

# The Communist Review

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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.

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## 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 Dingaan's 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 Dingaan 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, Dingaan's 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 Afrikaners 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 Afrikanders. 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.

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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 Tzars 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 un-influential 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.

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## *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 gaudy 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 unflinchingly 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.

## 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.

## 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.

## 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'Humanité*, 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.

## 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 Sosnowice, 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, Stieklov, 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), Loriot (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.

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## *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

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.*