism in the Balkans.

To begin with, the creation of a national State of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, caused great joy among large masses of people. But this joy was but of short duration. Under the pressure of the difficulties of the conditions of living on the one hand, and under the influence of the revolutionary propaganda of the Jugo Slav Communist Party on the other, the proletarian masses, in the towns and in the villages, soon commenced to understand that the creation of a National State at the time of the absolute reign of capitalist-imperialist finance, has not essentially changed the situation of the workers and poor peasants. Having waged the so-called war for safeguarding its political and economic independence from the invasion of the Central Powers, particularly from Austria-Hungary, in reality, to-day when the war has finished, Serbia finds herself with regard to Entente imperialism, in a form of political and economic slavery worse than under that of the Central Powers, though she is counted as one of the conquering countries. And it is precisely in that that are demonstrated all the changes, all the "gains" that the war of the "conquerors" has brought to Serbia, and to the other provinces comprising Jugo Slavia.

The policy of a militarist strengthening of Jugo Slavia has above all been favoured by France. For, in order to realise its counter-revolutionary ends the greatest State in the Balkans should at any price be made militarily strong. And thus it is that to-day Jugo Slavia has, in addition to 60,000 Gendarmes, a permanent army of more than 150,000 soldiers.

The Communist Party of Jugo Slavia is the logical sequel to the old Serbian Socialist Party whose revolutionary attitude, before and during the war, was well known throughout the International. All the revolutionary elements of the other provinces are grouped around it, and they have the honour of being among the founders of the Third International. Already, at its first congress held at Belgrade after the war, in April, 1919, the decision unconditionally to adhere to the Third International was carried unanimously. In the concrete questions of daily life, the Jugo Slav Communist Party has, by utilising the process of dislocation of bourgeois society, been able to place under its influence and in the movement the large masses of workers and poor peasants. More than one sharp bloody conflict with the Power of the State is thus foreshadowed; skirmishes have already taken place, above all during the general strikes; last year for example, during the railway strike, and this year that of the miners.

The Scelerate Text

(Sima Markovitch's Exposition.)

ACCORDING to the latest news from Jugo Slavia the new reactionary and counter-reactionary constitution was adopted some days ago by a majority of a few votes. The first law which has been promulgated in virtue of this constitution, is the "Law on the Order and Defence of the State," which is in reality a law against the Communists. Its contents are as follows:

"1. All crimes against the surety of the State and against order as follows:—

- (A) All written or oral propaganda wherever influence is exercised on another person in view of the overthrow by force of the order established by the Constitution.
- (B) All terrorist propaganda or attempts at similar action, and all those who put in peril the order and security of the State.
- (C) All propaganda of anarchist ideas.
- (D) All propaganda of Communist ideas.
- (E) All propaganda for a Soviet or peasant Republic.
- (F) All participation in organisations pursuing the above ends.
- (G) All information hostile to the constitutional organs of the State.
- (H) All anti-militarist propaganda or action that might enfeeble the national defence;
- (I) Relations with foreigners.
- (J) All publication or reproduction of condemned works with a view to agitation.
- (K) All booking of halls for meetings pursuing the same end, when the proprietor has knowledge of the intention, and the meetings are not announced within a convenient time.
- (L) All use of arms against the State organs.

All these crimes are punished with from 2 to 20 years of imprisonment, and from 10 to 10,000 dinars fine, the less grave cases being liable to imprisonment only.

2. All information hostile to the State is to be forbidden and those responsible punished by imprisonment and fines going up to 50,000 dinars, the accomplices by a year's imprisonment and a 3,000 dinar fine.

The carrying of arms, and trade in explosives are forbidden under a penalty of one year's imprisonment, or a fine of 10,000 dinars.

In all national or private enterprises, in all those serving the public needs, such as privileged banks, mines, railways, water, light, etc., strikes are forbidden. In the case of a strike, the leaders to be punished by imprisonment and fines of 50,000 dinars.

Unions going beyond the limits of their statutes or who work secretly for the above ends are dissolved. Dissolution is pronounced

by the local police with the right of appeal before the district tribunal. If the latter accepts the appeal, the police have the right to carry the matter to the tribunal of cassation.

3. In villages where insurrections break out, the Chief of Police has the right to divide up the village into groups of at least ten houses. If the village delivers up the insurgents, this measure is abrogated, if not the expulsion of families and destruction of the village is proceeded with.

4. In the proceeding cases, the civil authorities can demand the co-operation of armed force. The latter has the right to make use of its arms and all means of repression in case of resistance. Expenses are paid by the population that has rendered this use necessary.

All less rigorous powers existing in the legislation in relation to the above crimes are abolished, for example, the law of the Press. Judicial conferences will cease to be published in the official Press and will be posted on the doors of those interested after a delay of three days."

This law needs no comment; it is simply the legislation of the most brutal, and the grossest dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.

Message from Maxim Gorky to the French Workers

BY the inflexible will of history, the Russian workers are undergoing, at the present moment, an experience whose lessons will be extremely fecund for the working class of the whole world.

The famine—the consequence of an unprecedented drought—threatens to interrupt this great experience; the famine risks wiping out the best energies of the country, incarnate in the working class and its men of science; the famine will kill thousands and hundreds of thousands of children.

You, the representatives of the first nation to attempt accomplishing the great work of social justice, you, the descendants of the men of 1848, you will understand the necessity of coming to the aid of the Russian People in these redoubtable days.

Help them!

L'Humanité.

MAXIM GORKI.

Czecho-Slovakia

Communism and Nationalism

By L REVO

THE Communist International founds its principles on the theses that the present crisis of the imperialist world is, in spite of all the vicissitudes of the failure of Capitalism, and in spite of all attempts at the recovery of the bourgeoisie, the last crisis of the Imperialist world. From this crisis the proletarian revolution should rise up fatally, the only force capable of reconstructing what the misdeeds of Capitalism have destroyed. In

this final struggle, the bourgeoisie is massed entirely against the proletarian class, and the bourgeois classes who at one time had been so enamoured of democracy, of the republic, and of political liberty, have for a long time been rallied to the monarchist counter-revolution.

In such a situation, where the proletariat alone represents progress, it would be folly to await from the bourgeoisie the realisation of the old democratic demands. The demands of democracy and of liberty, of the rights of people themselves to dispose of their national autonomy, abandoned by a class whose only concern to-day is White reaction, are taken up by the working class, whose victory will not only consecrate the triumph of Socialism, but also that of liberty. But Communists must take well into account that the demands of liberty and national autonomy can only be realised by the Communist revolution, and with all the other ends of the oppressed masses.

That is why the Communists take great care during the decisive period of the Capitalist failure, not to harass the international class war of the proletariat by nationalist watchwords. They rise up—wherever it may be—everywhere in the capitalist world—against the nationalist demands, not ceasing to proclaim that the international victory of the proletariat over the Bourgeoisie is the only condition of all the social and national aims at liberation.

In Bohemia

ALTHOUGH he understands this attitude of the Communist International in relation to the national problems, André Pierre pretends that the German Communists of Czecho-Slovakia are allying themselves to their pan-German Chauvinists, in order to defend the rights of the Germans of Czecho-Slovakia, to dispose of themselves. Evidently, André Pierre has committed a little error. He confounds the German Communists of Czecho-Slovakia with his friends the Socialists who belong to the "Two-and-a-Half" International. The fierce fight of the German Communists against the Prague Government has nothing in common with the "irridentism" of the German bourgeois parties.

On the other hand, the German Socialists of Czecho-Slovakia rally to their bourgeoisie on every national question, against the Czecho-Slovak Government. The German Communists want to destroy the Czecho-Slovak Capitalist Republic, and replace it by the Czecho-Slovak Soviet Republic. The reformists subjected to the irridentism of their bourgeoisie are trying to realise national liberty by fighting against Czecho-Slovakia, side by side with the exploiters.

In Slovakia

IT is not only the German Communists of Slovakia that André Pierre accuses of being "irridentists" and nationalists. The Slovak Communists also, are qualified by him as such, and he even asserts (as do the Czecho reformists) that Horthy would favour Communist propaganda in Slovakia!

It is sufficient to say that the Czecho-Slovak authorities, upon the action of a Government composed of social-democrats, has expelled into Hungary a considerable number of Slovak Communists, who were received on reaching the frontier, into the open gaols of the bandits of Mons. Horthy. These same "social" and "democratic" authorities, make, on the other hand, the field clear for the monarchist, clerical, and irridentist propaganda of the Hungarian agitator, Illinka.

As to the famous radio of Bela Kun, according to which he was "a nationalist inconsolable with the loss of Slovakia," this radio has for a considerable time been recognised as a forgery of the Czecho-Slovak bourgeois press. Further insistence is superfluous.

Bulgaria

The Bulgarian Communist Party

THE Third Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party took place from the 8th to 10th of May. The B.C.P. had 1,528 organisations with 37,191 members to 31st December, 1920, and 40,000 members on the 1st April, 1921.

The Communist Union of Professional Syndicates included eighteen Professional Unions, and 31,433 members at the end of the year 1920.

The Communist Party has also affiliated to it the following Communist organisations:—

1. The Union of State Employés and Communes, with 2,449 members.
2. The organisation of Communist Teachers, with 2,222 members and 81 groups. It has its organ, *The Star*, which has a weekly circulation of 5,000 copies.
3. The organisation of Communist Women, with 60 groups and a membership of 4,340 on the 1st of April, 1920.
4. The organisation of emigrants has 20 groups and 1,663 members.
5. The organisation of invalids includes 1,174 members.
6. The Union of Prisoners of War has 16,521 members and 619 groups.
7. The Union of Young Communists boasts 179 groups and 6,882 members.
8. The Group of Communist Engineers has 29 members.
9. The Communist Co-operative has 41,967 members and has a capital of 4,039,350 francs.

The headquarters of the Co-operative was set on fire on the 24th May this year by hooligans (fascisti) of the bourgeois parties, helped by the Government. Up to now none of the hooligans have been arrested.

The parliamentary group of the Party numbers 50 deputies, of which nine have been chased by the agrarians for "indiscipline."

The Party administrates 87 Communes, and possesses 1,565 municipal councillors, 510 members of educational committees, and 115 district councillors.

The receipts of the Party H.Q. Treasury were 749,523 francs, and the expenses 710,000 francs. The total general receipts of the Party were 4,147,382 francs, and the expenditure 3,612,828 francs.

The receipts of the Union of Syndicates were 2,679,770 francs, and the expenditure 2,217,394 francs.

The figures for the Union of Employés are 145,073 francs, receipts, and 130,827 expenditure.

The Teachers' Union—236,394 francs receipts, and 168,279 francs expenditure.

Propaganda

Here is the list of Party Organs:—

1. *The Workers' Journal*, daily organ of the B.C.P. (30,000 copies).
2. *The Review, The New Times*, bi-monthly scientific organ of the B.C.P. (6,000 copies).
3. *The Peasants' Journal* (15,000 copies per week).
4. *The Red Laugh*, humorous paper (5,000 copies weekly).
5. *Equality*. For women. (10,000 copies).
6. *Liberation*. For the emigrants from Macedonia, Thrace, and the Dobruja. (3,000 copies).
7. *The Peoples' Army*. (5,000 copies per week), for Turkish workers.

There also exist other smaller journals. From the 1st October, 1918, to the 18th April, 1921, the B.C.P. has edited 98 brochures of which 1,085,856 copies were printed, and 780,111 copies sold. From the 1st June, 1920, to the 1st April, 1921, the Central Committee of the B.C.P. has issued seventeen appeals and circulating leaflets, to the number of 510,000 copies.

The District Committees have sent out 35 appeals and manifestos with 71,000 copies, and the local committees 637 appeals and 560,170 copies.

The B.C.P. has its own agents to the number of 319, who spread Communist literature.

No comrade can edit papers, pamphlets, reviews, etc., without the permission of the Party.

The B.C.P. has still various funds that amount to about a million francs.

At the Congress

At the Congress there were 500 delegates.

The Agenda was as follows:—

1. Report of the Executive Committee.

2. Review of the National and International situation from the political and economic point of view.

3. The Theses of the Third International.

4. The Agrarian Question.

The delegates were unanimous on all questions. The theses were accepted with acclamations.

The B.C.P. is in close relation with the other Balkan Communist Parties.

Hungary

To the Communist Party of Hungary

From the E.C. of the Third International.

Dear Comrades,

THE Executive Committee of the Communist International has occupied itself with the question of the conflict that has arisen in the Communist Party of Hungary. After considering the views of the former leaders of the Hungarian Communist Party and the representatives of all fractions, the Executive Committee has laid down its view in the following theses:

1. The Executive has pleasure in stating that for the past few months the Hungarian working class movement has shown indications of recuperation from the blows which have been dealt it since the fall of the dictatorship. The revival of the working class movement is taking place in a situation of internal struggles in the camp of the counter-revolution, which facilitates the reappearance of the proletariat in the political arena. The situation imposes new and important demands on the Hungarian Communist Party.

2. The external conditions, under which the Communist Party of Hungary have to work, are as follows:

- (a) Its complete illegality under the régime of a White Terror;
- (b) Limited freedom of movement of the Trade Union, which embrace the great masses of workers, even under the Horthy régime.

So far as the work among the masses is concerned, the Trade Unions form the most qualified basis of political and organisational endeavour of the Communist Party of Hungary. The Hungarian Trade Unions, however, must not only bend before the leadership of the Social-Democrats, but also build their own organisations in and alongside the Trade Unions. Every member of the Trade Unions, in paying his dues to the Trade Union, at the same time pays dues to the Social-Democratic Party, and is *ipso facto* a member of that organisation. The Communists must not consider this state of affairs a reason for leaving the Trade Unions. It is of little use to commence a struggle against the Social-Democratic Party, with the Trade Unions as its basis, under the slogan: "Refuse to pay dues to the Social-Democratic Party." This would facilitate the expulsion of the Communists by the Social-Democrats, before the former have made their influence felt. The Communists

have considered the payment of dues to the Social-Democratic Party as a tribute which they pay Horthy for the right of working in the Trade Unions; just as the pledge of loyalty to the king was the tribute which the Social-Democratic representatives (Liebknecht in the Reichstag and the Bolsheviks in the Duma as well) paid in monarchistic countries for the right of acting as representatives of the workers in parliament. The fact that Communists are thus compelled to pay dues, can be discussed only when the struggle against the Social-Democratic Trade Union bureaucracy has developed to a greater extent and at a time when there will be no longer any danger of isolating and expelling a small Communist minority.

Return of Communist emigrants in large numbers to Hungary is impossible at the present moment.

The Communists have not only to fight the Social-Democratic Trade Union bureaucracy in the Trade Unions, and spurn its dictates, but they have also to play the rôle of representing the Social-Democratic Party in the Hungary of Horthy, and at the same time to denounce this party before the masses as the midwife of White Hungary, as well as to unmask its pseudo-opposition. The propaganda for the rupture of Social-Democracy and the revolutionary rôle of the Trade Unions in the struggle against the White régime and for the dictatorship of the proletariat, paves the way for the liberation of the Trade Unions from the influence of the Trade Union bureaucracy. The Trade Unions do not form the only basis for the activity of the Communist Party. The party must embrace those sections of the working class which the Trade Unions do not include—such as the farm proletariat and the small farmers. The organisation of the party should not limit itself only

1. Concentrate the Trade Union nuclei into an industrial power which will be in a position to take up the struggle in the Trade Unions from a political, as well as from an organisational, point of view.

2. Learn to incorporate those working nuclei in the Trade Unions into the system of its illegal local and factory organisations. The illegal organisations must leave nothing undone to utilise every possibility for open propagation of Communism, as well as the organisation of the working class, even though it be not under the Communist banner. The Communist Party of Hungary must make every endeavour to form a centralised illegal organisation, just as the Bolshevik Party of Russia did before the Revolution, and the Spartakus Bund during the war in Germany. That does not prevent most careful consideration of the danger which menaces the organisation from the side of the Horthy Government. But without centralised, illegal organisations, there can be no possibility of the existence of the Hungarian Communist Party being any more than a loose organisation of Communist propaganda circles. The centre of gravity of the work of the Communist Party of Hungary must, of course, fall in Hungary itself. Although the Hungarian emigrants have no extensive revolutionary experience, their work is, nevertheless of great importance. It is the problem of the Hungarian Communist Party to gather its best elements, to organise, to

enlighten, and to discipline them, and to thus form a reservoir of agitational forces for the future Hungarian Communist movement, as well as an organisational basis and an apparatus for the publication of literature.

5. Even though the Hungarian Communist Party must in its agitation from the outset take cognisance of the actual concrete problem and interests of the masses, it must, nevertheless, in its agitation and propaganda, everlastingly point to the glorious past of the Hungarian Soviet Dictatorship, and all its experiences, which must be constantly compared with the experiences of the White Dictatorship. It is the duty of the Party to do this work frankly and under the unfolded banner of the Communist Party. Only in this manner can its concrete actions acquire the confidence and leadership of the fighting masses, without which it cannot play a leading rôle in the future Hungarian revolution. In order to fulfil these political instructions, the Executive appoints a new provisional Central Committee, until the time when a regular Party Conference will be able to elect a Central Committee.

These theses have been accepted by the representatives of both fractions as a binding and guiding policy for the future political and organisational activity. The glorious revolutionary past of the Hungarian proletariat obligates every Hungarian Communist to co-operate in realising from an organisational point of view, the political instructions for completing the preparatory work of the Hungarian Revolution, in order that the foundation for the emancipation of the suffering and struggling Hungarian proletariat, due to the Horthy terror, may be effectively created.

Japan

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Manifesto of the Communist Party of Japan

ASPECTRE is haunting Europe—the spectre of Communism.” So Marx said, and to-day, after a lapse of three-fourths of a century, that same spectre is haunting not only Europe, but the whole world! The old powers of the earth have now come together and have entered into a holy alliance to exorcise this spectre. The League of Nations; the leagues composed of the Denikins, Wrangels, Kerenskies, and the French and English imperialists; the alliances of the Koltchaks, Semeyonoffs, and the Japanese militarists; the one and thousand leagues and alliances tell us that capitalism has entered definitely into the last struggle for its existence.

The Meiji Revolution of 1867 was a victory of the merchant capitalists over the feudal lords, but capitalism was not sufficiently ripe, at that time, in Japan so as to develop a political system proper to itself. The power of the State, therefore, fell into the hands of the lower stratum of the old privileged class, instead of the bourgeoisie. This fact is responsible for the appearance of a highly developed bureaucracy with monarchical despotism, in place of bourgeois republicanism in Japan.

Since then, however, industrial capitalism in Japan has grown rapidly under the paternal protection of bureaucracy. The bureaucrats knew on the other hand that they, themselves, could not exist without the co-operation of the capitalists. The Japanese history of fifty years following the revolution of 1867 is, therefore, a history of the development of capitalism under or within an awkward armour-like garment of bureaucracy.

The Chino-Japan war and the Russo-Japan War were milestones in the history of capitalism in Japan. Japanese capitalism, we should remember, has not only grown with the blood of the people of its own, but has also been fattened by that of the proletariat of neighbouring lands. That is why militarism and imperialism have so strongly and quickly rooted themselves in the sunny isles of the Far East.

The four years of the great European War have given Japanese capitalism the time and material necessary for making its final preparations for its appearance on the international stage.

The development of capitalism in Japan is logically reflected in its political features. When it reached its present maturity the so-called "Heimin Naikaku" (Peoples' Cabinet) the government of a party of landlords and capitalists, called the Seiyukai, has come into supremacy, monopolising the Parliament, all municipal machinery, stock exchanges and banks. The time has at last come when the bourgeoisie of Japan can do without any camouflage, or protection of monarchical bureaucracy. And, with the coming to power of the bourgeoisie, the proletariat of Japan has clearly seen its status in society.

Thus, the advancing of capitalism in Japan, true to its historic mission, has ushered in the proletarian movement. The sudden rise of labour movements in 1918, and after; the countless strikes and similar labour disturbances, the quick awakening of the workers to class consciousness, and the irresistible spread of the doctrine of Socialism over the land, are all the fruits of economic development in Japan.

Such a social phenomenon is not limited within the city districts. The agricultural communities are as much effected. The rapid capitalisation of land, the swallowing up of the small farms by great landlords, has but recently cast sixty per cent. of the entire population of the country into the ranks of the proletariat. It is certain now that the great majority of the rural population will consciously follow the footsteps of the city proletariat in the approaching struggles for emancipation. Indeed, the new class differentiation—the proletariat and the bourgeoisie—in Japan has now definitely and irrevocably been established, and the genuine class-struggle between those two is already afoot. The "rice riots" in the summer of 1918, which spread over the whole length and breadth of the land and held the capitalist government trembling for two weeks, was a flaring up of the revolutionary spirit of the masses, and a clear indication of the ripening of the time for the final struggle in which capitalism must fall.

With the rise of the proletarian class in Japan, Socialism has come forward prominently. For a quarter of a century the Japanese Socialists have been fighting a brave but seemingly hopeless battle against the tremendous forces generating out of the elaborate and gigantic machinery of a police system under a militaristic bureaucracy. But the time has come, at last, when we are justly rewarded for our past sacrifices. We have now a revolutionary proletariat, the spirit of rebellion implanted in the hearts of the masses, and, finally, the Communist Party of Japan, the vanguard of the proletarian revolutionary army!

Thus, as the capitalists in Japan have entered the world arena of international capitalistic exploitation, so the proletariat in Japan have also entered the arena of the world-wide revolution. When the proletariat in Russia felled their oppressors through the memorable November Revolution, the left-wing Socialists in Japan, in defiance of police vigilance and spies, greeted the glorious achievement of the Russian comrades. We said then: "The proletariat must withdraw their bayonets, which have been pointed at each others' breasts, and turn them upon their real enemies."

At that time, we were too weak to enforce what we said, but ever since we have been tenaciously upholding the banner of international solidarity of the proletariat, even amidst the stormy and incessant onslaught of the infuriated capitalist government; and, now, we are able to greet the revolutionary proletariat of all the world in the name of the Communist Party of Japan:

Hail to the Proletarian Revolution!

Long live the Communist International!

Hail to Communism!

E.C. OF C.P. OF JAPAN.

Publications Received

TO BE REVIEWED

The Defence of Terrorism. By L. Trotsky

176 pp. Art Paper Covers. 3/6 nett. Labour Publishing Co.

(We specially recommend everyone of our readers to buy this most valuable book)

The Lesson of Black Friday. By Gerald Gould

39 pp. Paper Covers. 1/- nett. Labour Publishing Co. and Allen & Unwin

A History of Labour. By Gilbert Stone

415 pp. Cloth Covers. 15/- Harrop

The Origin and Evolution of the Human Race. By Albert Churchward

511 pp. Cloth Covers. Profusely Illustrated. 45/- nett. Allen & Unwin

Primitive Society. By Robert Lowie

453 pp. Cloth Covers. 21/- nett. Routledge

The Law of Births and Deaths. By C. E. Pell

192 pp. Cloth Covers. T. Fisher Unwin

The Miners' Conflict with the Mine Owners. By John Thomas, B.A.

70 pp. Paper Covers. 8d. International Bookshops Limited
(A splendid outline of the events leading up to the recent lockout)

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