

The COMMUNIST REVIEW

THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN
16, King Street, Covent Garden, W.C.2

Number 1

Vol. 2

November, 1921

CONTENTS

- | | |
|--|--|
| Review of the Month
The Realism of Revolt
By R. M. Fox | Observation on Scientific Education and the Proletariat
By B. Fogarasi |
| The Soviet Republic in the Capitalist Encirclement
By L. Kameneff | Statement of the Executive Committee of the Communist International on the Washington Conference |
| Women's Movement in Soviet Russia
By Ellen C. Wilkinson | Communist Tactic
By Victor Stern |
| The Solidarity of Anarchism and the Fight against the Left
By D. Ivon Jones | The Rift in the Entente
By J. T. Walton Newbold |
| The Young Proletarian Movement. Its Origin, Character and Aims
By Alexandra Leontieff | Theses on Unemployment
International Review |
-
-

Review of the Month

Hail, Red Russia!

THIS month we celebrate the greatest proletarian achievement of modern times—the Soviet Revolution. Since November, 1918, history has been travelling on the top gear. The true historian never judges history by years, decades, generations, or even centuries. Such a conception of history is mere chronology—a fool's idea of history, as Balzac said. History is no mere record of the passing years. It is, if it is anything, the record of human achievement. History moves more rapidly in great tempestuous and seminal moments than it does during centuries of hum-drum evolution. There are times when society automatically reproduces a given environment and when it seems scarcely to move either one way or another, as though history were simply marking time. Revolutions are the germinal periods of social development. Forces which have been dammed up are then liberated, and in escaping, sweep everything before them. In one intense pulsating day of revolution more decisions, of a far-reaching historical importance, are made and acted upon than in generations of "nominal" times.

Revolutions are the testing times of social theories. Whatever is superficial and wrong is ruthlessly swept away by the relentless surge of history itself. How many of the great theories advanced by the brilliant Encyclopædists and philosophers survived the French Revolution? How many of them had sufficient scientific imagination to project the destruction of the monarchy and the rise of a Republic? Revolutions are great lessons—and warnings. The social student who learns nothing from a revolution is either a fool or a knave. And what, in the domain of social theories, has the Russian Revolution demonstrated? It has shown that the one school whose theories and tactics are sound, tested by history itself, is that based upon Marxism. The revolutionary conceptions and tactics of Marx now stand forth as the greatest contribution to social science in the twentieth century. How pitiable in their puniness seem such idle prattlers as MacDonald and Snowden, who, years ago, set themselves the task of putting Marx in his "proper" place. The first impact of the Soviet Revolution left these gentlemen dazed. A few weeks prior to the terrific struggle of the Russian masses for power, under the leadership of the Communist Party, we find Snowden writing in the *Labour Leader* and referring to the Kornilov reactionaries of the Right and the Bolshevik reactionaries of the Left! So ignorant were the "internationalists" of the I.L.P. regarding the leaders of the Russian revolutionary movement that MacDonald, in a May Day speech at Leicester, denounced Lenin as an Anarchist. Several Russians at the meeting protested at such a statement and one Socialist paper severely criticised him for his malicious stupidity.

Help Russia Now

RED Russia, assailed on every hand, stands with her head bloody but unbowed. Attacked by every imperialist power in the world, assaulted by all the weird mixed elements called the Second International, insulted by the pretentious prancings of the Two-and-a-Half International, the dauntless Soviet Republic staggers along the difficult road of social reconstruction. Never has history witnessed such a superhuman struggle, and time may never see its like again. For, inasmuch as Russia has striven, through errors and defeats, she has made the task easier for those who follow in the track of the world revolution. She has blazed the way for us. She has been a path finder.

We are living too near her, we are a part of her heroic effort, and consequently can neither perceive nor comprehend her titanic efforts and the wondrous deeds she has accomplished in the service of humanity. History proves that none are so blind to the real achievements of a revolution as contemporary observers. They merely see giants struggling in the dark and are ignorant of the value of decisions and the importance of certain policies. They do not realise that revolutions develop logically and inexorably to the rhythm of social forces. Not to-day, but to-morrow will the great glory of Red Russia stand revealed. Historians will tabulate the deeds of Lenin and Trotsky while pathological criminologists will attempt to unravel the perverted mentality of Churchill, Curzon, Briand, Lloyd George, etc.

We must help Russia in her tremendous struggle during the cold, cruel, winter that is now fastening upon her. To the everlasting credit of Britain, the Communist Party has gathered in over two thousand pounds to help the starving Russians. Most of that money has been readily offered by proletarians who were unemployed, and perchance were starving themselves. Much more can be done, much more *must* be done. The great Labour and trade union movement has not realised its responsibilities on this question. Its inactivity is proverbial, but surely the knowledge that Russia is hemmed in by armed States ready to move at the behest of France, that her children in great zones are starving, surely this will move them to do something. The Communist Party is neither a doctrinaire sect nor a partisan band of theoreticians. We are ready and anxious to help in any movement that will succour the children of Russia and that is directed towards striking the arms from the grasp of the imperialist assassin States which now assail Red Russia.

The Two-and-a-half International

MONS. JEAN LONGUET, of the Two-and-a-Half International, during his recent visit to London to persuade people like Arthur Henderson and J. H. Thomas, to join his "all inclusive" group, stated that the Communist International had lost about three-fourths of its members. One of the reasons he put forward to prove this amazingly reckless statement, was that the Italian Socialist Party Congress at Milan, had rejected the Communist International by 60,000 votes to 3,000. (*Daily Herald*, October 19th, 1921). We refer our readers to the very well-informed article on "The Italian Situation," which appears elsewhere in this issue. There the reader will learn that during the last 12 months thousands of the best revolutionary fighters left the old organisation and formed the Communist Party. Longuet, of course, does not mention such an important item as this. The fact that the best mass fighters, in leaving the Italian Socialist Party, incidentally increased the relative power of the reactionaries, like Turati, is something which seems to be quite pleasing to people like Longuet. To him, and his kidney, any move to the Right, away from the revolutionary position is a sign of progress, because it means a move away from the Communist International.

The Second International we can admire for its consistency even in the service of the enemy. It is opposed to revolutionary action and endorses ultra-nationalistic theories, such as the payment of indemnities. Its champions in this country, like Mr. J. H. Thomas and Mr. J. Ramsay MacDonald, have a policy which is inspired by a healthy hatred for the Communists and their theories and tactics. With all their faults the leaders of the Second International serve the master class with a courage and dignity that commands admiration. Between them and the uncompromising Communist International lies the funk hole into which the irresolute and waverers creep. It is called the Two-and-a-Half International. When the Second International captures them, the Wallheads and the Longuets will, no doubt, brazen the matter out by trying to prove to a laughing world that they, in reality,

had converted the Thomases, Hendersons, and MacDonalds to their way of thinking.

Despite their cleverness and heroism in the service of reaction the crimes of the leaders of the Second International reek to heaven. They can only rehabilitate themselves by dropping the Second International and getting inside the Two-and-a-Half brand, which is "all inclusive" and which enables parties to link up "with reservations."

Slowly and surely the true function of the Two-and-a-Half International is unfolding itself. Its organisers, recoiling beneath the relentless criticism of the Communists, have set up their new movement in order to allow the distinguished traitors of the Second International to retreat, before the indignation of the world masses, into a new camp specially prepared for them by Longuet, Adler and Wallhead.

Hunger—The Recruiting Sergeant

ONE of the great blessings of British democracy is that the national army and navy is made up of voluntary recruits—compulsion only being used when the interests of high finance are in danger. It was one of the few merits of the late Lord Roberts that he completely exposed the voluntary character of the British army and navy. In his agitation on behalf of compulsory military service—which he conducted many years prior to 1914 and which was directed against Germany—he proved up to the hilt that the major portion of the British Army was made up from unfortunate workers who were forced into it by sheer starvation. The same policy is in operation now. A few days ago Mr. J. Morral, the chairman of the Barrow Board of Guardians, received the following letter from the local recruiting agent:—

RECRUITING OFFICE,
BARROW-IN-FURNESS.
October 3rd, 1921.

DEAR SIR,—I hope you will forgive me if I am encroaching on your very valuable time, but having noticed the large number of young, smart, unmarried men who have applied to you for relief, I consider it my duty as your army recruiter and a ratepayer to invite your attention to the many valuable advantages which are offered to men by the army to-day, and should you be kind enough to give my letter your kind consideration, I am sure you will agree with me that for young men who are medically fit and up to standard the army is the best place to-day.

I am sure, after a perusal of my letter, you will in future (before granting such men relief) refer them to me, and I will be only too pleased to give them any information they require, and advise them to the best of my ability, not only for their own good; but from what I have witnessed lately I am sure a considerable number of them are fit for the service, and, if enlisted, would lighten the burden of the ratepayer to-day. I will explain to you a few of the many good things offered to fit men by our army to-day.

Here followed a schedule giving the conditions and advantages of service in the various branches of the army.

In conclusion, I might inform you that recruiting in this town decreased over 100 per cent. during September, 1921, the cause, in my opinion, being parish relief and demonstrations of unemployed.

We congratulate Mr. Morral for saying to the Government that before he would be used for the purpose of driving young men into the army he would "Even if he were threatened with the O.B.E., see them damned first." He also made great play with the peculiar arithmetic of the recruiting authorities, who claimed that recruiting had "decreased by over 100 per cent."—that is less than nothing!

Town and Borough Councils

THE action of the recruiting authorities in Barrow-in-Furness might have been enthusiastically adopted had the chairman of the local Board of Guardians been a potential Churchill. There is here something which must compel Communists to realise the need for being represented in every sphere where the propertied interests wield influence. We have always contended that we must attack capitalism in every plane of social action. With every development in the aggravation of the social crisis, and the consequent intensity of the class struggle, the propertied interests will use every weapon, from the biggest to the smallest, to combat the demands of the revolutionary masses. The Communists must see to it that they leave no stone unturned in their endeavour to meet the enemy at every point which they can use to their advantage against us in the class struggle. Without deducting an ounce of energy from our struggles on the industrial field; without in the least way minimising our efforts on educational work, we must devote particular attention to national and local institutions. Capitalism continues to maintain its political dominance by its unchallenged control over its legislative and administrative organs.

The class war is not only an industrial struggle; there the heavy battalions are undoubtedly ranged against each other. The moment a mass industrial struggle commences the capitalists are reinforced, in a thousand ways, by their allies being in control of the national and local bodies. At the most bitter moment of the miners' recent struggle one of the millionaire mining syndicates in South Wales tried, by legal means, to prevent local relief being granted to starving children in a certain area. This move was frustrated because the local Board of Guardians sympathised with the miners. As Labour launches its offensive against the propertied interests on the industrial field the master class will be forced to rely ever more and more on the political power they wield over parliament, and town and borough councils, etc. Under capitalism, as Bernard Shaw now admits, these institutions can only legislate and administer capitalism. But it is precisely because they do legislate and administer capitalism that they must be captured by the Communists as part of their campaign in uprooting the present social system and all its political institutions. Every municipality and borough council held by the Communists are parts of the capitalist political machinery that will not be worked for the propertied interests. The latest move of the clever reactionaries in Russia is to conduct an agitation with the slogan of "Soviets without the Communist Party in control." The Soviets are the administrative machines of the proletarian dictatorship operated by the revolutionary masses. The reactionaries know that the most

fatal blow they could strike the Soviet Republic would be to capture the Soviets by tearing them out of the grasp of the vanguard of the revolution—the Communist Party. Similarly, under capitalism, the moment that the Communists capture the legislative and administrative institutions the political breakdown of the propertied interests begins.

As Communists our work is to plan our campaign in such a manner that we can rush up reinforcements to the particular sphere where the final struggle takes place between capitalism and the working class. If that struggle comes as a result of a political crisis we shall need every ounce of power that the industrial battalions can give; if the crisis that precipitates the revolutionary conflict is of an industrial character, we must summon every political force we have at our command—in parliament, town, and borough council—to assail the political strongholds of the propertied interests. The coming revolution is no mere palace affair, such as took place in Germany when the Kaiser fled. It is a *social* revolution and as such must react upon the whole apparatus of capitalist society.

The Municipal Elections

FOR the reasons already stated, the Communist Party has drawn up a Municipal Election Address. It will place candidates in the field to appeal in support of its municipal policy. In many districts the Communists are able to influence the local Labour Party. Where this can be done, and if the Communists are not running their own candidates, they ought to get the Labour Party to adopt their municipal policy. Where the unemployed committees are running candidates an attempt should be made to get them to fight for the municipal demands advanced by the Communist Party. Where the local Labour Party is made up of out and out reactionary elements the Communists must do their utmost to place their own candidates before the masses and make them familiar with the municipal tactics of our movement; if it is impossible to run candidates against the most backward Labour Party nominees, then our members should distribute the election manifesto of the Party, and hold meetings in the constituencies. By such methods the workers become conscious of the Communist Party's leadership on every issue that affects them in the industrial, parliamentary, and municipal spheres. No Party in the country has such a coherent policy, on every vital working class issue, as the Communist Party. No Party is so rapidly sweeping to the front, as the leaders of the masses in all their struggles, as the Communist Party. We do not say so; our enemies declare it to be a fact. During the last few weeks an abundance of such evidence has been provided by the upholders of capitalism. Wherever any action of a militant character takes place everybody spontaneously see the work of the Communists. We were held responsible for being the driving force in the miners' struggle; the number of arrested Communists, in addition to the attempt to dislocate the Party by the raid on its headquarters, are all eloquent facts that the Government feared our activities. If J. H. Thomas

is howled down at a big demonstration, if someone throws a brick at Jimmy Sexton, the Communists are held responsible. Thus it is being impressed upon the minds of the masses as a result of our activities, and even as a consequence of the deeds of our opponents, that the Communists are the leaders of the working class in revolt. We make no pretence regarding our aims. We are out to destroy capitalism root and branch, and to achieve that we must win the leadership of the masses. To that end we challenged the orthodox Labour leaders, by our demand to enter the Labour Party, to meet us face to face on the floor of their own conferences. Their fear of the young and inexperienced Communist Party was a testimony to our potential strength.

To win the leadership of the masses and to wrest it out of the power of the old-fashioned trade union bureaucracy, which is entrenched industrially and politically, we must be with the workers in all their strikes, housing campaigns, unemployed agitation, in all their parliamentary and municipal activities. Our fight is *two-fold*. We have to fight capitalism in every social plane, but at the same time we have to conduct a terrific struggle against the reactionary labour leaders. The historical and traditional environment of the British workers is such that they place great importance upon local elections of a municipal character. Thus we must participate in these elections. By the publication of the Municipal Election Address the Executive Committee has given the Party members a splendid lead.

Mass Leadership and Tactics

LENIN'S greatest contribution to the world revolution is his elaboration of revolutionary strategy. He stands as the Napoleon of revolutionary tactics. He scorns those who lack the courage to test their Marxian theories in the crucible of experience and action. He argues—and a melancholy procession of well-meaning but inactive revolutionary groups in Britain verifies his argument—that the Marxians who refuse, or who are afraid, to take their place in every fight and activity of the masses, degenerate into sectarian “do nothings,” or pessimistic cynics. At most their greatest deeds are a mere string of criticisms, levelled against those who are active, which are neither instructive nor constructive.

Marxian revolutionary theory is a much simpler thing to grasp than to lead the masses in revolutionary action. Military strategy in a class-room is a much different thing to leading half-a-million men on the field of battle. To translate theory into action is the most difficult thing in the world. This is true of all theories and all activities. At the present moment it is particularly true of the revolutionary movement. Where action is not the result of a carefully considered policy it may lead to defeat, and where fear of defeat delays or prevents action this may lead to even greater disaster. In every Communist Party in the world, at the present moment, great discussions are taking place regarding the question tactics—the medium by means of which revolutionary theory passes from the class-room to the class struggle. In last month's

COMMUNIST REVIEW we printed an article on this subject by Comrade Lukacs and this month we provide our readers with a brilliant contribution by a German comrade, Dr. Victor Stern, entitled "Communist Tactic" (page 60). He sums up the problem thus:—

To be a Communist signifies to combine fearless resolution and unqualified fidelity towards the revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, with the utmost flexibility and adaptability; with the qualities that are necessary for the adoption of all means that will lead to the desired end; with the faculty for yielding in one place and fighting through in another, for making compromises here while resisting to the uttermost there; with the readiness to yield to circumstances in one place, while in another, even when all seems lost, we can keep our heads and stand our ground.

Have we, the Communists in Britain, ever faced all the issues set forth by Comrade Stern? Frankly, we have not. Our Party is young and our members are immature in revolutionary experience. Our members have been drawn from various sections. Some have come from the Right, where action meant betrayal and where there was a fear of revolutionary theories; some have come from the so-called "extreme" Left, where there were revolutionary theories, but a fear of action. The great achievement of the Communist Party is that it has blended all the best spirits of the Right and the Left into a fighting organisation. But we are only beginning to face the tasks imposed upon us by our adherence to Communism. It would assist our members to realise the full significance of these tasks if they would seriously discuss, at their branch meetings, such articles on tactics as those written by our Comrade Victor Stern. The German Communists have passed through a most interesting period, second only to the Russians, and the problems facing them to-day are going to confront us to-morrow.

W. P.

THE editor of the COMMUNIST REVIEW has had some artistic advertisement cards made which draw attention to the REVIEW. These are particularly suitable for branch rooms, workmen's clubs, factories, meetings, literature depots, etc. Anyone who wishes one of these cards should send their name and address to

THE COMMUNIST REVIEW
16 King Street, Covent Garden
London, W.C. 2

The Realism of Revolt

By R. M. FOX

WE have lost our social tranquility. The labour world is seething with discontent. Strikes and rumours of strikes abound, and these strikes express themselves as a series of sporadic revolts against things as they are. The movement has a realistic as well as an idealistic side. It is well to examine this because the realism of revolt is by far the most important and characteristic working class contribution to modern thought.

The workers still emblazon their banners—"Liberty, Equality, Fraternity"—those watchwords of the French Revolution, but these are regarded more and more as rather nebulous and empty cries by the militants in the Labour ranks. A new content is being given to these words, they are being applied to the industrial field, and attained rather a social than an individual significance.

By the realism of revolt I do not mean merely those tendencies which lead to the actual outbreak of revolution, but the whole stream of thought which constitutes a revolutionary and iconoclastic challenge to accepted ideas and institutions. It is true that some men merely react violently against modern conditions of industry, but this by itself does not produce any constructive or positive ideas. The positive ideas are largely the result of conditions acting upon the minds of men and helping to produce a certain subconscious outlook upon life. Professor Marshall, a great modern economic authority, and by no means a revolutionary thinker says, in "Economics of Industry"—"The business by which a person earns his livelihood generally fills his thoughts during by far the greater part of those hours in which his mind is at its best; during them his character is being formed by the way in which he uses his faculties in his work, by the thoughts and feelings which it suggests."

A dynamic factor in the change of thought has been the development of modern industry. Huge factories with great specialised plants, all run on precise and mechanical lines, are bound to have a tremendous influence on the people who work within. What is the outlook on life developed by machine production, and how far does it differ from that which has been handed down from the past, and embodied in our present social institutions? The wage-earning class is an irreligious class. That must be conceded. Factory workers are more irreligious than other sections of the people. Why is this? The explanation is not far to seek. The struggle for life and the constant insecurity tends to turn all the workers' mental energy towards practical bread and butter issues, and away from speculations or beliefs as to a future life. To "get a job" and to keep it when secured is their most important aim in life. The more remote anything is from this, the more it tends to drop out of their purview. In consequence it is those furthest removed from the actual brute struggle for life who are

more likely to be influenced by religion. The same applies to ethical and idealistic interests which lie behind action. The stronghold of religion, therefore, is found amongst those removed from the struggle. Devout ladies and gentlemen of the middle class are fairly plentiful; in the ranks of the ordinary wage workers they are comparatively few.

Yet, although irreligious, the workers are not anti-religious. Secularism is not, and never has been, a characteristically working class belief. This also implies leisure to delve into speculation, and a habit of mind given to that sort of thing. Abstract speculation about freedom of thought reached England via the French Revolution, though earlier English philosophers like Hobbes and Locke planted the secularist seed. All this never vitally affected the workers, they passed it over like religion simply because there was no place for it in their daily lives—it was crushed, but by more pressing things. Besides this reason for excluding religion the factory workers are inclined to take a mechanical view of the Universe though they give their thought no precise definition. In practice they are materialistic, and this is derived directly from their industrial experience. As machine tenders they grow accustomed to viewing life as a continual chain of cause and effect. If anything goes wrong they look for some mechanical defect. They are in the habit of controlling and using natural forces by means of mechanical contrivances and they give so much of their attention to this that it leads them to apply the same measure to life as a whole. They proceed to classify the unknown by the known, and to make the universe a mechanical one, carefully geared, self-adjusting, producing its own power and running continuously.

In agriculture, where men are still subject in the matter of good harvests, etc., to colossal and mysterious natural forces which they can neither gauge nor control, religious belief persists to a far greater extent. The mines are an interesting example of the borderland between the factory and agriculture. The ever-present and inscrutable perils of the mine help to fix in the miners a sense of awe and reverence, but the increasing use of machinery and of familiarity with conditions, together with the growing mastery over them, is causing a big change among miners. In the Durham coalfield this may be tested by contrasting the beliefs of the older miners with those of the younger men. The middle-aged men there are very largely Methodists; the younger ones are not, and many of them have broken away from the faith. This growth of mechanical outlook is more dangerous to religion than philosophical opposition because it is combined with utter indifference to it.

I stress this attitude towards religion because it helps to bring out a whole realistic outlook on life which is fundamentally opposed to much which convention and tradition upholds. Our present form of Government, together with our orthodox political thought, is based largely upon admiration and even veneration for the past. Oxford professors may hark back to Plato and Aristotle; they may talk of the beauties of the Greek city states, or they may clothe the British Constitution with the sonorous and glowing phrases of a Burke much in the same way as the velvety grass

beautifies their lawns or as in autumn the wine-red ivy mantles the grey stone of their ancient towers. But amid the rude bustle of a jostling civilisation, the workers have scant leisure to appreciate the richness and beauty of the past. Tradition will not weigh much with them; immediate necessity will count for much more.

The workers, then, develop a "process" view in opposition to those who stand for tradition or absolute rights. This process view simply means that the worker tends to view everything in the same way as he judges industrial processes with which he is familiar. The test which he applies all the time is "Does it give us what we want?" He judges by results. Systems of government are regarded as tools. Democracy, despotism and oligarchy are all viewed equally dispassionately. There is no virtue inherent in any one form. If it is unsuitable for the job in hand, the tendency is to scrap it and use something else. Democratic theorists are revolted by this attitude, but the swing from political action towards mass industrial action, which is used to coerce Parliament, is evidence of the attempted use of diverse tools irrespective of theory, to gain a desired end. And the workers are not conscious of any inconsistency in the use of such varying methods. The arguments of academic theorists leave them cold. They are not really concerned with the "principles of democracy"; they are only concerned with getting certain things done.

Thus we see that the worker is intensely practical, except on those occasions when he reacts violently against the practical mundane details of industry. He is impatient of vague idealism. President Wilson never aroused much enthusiasm in labour ranks for his League of Nations. It was all too wordy. It seemed to consist of fine phrases; ethical and moral tags. The worker wanted to see it brought to earth. In his opinion (i.e., the opinion of the worker who expresses his class point of view), the economic field is the centre of all the trouble, and he wants to know how the League of Nations stands in relation to this. Can it deal adequately with international rivalries on the score of raw materials, markets, fields of investment, and so on. He reasons from his experience. Wages, hours, conditions, life itself, have to be struggled for on the industrial field. That is the storm centre. He widens it out to include the nations, and any scheme which does not attack the problem of war on that field seems largely valueless to him. In so far as he is opposed to war at all, he does not oppose it from a pacifist standpoint. Pacifism is not a working class belief. Life has always appeared to him in the nature of a struggle—a conflict of power. Only those who are withdrawn from the struggle tend to develop an overweening pride in the highness of their ethical outlook, even as those who are well off may say that material wealth does not matter. With conditions of struggle always confronting him, the pacifist idea becomes largely unintelligible to the worker. He opposes war simply because it is not in the interests of the workers that they should fight. This seems sufficient to him and does not appear to need an ethical prop to justify it. Such is the realism of revolt as applied to current questions.

The trade union type of organiser and worker has quite distinctive characteristics. He is tenacious, unimaginative, phlegmatic and grim in his capacity for holding on. His practical outlook makes utility the standard of his actions, material comfort the goal, and power of one sort or another the means. He is firmly convinced that weak people always go down, and is determined to be as strong as he can and to give way as little as possible. He does not rely upon the ethical beliefs of the other side. He bases all his beliefs upon experience. He knows that workers live hard lives. Low wages and bad conditions are not unknown to him. He is familiar with bullying foremen and managers, who use the terror of unemployment and what it means to the worker's family, to beat him into submission. He knows of the terrific struggle which his fellows have to build up trade unionism as an army of defence. He remembers the weary years when recognition was fought for and denied. All this keeps him down to earth. Sir Leo Chiozza Money pointed out that during the war, work people got increases in pay, not because they were morally entitled to them any more than other bodies of workers, but because they were organised strongly enough to enforce such increases. All this is not lost upon labour, and it has entered into their outlook upon life to-day. Force seems to be the one essential thing. This is a narrow view, but one likely to be held by men who have to struggle for life and to depend upon sheer strength to hold the job down. If they are weaker than their fellows they soon go out to make room for stronger and more profitable workmen. That is business. What other philosophy, except that of the value of force, can be developed under such conditions?

During the last great railway strike, I listened to a railwayman who was speaking before a crowded meeting at Tower Hill. He was recounting a conversation he had had that morning. A sea of white-upturned, toil-worn faces were lifted to the speaker who stood on a parapet overlooking the crowd.

"As I came to the meeting this morning," he said, "I met a friend of mine who owns a few railway shares, and he said that railwaymen ought to consider people in his position before they took drastic action. 'Do you remember,' I asked him, 'those days when railwaymen worked terribly long hours and got starvation wages?' 'Well,' I remarked, 'in those days we had your sympathy, now you have ours.'" The audience roared a jeering approval of the hit. Mere talk of sympathy does not impress the industrial workers to-day. They want precise terms, and ultimate ends do not appeal to them, unless they can be connected pretty clearly and practically with the present position and the process of realising them is made plain.

As the workers co-operate together to produce wealth and protect their interests, the idea of social ownership grows, but as yet this is in the incipient stage so far as practical action is concerned, and the average worker sticks to more immediate issues. "Freedom" and "Justice" seem to be just large sounding words unconnected with practical programmes. Freedom means little to the unemployed worker, or to those who toil under conditions of

insecurity. It is just a mockery. Workers want something more concrete, something which can be expressed in terms of material comfort and industrial control. To the worker all things centre round economic security, and the strength to ensure it, just as to a man suffering with the toothache the whole purpose of life is contained in securing immediate relief. This is not a wide view, but the man with the toothache could reasonably contend that it was a correct view for him to take, and the worker suffering from economic ills has an equally strong case.

All this makes for concentration on the next step of the matter in hand. To illustrate: During the Russian revolution it is said that the revolutionaries did not concern themselves much about the future structure of society. They were intent upon the very next move. They used to calculate, "If we can do so and so, perhaps we can last for a week and then perhaps we can do something else." They stuck to "the Music of the Present," and left the "Music of the Future" until the future came. They were far more concerned as to whether at a critical stage they could get the typewriters they needed than over cherished theoretical formula. This is the process view from another aspect. And the pressure which held the Bolsheviks down to facts and made them take a realistic view of the situation is analogous to the economic pressure which is doing the same for the working class. The workers are cutting through the phrases and reaching the substance; they are remorselessly logical within their own sphere and phrase-making, whether of the reactionary or the revolutionary sort, does not concern them. The man who would call them to the barricades is rejected equally with the man who would soothe them with soft words, while leaving their grievances unremedied.

I know quite well that all workmen are not like this, but I have tried to picture a developing type which seems to express a definable working class point of view. Conditions are directly responsible for a crude, narrow realism and the reaction against these conditions for a somewhat hazy impracticable idealism as well. The need of the hour is that both should be fused into one movement which would contain both driving force and vision.

It is the duty of every Communist to see that a Communist Review is in the local library

The Soviet Republic in the Capitalist Encirclement

By L. KAMENEFF

*A Speech to the Tenth Congress of the Communist Party of Russia, delivered at Moscow, in March, 1921.**

I.

War and Economic Geography

IN the earlier stages of the Russian revolution we expected that the progress of the world revolution would enable Western Europe to send us speedy help. These expectations have been disappointed. We must, therefore, devote great attention to the problem of the relationships between Russia and capitalist States. Had the world revolution of the proletariat broken the power of the bourgeoisie in any of the great capitalist countries, we should no longer suffer from the capitalist encirclement. We should have no occasion to worry concerning treaties, loans, concessions and the like. But under existing conditions, our practical policy must be of such a character as to enable Russia to stand firm if the course of world development should compel us to fight for the existence of our country as an isolated Socialist Republic. In these circumstances we have, above all, to keep a close watch upon the surrounding world.

When the imperialist war began, revolutionary Marxists were not slow to realise the situation. They declared that the essential meaning of the embroilment was that a struggle for the partition of the world among the leading imperialist Powers was in progress. Two years have now elapsed since the official termination of the war and the signing of the peace treaties, but hardly anyone will to-day venture to assert that peace prevails in Europe. What we can all see for ourselves from day to day, the reports in the newspapers, the wireless messages, and the speeches made by prominent representatives of the capitalist régimes, combine to assure us that the war continues. Armies still move to and fro; fighting orders are repeatedly being issued; no frontiers can be regarded as fixed. We live in perpetual expectation that the imperialist bloodletting will be renewed; that as a resumption of the world war, as its natural sequel, an even more stupendous and more devastating war will ensue.

If we contemplate the present situation of Europe, we perceive that the imperialists of the leading countries have achieved their end. They have partitioned the world among them. It now consists of two unequal portions. On the one hand are the great victorious Powers: England, France, the U.S., and Japan. On the other hand, is a medley of colonial countries, of those which

*Translated by Eden and Cedar Paul.

prior to the imperialist war were still colonies or dependencies. As an outcome of the war, they have secured independence; but in reality they are mere pawns in the hands of the great Powers. Besides these two types of country, we have the nominally independent lands, highly developed, industrially and representing great civilisations, such as Germany and Austria. In actual fact, these have become vassal States, their relationship to the victors being one of slavish dependence. The position of Austria and Germany is quite peculiar. They cannot be regarded as genuinely independent, for in their home policy, in their economic activities, and above all in their foreign policy, they are guided by motives imposed on them from day to day by the mailed fist of the conquerors. It is but a few days since we read how the western regions of Germany, those where the proletariat swarms and where the chief industrial enterprises are centred, were being occupied by British, French, and Belgian troops. Not improbably the occupation will lead to fresh armed conflicts, but we cannot confidently anticipate anything of the kind. We might expect the occupation of the right bank of the Rhine to embitter the relationships between Germany and Poland. There is already a conflict impending between the two countries because their bourgeoisies respectively covet the coal basin of Upper Silesia. Germany, deprived of her coal resources in the west, would tend to cling more desperately to those in the east. But in these matters our predictions must be uncertain, for we cannot regard Germany as independent in the strict sense of the term.

Had I more time in which to undertake an economic analysis of the European situation, I should sketch for you a hierarchy of lands placed in relationships of mutual dependence. I should ask you to note how the U.S., though remote from the witches' cauldron of Europe, has actually gained more than any other Power out of the European imbroglio. By her financial policy, by the supply of munitions to the belligerents, and by keeping out of the war until the end was near, this country was enabled to secure the lion's share of the spoil. Next comes England, the wealthiest of the European Powers, holding in her hands the threads controlling economic policy throughout Europe. Then we have France, like England one of the victors in the struggle, but economically so impoverished and weakened that she cannot in any way rank with England as an economic, military, or political power. Thus among the victors, no less than among the vanquished, the peace conditions have left a number of powder magazines which may blow up at any moment. Nevertheless, the general significance of the partition of the world is that a few wealthy countries have divided the spoil, and have made vassals of certain other lands advanced in civilisation and industrial development. Chief among these vassal States are Germany and Austria.

What issue is possible from such a situation, which obviously threatens to culminate in a new imperialist war? Attentive students of world policy know that the main object of a new world war must be the mastery of the shores of the Pacific. In this clash, the former Allies, Britain and the U.S., will face one another in arms; and Japan will fight on the British side. The struggle will

also be for Asia. Its conditions will be such that in the coming world war, as in the last, there will be no place for neutrals. The collision between the two strongest Powers in the world will force the other Powers into a position of economic, political and financial dependence upon one or other group of belligerents. Nothing but an uprising of the proletariat can hinder this eventuality.

II.

Russia's Real Triumph

THE Soviet Republic will be in a peculiar position. Objectively regarded from the outlook of universal history, this position has originated as follows: Russia entered the Entente as a member of the syndicate of Powers. As such, upon the basis of treaties, and in conformity with the conditions upon which various loans were made to the bourgeois government of the Tsars, Russia was entitled to her share in the partitionment of the world. History, however, took a new turn. The uprising of the proletariat detached Russia from the syndicated Powers. The Soviet Republic has no share in the spoils of the world war. During three years of defensive warfare, Russia has been compelled to fight for her right to an independent existence. Objectively and historically considered, the aim of the foreign powers, the object of their interventions and interferences, has been to convert the huge and densely populated territories of the Soviet Republic into colonies of this or that capitalist group—or, on the part of one Power or group, to prevent the colonisation of Russia by a rival power or group. There can be no doubt that if Russia had remained in the imperialist war as the ally of Britain or the U.S., or if she had simply relinquished a belligerent attitude, or if she had been the victor instead of Britain or the U.S., or if she had been one of the defeated members of a different coalition—in all these cases alike, our country would have been colonised, would have become a reservoir, a market for wares, for one capitalist country or another. Only by our three years of defensive war have we been enabled to maintain our independence. This fact is now historically proved.

The real victory we have won, that which cannot be taken from us, that which we have gained in the historic process, is this. Thanks to the organisation of the Soviet Power and thanks to the heroic struggle of the workers and peasants, Russia has been saved from the fate of becoming a colony. Thanks to the independence thus secured, we can choose our position at the given moment. This fact of independence changes our relationship to the capitalist Powers. For three years our relationship to them has only been that of war, direct or indirect; it has only been the relationship of those who face an armed enemy across barricades or trenches.

You know, comrades, that, in the course of this historical evolution, relationships of an entirely new kind have been formed between Russia and the capitalist world. These began at the time when Mr. Bullitt appeared upon the scene, offering us treaty relations with certain capitalist countries, and above all, with Britain and the U.S., provided we would recognise the territories of Kolchak and Denikin—territories then occupied by the troops of those

generals. You will recall that we were invited to send representatives to the Isle of Prinkipo, for the discussion not merely of the immediate concerns of the struggle, but also of treaties between Russia and the capitalist world. Subsequently, you will remember, we were able to send emissaries to England, and through these we attempted to arrange for treaty relations. But the negotiations were broken off, first owing to the Polish war, and subsequently owing to the French recognition of Wrangel's government. At length, however, we approach the moment when purely military relationships of offence and defence seem about to be transformed into treaty relations.

Does this mean that we are about to come to an understanding with the capitalist world? Of course, such a notion is quite illusory. Nor do any of the representatives of the international bourgeoisie with whom we are negotiating, imagine that such an undertaking can really be secured. Still less should we, on our side, indulge the fancy that the new treaty relations can lead to a permanent understanding. These treaty relations are but a new form of struggle, a form of the struggle for the existence of communism; and they are an extremely complicated form of that struggle. We never expected that we should be able to establish a Communist Commonwealth in an isolated country. But we have been forced by the circumstances of the hour to attempt to maintain the beginnings of the Communist Commonwealth, the beginnings of the Socialist State of the proletarian Soviet Republic, when it was encircled by capitalist lands.

Shall we succeed in this undertaking? I consider that the question is formulated in too scholastic a fashion, and that in such a form it cannot be answered. Here is a better way of putting the matter. How, in existing circumstances, can we maintain the Soviet Republic? How can we continue to maintain it until the proletariat of some other country comes to our aid? We have no doubt that the capitalist governments want to conclude commercial treaties with us; that the desire is forced upon them by the failure of their three years' endeavours to strike us down with the mailed fist. In these endeavours they have spent millions of money and have sacrificed thousands upon thousands of lives. All to no end. Will they therefore refrain from the attempt to overthrow us? Of course not. Whenever the time seems ripe, they will renounce the policy of treaties, will renounce the policy of purchase and sale, and will resume the method of the armed struggle.

At the very time when Comrade Krassin is about to sign the trade agreement in London, there is taking place in Paris a meeting of members of the Constituent Assembly, of cadets and social revolutionaries. They are electing a special delegation to protest against the signing of trade agreements with Soviet Russia. At the same instant, a revolt begins in Kronstadt, and it is obvious that this occurrence is in some way dependent upon the capitalist world. It is essential to bear the matter in mind when there is any talk of our having entered upon a new phase in our relations with capitalist States, a phase characterised by trade agreements and alliances. Manifestly, very few such agreements exist. They are affected under very difficult conditions. We cannot doubt that the

hand which has organised the Paris meeting of counter-revolutionaries, the hand which has fomented the Kronstadt revolt, is also at work attempting to tear up the trade agreement with England—the first step of great political and commercial importance in the direction of treaty relations. Now, comrades, we have to ask ourselves whether there is any objective reason why our enemies should enter into commercial treaties with us. If no such objective reason exists, we might believe that the agreements were based upon some trick played on our envoys, or that our envoys on their side were humbugging the British and German diplomats. Of course, if this were so, we should be building our house upon the sand. Such a policy would be childish.

III.

Capitalism and Soviet Russia •

STUDYING the situation objectively, we enquire: Is there any economic motive that will compel the leading capitalist States to change their policy towards the Soviet Republic, to enter into new relationships with the Soviet Power, despite their hatred for it? We discover that such objective factors really exist. The most conspicuous and most important of these objective factors is that the whole system of world economy is unable to function and develop properly as long as the Soviet Republic is forcibly excluded from the system. Russia is not a nonentity in the world economy. That economy is an extremely complicated apparatus which cannot be subordinated to this or that group of powers. The apparatus has its own peculiar laws of development, and during the imperialist war these laws were infringed and trodden in the dust. Unless this delicate apparatus is readjusted, the economic life of Europe will remain paralysed; the stagnation of the vital juices will persist; tens and hundreds of millions of persons will continue to lack the most elementary necessities of life. For nearly seven years Russia has been forcibly excluded from the world process of the exchange of goods. This means that a region with from a hundred and thirty to a hundred and forty million inhabitants, a land whose unity we have maintained by a prolonged, fierce, and heroically waged war, has for seven years been cut out of the world economy. The excluded area is one of the richest in the world in respect of raw materials, and it likewise offers a gigantic market. Its exclusion occurs at a time when the world is poverty-stricken. As a result of the imperialist war, the whole world is faced by the same question: Is it possible to withhold from the world economy the productive forces of the isolated and excluded one hundred and thirty millions of the Russian population? Can the world economy dispense with all the raw materials and other goods which might be obtained from Russia? Division of labour in the world economy is no chance matter; it is the result of a lengthy historical process. We cannot simply ignore the fact that the Russian workers and peasants have in the past supplied raw materials and other goods to Germany, England, and many other countries. For the

last three years Europe* has been trying to rely on her own economic resources, and to get along without the help of Russian energies. The spectacle we are now contemplating shows that Europe is unable to sustain her economic life without the help of the Russian workers and peasants, without a supply of raw materials from Russia, without an alliance with the Soviet Republic. This has nothing to do with the likings, with the will, of one or other group of European Powers. It is an economic fact; and of course each economic group in Europe interprets the fact in its own peculiar manner, and exploits the situation in conformity with its own interests. The European Powers see before them an enormous country, a vast market, huge stores of natural wealth. The hunger for profits characteristic of capitalist countries forces them to compete, to hasten into the market, to attempt to be the first to exploit this market. Here is what compels Mr. Lloyd George to enter into rivalry with Mr. Harding, who has recently mounted the American throne (if I may use the phrase). This is why they must compete for possibilities of exploiting Russian raw materials.

Now comes a more important consideration. An industrial and commercial crisis prevails in some of the lands which have been victors in the world war. This is an inevitable outcome of the war. But it is not the outcome expected by the capitalists and by most members of the petty-bourgeois stratum throughout Europe. They were told again and again: Win the war, and you will enter the Promised Land; win the war, and you shall live in easy circumstances at the cost of the vanquished. Poincaré, sometime president of the French Republic and one of the leading politicians of capitalist France, has just contributed to the *Matin* an article which shows that the country is impatient and dissatisfied, and looks for more substantial gains of victory. Who would have expected that the conquerors would come out of the war with burned fingers? The peoples, who had been promised an easier life at the expense of their defeated foes, find that instead of the expected benefits there is an increase in commercial and industrial crises, unemployment and poverty. They ask: 'What were we fighting for? Why do not the conquered peoples give us what we expected?' Then follows the question whether Russia cannot save Europe—Russia, with her natural resources and her immense reservoir of labour-power. Will not Russia be able to contribute to the development of the productive forces of the world economy? This question is mooted, not only by the leaders of world capital, but also by the European petty bourgeoisie and by the leaders of the European Socialist parties.

When I was in England, I was engaged in direct negotiation with some of the counter-revolutionary labour leaders, with prominent trade-union chiefs like J. H. Thomas. Within ten minutes they left general considerations for the simple problem of vital necessities. They said: "Instead of offering proofs of the soundness of your theoretical outlook, give us a tabulated statement of the articles Russia can send to England. With this we shall be able

*The Russians frequently, as in this sentence, contrast "Russia" with "Europe." They do not habitually, as we do, think of "European Russia" as part of Europe.—*Translators' Note.*

to convince the most conservative of the British workers that it is essential for England to sign a commercial treaty with Soviet Russia." These petty bourgeois, these counter-revolutionaries, are alarmed at the spread of unemployment and poverty. They think that the re-establishment of trade relations with Russia will secure a supply of the wood and the fats which are scarce in the west. Such petty-bourgeois hopes are entertained by wide sections of European society, manifesting themselves in the belief that the continuous development of the productive energies of the world economy is impossible so long as Russia is excluded. The same thoughts are expressed, the same petty-bourgeois hopes are cherished, by Messrs. Harding and Lloyd George, on the one hand, and by such labour leaders as Henderson and Thomas, on the other.

IV.

Effect of Foreign Capital on Revolution

A QUESTION now arises which has often been propounded by the social revolutionaries and the Mensheviks, and which sometimes gives rise to honest anxiety among the less clear-sighted members of our own party. They ask: "But if we enter into the world economy, shall we not thereby help to consolidate the power of world capitalism? Before everything, we desire the destruction of the capitalist system. If we decide to participate in the world-economic process, making concessions, entering into trade agreements, exporting goods to capitalist countries, etc., shall we not thereby contribute to the mitigation of the class oppositions which are a natural outcome of the capitalist system? Of course, this way of looking at the matter is merely the obverse of the bourgeois outlook of Henderson, Thomas, and Co., when they say: "Perhaps if you Russians send us these goods or those, we shall be able to convince our petty bourgeoisie of the need for speedily contracting an alliance with Russia."

In truth, the cleavage between the classes in Europe, the divergence of interests, is profound. We should lack faith in the European revolutionary process were we to believe that Russian raw materials, or trade relations with Russia, could readily bridge the chasm. We take it as axiomatic that the decomposition of the capitalist system is far advanced, and that the inadequacy of the capitalist method of production is manifest. We believe that nothing but the proletarian revolution will be able to provide an issue from the crisis in which Europe has now become involved. And we consider that the revolutionary process has, under existing conditions, become so irresistible, that were we to do ten times as much as we are actually able to do, this would not serve to counteract the inexorable movement.

On the other hand, those who look for the stabilisation of the capitalist system base their expectations upon the development of the world economy. We know, however, that the development of productive forces by no means excludes the working of the contradictions inherent in capitalism; on the contrary, it increases, diffuses, and accentuates those contradictions.

If you consider the position of Italy, you must be aware that the essential cause for the delay in the development of a Communist consciousness in that country, the explanation of many vacillations, is that Italy is slavishly dependent upon British supplies of coal and petroleum. She has neither coal mines nor oil wells of her own. The opportunists declare that the Italian locomotives would cease to run, that the Italian factories would have to close down, if relations with England were to be broken off. This is the economic basis of the opportunist outlook.

The further development of productive forces which would ensue upon the inclusion of Russia in the world economy, cannot arrest the revolutionary world process. Far from it, this development may aggravate the situation and increase the revolutionary consciousness of the Italian workers. Thanks to the development of Russian production, we Russians shall be ready and willing to replace the British capitalists as furnishers of coal and petroleum to Italy, and thus the coming of the Italian revolution may be accelerated. Doubtless, the social revolutionaries and the Mensheviks will declare that, while we are prepared to treat with British capitalists, we are unwilling to negotiate with workers who are backward in the matter of class consciousness; and they will say that, while building up the Communist Republic, we simultaneously desire to conclude treaties with capitalist States. In so far as there is any core of seriousness in such arguments, we must parry them with the considerations previously elaborated.

The decay of the European capitalist world is so far advanced, that our raw materials (which are competent to secure for us an entry into the world economy) cannot stay the revolutionary process in Europe even for an hour. Furthermore, the development of the productive forces of the world economy does not counteract the proletarian revolution, for it accentuates the fundamental contradictions of capitalism.

There is, indeed, one way in which Russia might help world capitalism after securing an entry into the world economy. This would only happen if the hopes of the capitalist powers were to be fulfilled, if Russia were to be colonised, if our land were in the dependent position of India and Egypt—inseparable portions of the world economy. Were Russia to enter the world capitalist system upon such a basis, this would imply a decline in the productive forces of Russia, and the exploitation of Russia for the support of the world economy. If we take an objective view of the incidents of the last three years, we can see that the whole Kolchakade and Denikinade was nothing more than a hypocritical mask worn by world capital, which hoped by this means to include Russia in the world market as a colony. The European capitalists looked forward to applying the methods of capitalist exploitation, in order that they might appropriate the wealth of Russia. But this would have involved an onslaught upon the productive energies of our country. The mere transition from the Soviet form of Government to any other form, whether monarchial or republican or democratic, the mere inauguration of government by a constituent assembly, would signify that Russia had become a penitentiary for the

workers and peasants, and that these would be forced to make good all the losses which the capitalists of the world have incurred.

There are only two ways in which Russia can participate in the world economy; either as an independent State, or as a colony. Nothing but the inclusion of Russia as a colony could serve to renew world capitalism's lease of life for a few years. World capitalism would only secure a reprieve through being given the chance of exploiting Russia with all her natural resources and all the living labour power of her workers and peasants—a Russia tied hand and foot. Even then, the result would be problematical. The European economic system is fundamentally disordered. It is exceedingly probable that capitalist Europe would prove unable to subjugate the vast area of Russia, would be incompetent to extract therefrom resources sufficient to maintain world capitalism for as much as two or three years longer.

For three whole years the Russian workers have staved off such a possibility. They have frustrated these attempts; they have maintained the independence of Russia, and Russia now wishes to turn her independence to account. To what account? Since my time is running out, I must answer the question sketchily. Comrades, to keep Soviet Russia in being for three years, we needed an army. We can now confidently assert that if Soviet Russia is still to continue in being, the country's production must be increased with the utmost rapidity. Production must advance with giant strides. There are only two possibilities. Either we must expand our productive forces and prove ourselves victors in the economic arena, as we have proved ourselves victors in the military arena; or else we shall be outstripped by the capitalist countries. We must not close our eyes to this danger. Just as we went into battle aware that the enemy was our superior in the number of men (trained soldiers) he could place in the field, our superior in the matter of supplies of military equipment, munitions, tanks, artillery, and airplanes; so now we must frankly recognise that in economic resources the capitalist countries have the advantage of us to-day. They possess more locomotives, more machinery, more scientific instruments, more organisation; they are more experienced than we in the management of economic affairs.

Nevertheless, we have no occasion to fear their strength; we need not pile our arms in despair. If we accelerate the development of our productive forces, if with unexampled speed we make the most of the natural resources of the country, we can avert this peril. Our party has been much disturbed by the question: Can we re-establish our economic life by the elaboration of the indigenous wealth of Russia without seeking any aid from foreign capital? At this congress we must give a plain and direct answer. We must say "No!" Doubtless the heroic efforts of the Russian workers will do much to restore the economic life of the country. But if our industry is to revive with the rapidity which is essential unless we are to be outstripped by capitalist lands, we need the aid of foreign capital. Here, then, it is necessary to consider what is meant by the aid of foreign capital.

Has any leading Communist ever supposed that a Socialist economy could be established without the support of the world economy as a whole, without the assistance of technical achievements and raw materials drawn from the entire world? The attempt would be vain. Manifestly Russia is competent to inaugurate a Socialist economy, but she can only do so by drawing unreservedly upon the technical achievements and the machinery, upon the raw materials and the means of production, made available by the foreign world. In this respect, there are two alternative possibilities. The requisite aid might be secured through proletarian solidarity. If, for instance, there were a Soviet Republic in Finland, Russia, lacking paper, might procure it from her Communist neighbour. If, however, machinery, means of production, and raw materials are in the possession of capitalist organisations, still we cannot dispense with these essentials. We must procure them from the capitalist organisations. Here, again, there are two alternative possibilities. Agreed, that, in order to be able to get to work, for the satisfactory utilisation of our own raw materials, we must seek foreign aid, we must grant concessions to capitalists. But why should we not have recourse to Russian capitalists? This question is often asked at public meetings. Those who ask it do not grasp the difference between the relinquishment of power, and the relinquishment of an economic item in order to maintain power. If we are told that Russian capitalists might just as well be granted what we are willing to yield to foreign concessionaries, we answer, that to Russian capitalists we should have to concede power as well as economic advantages. When we say that we need foreign concessionaries, with their machinery, their technical achievements, their raw materials, and their ability, we mean that we are summoning them to our aid for the effective elaboration of Russia's natural resources. We grant an economic concession, in order to maintain the Soviet Power in being. Therein lies the difference between a concession to foreign capitalists and a concession to Russian capitalists. But some comrades are inclined to say at this stage in the argument, "All right! Make your concessions to foreign capitalists. To concede really means to cede. And we shall have to pay for it! Obviously, the foreign capitalist will not help us to develop the natural resources of Russia unless we pay him for his trouble. We shall have to pay tribute."

We must frankly enquire at this congress: "Can we avoid paying tribute to foreign capital?" And we must answer no less frankly: "We cannot avoid it." We shall have to pay for our backwardness in economic development. We shall have to pay interest upon foreign capital, because the world revolution is not progressing so rapidly as we should like, and because the revolutionists of Western Europe are not able to get the means of production into their own hands so soon as we had hoped. How great a tribute shall we have to pay? Let us make a comparison. How much will capitalist Germany have to pay capitalist England and France because she has been conquered by them? You know that the figures have recently been settled. For forty-two years Germany will have to go on paying immense sums. How much must Russia pay? Of course, I can only give a rough estimate. You will

remember that at the Eighth Congress of Soviets we discussed the means by which the productive energies of Russia could be expanded. The most important of these was the electrification of Russia. With the economic resources, with the technical energies now at our disposal, we shall find it very difficult to win through. To get the better of the countries whose economic development is greatly in advance of ours; if we are to avoid being outstripped despite the large funds we can command and which find expression in the annulment of private ownership—if we are not to leave these advantages unutilised, we must progress from primitive economic methods to more highly developed methods; we must avail ourselves of electrification for the more thrifty utilisation of human energies. How can this technical transformation be achieved? A special commission has drawn up a provisional plan for State electrification. The calculations show that in order (approximately) to double the yield of Russian industry, both as regards the supply of raw materials and as regards the elaboration of these, in order to realise the programme for electrification, in order to restore and improve our transport system, we must during the next ten years procure from abroad all kinds of raw materials, manufactured articles, machinery, scientific instruments, etc.—at a total cost of somewhere near seven milliards of gold roubles.

These estimates are the outcome of careful and exhaustive researches. I need hardly say that they cannot be regarded as accurate in every detail. They represent the prospective balance-sheet of the Soviet Republic. If we export nothing, if we merely import what we need and pay for everything in gold, if we have to surrender Kamtschatka and a number of forest regions to the concessionaries, and if we find it necessary to pay in gold for every nail we import, for every thermometer, for every leather strap, for every hank of wire, for every toothbrush, and for every cog-wheel—well, we shall realise our plan for the technical transformation of Russia, and in matters of technical achievement we shall rank with the leading capitalist nations of the world. All this can be done for seventeen milliards of gold roubles.

Now, comrades, compare the tribute which capitalist Germany will have to pay with the tribute which Russia, as an independent and unconquered land, will have to pay. You will see that in the course of forty years Germany will have to pay thrice as much as Russia will have to pay in the course of ten years. The balance thus struck is purely theoretical. Nevertheless, it shows us practically that we are far from being in as bad a position as certain capitalist States. We can attract foreign capital for the development of our natural resources. We must attract it, if we are to develop our natural resources adequately. Of course, we shall have to pay tribute for the privilege. But we are confident that foreign capital, which must work under the conditions we impose, will dig its own grave. Without foreign capital we cannot transform our economic life. That is the dialectic of history. Without foreign capital the electrification of Russia cannot be effected. But inasmuch as we take care to increase Russia's productive forces, capital will fulfil the rôle predicted by Karl Marx when he said: "Capital is its own gravedigger." Thus in Russia, with every hundredweight

of coal, with every gallon of petroleum, that we win with the aid of foreign technical achievements, capital will be digging its own grave. We need not despair; we need not even be discouraged. We can grip what we have secured, well assured that our mission has been to lay the foundations of the Socialist economy in Russia. We may be confident that it behoves us to hold out until the proletarian Soviet Republics of countries further advanced in economic development can come to the help of Russia, the land of poverty and disintegration. To this end, let us take up the new arm we have won for ourselves through three years of warfare, let us attract foreign capital to our aid.

We are not completely encircled by capitalist countries. The capitalist world forms a semi-circle to the west; eastward lies another semi-circle, that of uprising Asia. Revolutionary Asia is not capitalist. If Russia holds out, there will be established between Europe and Asia a balance whose beginnings are already manifest. Historically, no less than politically and geographically, Russia lies half-way between Asia and Europe. Significant indeed is the first clause in the treaty between Soviet Russia and the British capitalists. It runs: "We will deal with you, provided you abstain from propaganda in Egypt, India, and Afghanistan."

Despite the capitalist encirclement, Soviet Russia will remain in being.

Have You had Your Card?

Several of the most energetic branches have had their **COMMUNIST REVIEW** advertisement cards sent to them. But some branches have not ordered a card. Why? We do not know. These cards are beautifully designed and artistically coloured. There are several uses for them.

Get the **COMMUNIST** newsagent to display one in his shop. He will do this if you place an order for six **COMMUNIST REVIEWS** every month.

Take a card to every Communist meeting and place it in a prominent position. Be careful, of course, to take some **REVIEWS** with you. Get the speaker, or the chairman to draw attention to the card and the **REVIEW**. You then catch the audience leaving the hall. Don't be afraid to let them know that you have copies of the **REVIEW** for sale.

Send for a Card To-day

The Women's Movement in Soviet Russia

By ELLEN C. WILKINSON

THE effect of the Revolution on the women of Russia is one of the most interesting objects of study to any western woman who goes there. Russia under the old régime showed the strongest contrasts, the complete seclusion of the Khirghis women and the freedom of the educated lady of Petrograd; the absolute subjection of the peasant woman to her man, and the equality in action and danger between the women and the men of the revolutionary ranks.

Equality when there is hard work to be done and intense suffering to be borne is not unfamiliar to the women of any country. The interest lies in whether when the martyrs leave the scaffold for the throne, the equality under persecution is translated into equality in honour and responsibility in the new order.

The Bolshevists have carried out their feminist principles as logically and methodically as (say) their principles of banking. The women revolutionaries have stamped their ideas on the new régime, and women in Russia to-day have been given the most complete freedom that legislation can bestow. As a citizen, a woman has the right to vote for and to fill any office in the State on the same terms as a man, and she can be represented on all committees from the All-Russian Executive to the smallest Soviet. Her rations, even to the tobacco, are decided not by her sex but her service. As a worker she receives equal pay and rations with the men on similar work, and takes her share in the works management. Stringent factory legislation protects her as the potential or actual mother of children, but this is regarded as the right of the State and is not made a cause of disability to the woman. As a wife she loses none of her individuality, and motherhood is considered her own affair. Illegitimate children carry no social or legal stigma, the supply of extra rations taking away that horror of destitution that faces the western unmarried mother of the working class. This philosophy has been carried as far as the removal of punishment for abortion, a measure that has horrified some western feminists who close their eyes to the filth of deception that is forced upon the woman in their own countries to whom the birth of a child may mean ruin, or the adding of yet another hungry little one to an already underfed family. What legislation can do to give freedom has been done. The task of the Russian women is to translate these statutes into actual living fact, to weave the new threads into the ancient pattern of Russian life.

In the blockaded, war-ridden Republic that has been a task the magnitude of which Englishwomen cannot imagine. About 90 per cent. of the women in Russia are peasants, living in innumerable, scattered villages, or nomads in tribal tents, speaking scores of different languages or dialects, accustomed to submission and

oppression, choked under layers of tradition. Even in the cities where revolutionary propaganda had been most active, the mass of women were sunk deep in the morass of illiteracy, dirt, and superstition. Their idea of nursing a sick child was to exclude from the room every breath of fresh air, and not to wash it for fear it should take cold. Unimaginable poverty and overcrowding had made all kinds of diseases rampant. The overstrain of frequent child-bearing under these conditions was reflected in the abnormal infantile mortality rate of the Russian towns.

These were the conditions the Russian revolutionary women were faced with at a time when the army demanded every available doctor, when the few medical supplies had to go the same way, when there was no soap, no disinfectants, no available transport, and when any woman with a semblance of education or training was wanted for a hundred urgent jobs. That under these circumstances they even attempted to do anything at all is marvellous, and what they have accomplished is as wonderful as it is pathetic. Pathetic because the western visitor realises how much precious human energy and skill has had to be absorbed in getting round the artificial difficulties caused by our blockade.

The work among women and children, the crèches and clinics and children's schools have been described by so many writers on Russia that it would be a waste of space to go over them again in an article that is primarily concerned with the women's movement; but I realised the startling effect of the efforts of the Ministry of Health (staffed with some of the ablest women in Europe) to educate by means of poster and chart, when walking down one of the main Moscow streets I joined a small crowd round two huge shop windows. The first window was full of highly-coloured pictures which showed so vividly the results of eating food that had been contaminated by flies, that when next I had to eat a piece of bread from which I had had to chase a fly, I felt positively sick. The pictures in the second window showed in careful detail the symptoms and effects of syphilis. The entire British Press would have raged had these been exhibited in England; but as I observed the quiet, decent interest of the men and women round the window, I wondered whether this sanitary removal of facts from romance to reality was not infinitely more decent and effective than the veiled, shamed advertisements of the British Council for Combating Venereal Diseases.

In Russia, the motto, "The hope of the future lies with the child," is not a pious platitude uttered by gluttonous old men whose idea of economy is to save a halfpenny on the Education Rate, but the working maxim of great State departments. To whatever there is to share the children have first claim, and bad as food conditions are, the Russian children look better fed and are far livelier than the little ones we saw in Latvia and Esthonia. The women's leaders are building their ideals of equality and freedom into the fabric of the new generation by the completely co-educational system not only of lessons, but of games and drill. In the great gymnastic display at Sparrow Hills, which was organised to welcome the delegates to the International Congresses, the girls

co-operated not only in the sports but in the military exercises. The Russians have an almost disconcerting habit of carrying ideas to their logical conclusion.

The problem of the Mohammedan women, and the enclosed women of the various Eastern races, has been tackled by the Women's Secretariat, and previous to the International Congress at Moscow this year conferences were held throughout Siberia, the South East, and the Far Eastern Republic. These must have been curious assemblies—the Eastern women with minds as veiled as their faces meeting, often for the first time, the revolutionary women, eager and emancipated, whose restless, searching minds would accept no tradition, no convention that they had not tested for themselves. The delegates were shown pictures of what was being done for women and children throughout the Federated Republics, and the local schools and hospitals were visited. The general result of the conferences seems to have been strong resolutions passed in favour of the emancipation of Moslem women and the ending of polygamy.

Even to the delegates from the Western countries these Russian women acted like a tonic. It was maddening not to be able to exchange ideas with all of them, for the majority could only speak Russian. I had to remain silent when presented to a most interesting old lady of 65 who was the Minister of Education in a great province, and who had introduced daring innovations into the schools under her charge. At headquarters, however, some of the women spoke English or French and so communication was possible.

The great event was to meet Madame Lenin. The English picture papers have described her as a grande dame, who visits Monte Carlo wearing £250,000 of jewels. The real Mdme. Lenin is a simple, middle-aged woman whose grey, tired face bears the marks of a lifetime of hard work and sorrow. When I met her she was wearing a plain, grey dress, and a somewhat dilapidated mackintosh, her only "jewels" being her Communist brooch, and her delegate's badge. In spite of her homely dress, one would not call her a motherly woman. Her face in repose was strong and stern, but she has prominent, startlingly expressive blue eyes. Like her husband she is impatient of any external forms of respect or dignity, but otherwise she formed a strong contrast to him. Lenin is always humorous and alert. The impression he gives is that of restless and untiring energy. His wife, through speeches, or debate, or conversation remains composed, very still, only those vivid blue eyes expressing her intense interest.

Alexandra Kollontai, Cabinet Minister, head of the State Welfare Department, and a member of the Executive of the Russian Communist Party, is a very different type. She would look distinguished if wrapped in a blanket. Although an aristocrat by birth and education, it is her astounding energy that supplies the motive power for much of the work that is done by the Women's Secretariat, but her common-sense, and humorous toleration has prevented the growth of the hectic "ultra-feminist" atmosphere that is the somewhat tiresome characteristic of the Women's Committee in Berlin.

The Russian and German women have taken the lead in the formation of the Women's Section of the Third International, which held its Congress at Moscow just prior to the Congress of the Comintern. When the formation of the Women's Secretariat was confirmed by the Executive of the Comintern in 1920, Clara Zetkin was appointed the general secretary, and Kollontai the assistant secretary. The work of the Secretariat is stated in its annual report to be "the extension of the influence of the Communist International among proletarian women through women's committees to be set up inside the party; to aid the Comintern to awaken interest among women by special methods of work, and to draw industrial women into the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat; and to keep before the International the problems of the emancipation of women, and the defence of their interests as mothers and as workers."

During its first year the Women's Secretariat has had to struggle against the difficulties of communication between the different countries. Innumerable appeals, greetings, leaflets, pamphlets and theses have been sent to the parties in the different countries, but many of these have not arrived at all, and others months after the date or event to which they referred. Many countries have not yet set up special committees for work among women and this has hindered the work of the Secretariat, as forms of inquiry have either not been replied to, or the information desired has not been sent.

The Women's Congress at which England, Germany, Switzerland; France, America, Armenia, Rumania, Ukraine, Bulgaria, Norway, Spain, and the Far East were represented was a great success, and the work of the International Women's Movement was put on a firm basis for the future. Two incidents gave special significance to the conference. The first was the discussion on the revolutionary position, opened by Trotsky, not as the British M.P. condescendingly goes to crack little jokes with the ladies, but as a great leader facing intelligent helpers anxious for their co-operation and sympathy. The second was the arrival of the women from the Far East, a perfectly staged moment worthy of the campaign which opened at Baku.

The note of the conference, continually stressed, was that the wrongs of women as a sex are closely related to the wrongs of the exploited masses. In those countries where women are supposed to have been emancipated, what has really happened is that a few rich women have used their working class sisters to get rid of bonds that were irksome to the ladies who, with the spoils of victory, then retired into the ranks of capitalism, using the old slogans of the suffrage fight to persuade working women to surrender all protection in order that they might be the more easily exploited by Capital. Real freedom can only be obtained through the revolution which will emancipate their class. Still, it is as well for working women to be vigilant, and to lay the foundations of future freedom now.

The Solidarity of Anarchism and the Fight against the Left

By D. IVON JONES

THE "Anarchist" incident in the closing session of the Red Trade Union Congress is too significant to pass over without comment. It was not a mere misunderstanding which, through good fortune, was smoothed over. Given other conditions it could have developed into a grand combat with West European anarchism—the left menace to the Revolution. One felt we were back again in the old atmosphere of Marx versus Bakunin. Such a propitious ground of attack on Anarcho-Syndicalist philosophy may not appear again, as that arising from the request of the Anarcho-Syndicalist delegation for the Soviet Republic to release the Anarchists in prison, Anarchists caught with arms in their hands conspiring against the proletarian Republic. What will the workers of France, who in the mass do not care a fig for theory when they are faced with a fact, what will they think of such an astounding request? The only drawback to making an issue of the matter is that its proletarian exponents are the dupes of petty bourgeois ideology, and may themselves be quite sincere fighters for the revolution. Although, in reading the reports of the Red Trade Union Congress, one cannot but notice the complete absence of all reference to the Soviet régime and the Dictatorship of the proletariat in the speeches of the anti-political Syndicalists at this congress. The vague word "revolution" is not enough to define working class intentions.

Are they Different?

Bucharin, in making his statement on the imprisoned Anarchists, said that Russian Anarchism is different from West European Anarchism. I think he said this more for the sake of good feeling than of good theory. In other circumstances he would probably have said that Anarchism is at a more advanced stage of expression in Russia than in Western Europe. Just as Communism is more advanced here, so its enemies to Right and to Left have their inherent propensities brought out more blatantly into the open day. What difference is there between the Machno bands which say: "Down with all governments," and the West European Anarchist, who, with mellifluous libertarian phrases, denounces all interference, even proletarian interference, with individual liberty? The only difference is that Machno has passed to the propaganda of the deed.

In Machno the economic basis for Anarchism is exposed. He hates all governments, because all governments rob the poor rich peasants of their hoards of bread. The White Government plunders

him for profit. The Red Government takes his store of corn for the common good. The philosophic Anarchist does not confess even to himself the economic root of his libertarian phrases. He does not know their root.* Petty bourgeois Anarchism, like petty bourgeois reformism, draws on all classes for exponents; even on the proletarian class, the class which has no hoards of bread, it imposes its psychology, as in France.

As Plechanoff showed in his work on Anarchism, it is idle for the philosophic Anarchist to disavow the propaganda of the deed. Firstly, their writings, their phrases and their slogans, become the slogans of the Machno band and the bomb-thrower. Secondly, Plechanoff showed how the philosophic companions greeted the propaganda of the deed when any of the more ardent brethren bombed a Parliament or stabbed a king. While disavowing the act, they greeted the propagandist by deed as worthy of Anarchism. There is no halting place for Anarchism between the phrase and the deed. The very ethereal and refined Berkman provide the watchword for the more practical Machnos. It is a true instinct, therefore, which makes the philosophic brethren of the West plead for the bomb-throwing brethren of Russia.

Anarchism and Anti-Parliamentarism

Anti-Parliamentarism in itself is no sign of Anarchism. Tom Mann was a doughty antagonist of parliamentary reformism in his old syndicalist days, before the conditions of revolutionary political action had yet fully evolved. Much that is healthy disgust with "parliamentary cretinism" goes under the name of Anarchism in Italy, France and Spain. The test of its sincerity is the willingness of such elements not only to acclaim the Soviet Republic (many bourgeois liberals do that), not only to acclaim the Communist International as the fighting head of the proletariat—both these institutions are far away in Moscow, and the petty bourgeois has a habit of acclaiming many things as good at a distance which he will bitterly oppose at home—no, the test of sincerity in such Anarchist or Syndicalist elements, so-called, is their readiness to see in the Communist Party right at home the necessary weapon of emancipation, of the fight against the bourgeois state power.

At the Red Trade Union Congress the Anarchist-Syndicalist elements opposed any relation with either the Communist parties or the Communist International, and even evaded references to the Soviet Republic and the Dictatorship of the proletariat. Without these weapons of revolution, the Anarcho-Syndicalists have failed to show, have not even attempted to show, how they will pull down

*It is a mishandling of the Materialist conception to speak of the "Economic Roots of Ideas." Ideas are exploited but not produced by economic interests. Ideas clamour for admission. Ruling interests decide which ones shall enter the doors of publicity. In a larger sense, of course, the production of ideas is conditioned by the material surroundings as variously seen by thinking men. But the subject is too big to enter into here. It involves the "sincerity" of the propagandist, which is always a tough nut to crack for the counter-propagandist. See Marx in "Eighteenth Brumaire" on relation of petty bourgeois class to its representatives among the Intelligentsia.—D. I. J.

and keep down the bourgeois State power, and how they will build up a proletarian State upon its ruins.

Anarchism and the Petty-Bourgeoisie

Without these conditions of struggle, the Anarcho-Syndicalists express only the aims of the petty bourgeoisie, who wish to break up the big capitalist State, but not to build another in its place. Anarchism is the paradise of the petty bourgeoisie. Anarchism is the ideology of the disgruntled bourgeois, squeezed out in the furious race for profits. "Scratch an Anarchist and you will find a reformist, scratch a reformist and you will find an Anarchist," said Daniel De Leon. But while expressing the vague longings of the petty bourgeois for a state of society, not where all shall be proletarians, but where all shall be petty bourgeois, Anarchism, especially in the form of Anarcho-Syndicalism, serves the purpose of the capitalist domination. The petty trader longs for some weapon against the big capitalist State which will not itself become an organised State power. It wont have the Communist Party for that reason. It has no weapon of its own except the futile one of non-resistance. He sees a weapon in Anarcho-Syndicalism, because it dissipates the power of the proletariat just at the point when it would become an organised State power. Thus both the big and small capitalists are pleased.

Anarcho-Syndicalism pretends that in opposing the Communist Party it only wants to keep the movement purely proletarian on the industrial field. It ignores the overwhelming power of the Capitalist Press, its power to give bourgeois minds to common proletarians. Thus, in the Syndicates without a party, instead of the clear-minded proletarians being able to move to a common watchword and close discipline unhampered by the amorphous mass, as they would be in the form of a Communist Party, they are assimilated to the general level of the mass. The mass can only see its immediate interests. The clear-headed proletarians, gathered together in the form of a Communist Party to direct the mass, see also the ultimate interests of the working class, and are able to guide the masses accordingly. Thus Anarcho-Syndicalism, in spite of its high-sounding phrases, by this very boycott of the organisation of the clear-headed sections of the proletarians into a common group—called a party—hinders most effectively the pursuit of the ultimate aims of the proletariat. It splits up the class movement into a false antagonism of political versus industrial. The amorphous mass of the trades unions, no matter how well organised, well led, are left wholly at the mercy of bourgeois press propaganda, and other bourgeois agencies at the crucial moments. The circumambient air is bourgeois. Even though the leaders be true, having no party following, their voices pitted against the tornado of the bourgeois press, are not heard even by their own membership. The mass moves to its immediate interests only. And Anarcho-Syndicalism in the hour of revolution, would halt the proletariat at the stage of immediate demands, at the stage of disrupting the capitalist State power in the interests of the petty bourgeoisie, without going for-

ward to the formation of a proletarian State power in the interest of the proletariat. We are here speaking of class motives, class designs of an instinctive character imposed upon the workers by petty bourgeois Anarchism. In actual fact, of course, the conditions for the most effective struggle for the immediate needs of the proletariat are also, in the revolutionary crisis, the condition for the attainment of the ultimate objective. The means and the end become one. The dualism of the peaceful era of capitalism vanishes.

Other Symptoms

It is this instinct of the petty bourgeois, this unavowed desire for a political instrument of destruction, which is behind such schemes as Guild Socialism. How it loves to harp on the "consumer." It longs for a state of consumers, based on Orage's instruments of consumption. Meanwhile the trades unions are to control industry, including no doubt the State's Army and Navy! What abnegation! Here is the Anarcho-Syndicalist idea of the after-the-revolution period. Like the Anarchist pure and simple, it dotes on the saving power of the consumer. The proletarian forces, it will be seen, have been good enough to smash up the capitalist State, and then withdrawn to second place to make room for the "consumer," the universal customer. Anarcho-Syndicalism and Guild Socialism makes the proletariat pull the chestnuts out of the fire for the petty bourgeoisie. Because such schemes are Utopian, futile, childish in the extreme to any student of history, it does not follow that they are harmless. In the meantime the sabotaging of the workers' revolutionary party by the Anarcho-Syndicalists to the tune of seemingly ultra-revolutionary slogans, does incalculable harm to the revolution.

The counter-revolutionary effect of the Anarcho-Syndicalist doctrine has been laid bare by the Kronstadt mutiny, where the slogan of the counter-revolution was "Soviets without the Communists." The Vienna Congress of the Two-and-a-Half International pledged itself to Soviets, but minus the 21 points. Thus Anarcho-Syndicalism, Guild Socialism and Reform Pacifism at last find their joint image in the slogan of the Kronstadt counter-revolution, in the camp of the White Guard. So long as classes have not disappeared, so long as the whole of the people have not been turned into producers, Soviets or trade unions without the guiding hand of the Communist Party must inevitably deteriorate into amorphous bodies and become a prey to bourgeois influences. The petty bourgeois have no instrument of their own. They waver between the two big classes. They see an instrument in the trades unions, even in the Soviets, if properly misguided on the lines of Anarcho-Syndicalism. Hence why it is that in countries like France and Spain, with preponderant petty-proprietorship, the prevailing habits of thought tend to permeate the workers' organisations, disguised as anti-capitalist thought, but in reality not pro-proletarian. Thus we have the Comite Syndicaliste Revolutionnaire (C.S.R.), appealing for a return to the Charter of Amiens, which is the identical appeal which Jouhaux, the henchman of Big Capital, makes. Forward to the Communist International, not back to the

Charter of Amiens, is the test of true revolutionary policy to-day. As the pressure increases the rank and file must more and more look to a revolutionary political party of the working class to guide and direct the struggle, even though the Anarcho-Syndicalist leaders themselves may be too deeply rooted in old prejudices and forms of thought, to say nothing of "amour propre," to change. Meanwhile, these leaders, who like the Bourbons, learn nothing and forget nothing, are doing a great dis-service to the proletarian cause by their separatism in regard to the Communist International and their solidarity in regard to the Russian Anarchists—two expressions of the one anti-proletarian idea.

D. IVON JONES.

BACK NUMBERS OF THE "Communist Review"

Those who are anxious to make up a complete set of the
"Communist Review"

may obtain some of the back numbers, price 8d. each,
post free, by sending their order to:—

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

So great was the demand for the August issue that we printed an additional supply. This is the celebrated number that contains the now famous speech by Lenin on the modern tactics of the Russian Communist Party. It also contains a remarkable statement on revolutionary policy prepared by Lenin, Trotsky, Zinoviev, Radek, Bukarin and Kameneff. There is, further, the interesting theses by Zinoviev on the relation of industrial organisations to the political party and a series of half-tone portraits of distinguished leaders in the International Revolutionary Movement. The August issue of the

"Communist Review"

was a special International Congress number. Branches and Agents should note that this particular issue should be placed in the hands of all new members of the Party, and that they ought to stock sufficient copies to last until the fourth International Communist Congress takes place.

The Young Proletarian Movement : Its Origin, Character and Aims

By ALEXANDER LEONTIEFF

I.

Historical Basis of the Young Workers' Organisation

THE Labour movement is the most important factor in modern history. It may be said to have now approached its final aim—Communism. At the dawn of the proletarian struggle, this aim was looked upon by quite a large number of people as an impossible Utopia, the idle fancy of dreamers. But the long road which the Labour movement has covered from its rise to the present day, the road of incessant struggle, of temporary defeats, and brilliant victories, has made it clear to millions that the ultimate victory of the proletariat is certain. The Labour movement is a stormy sea beating against the rock of capitalism. Just as rivulets and streams join together into a mighty river flowing to the sea, so certain proletarian organisations play the part of tributaries to the great Labour movement. The Young Workers' movement is a part of that movement; it is one of the rivers forming an imperious sea.

The greater part of those belonging to the Young Workers' organisation cannot possibly participate in the general organisation of the working class. This explains its peculiar value to the Labour movement. What are the causes which gave rise to the Young Workers' movement?

In its victorious march, capitalism ruthlessly destroys the family. The supreme ruler of capitalist society snatches from the proletarian family first the woman, and then the child and drives them both into stuffy workshops, noisy factories, and in some countries even into dark and damp mines.

In the earliest period of capitalism children were employed in large numbers. As far back as 1833 the labour of children from five to nine years of age was employed in the cotton mills of England, where they were compelled to work as long as from 14 to 16 hours a day.*

Technical development leads to the simplification of all labour processes until it is finally reduced to a number of quite simple operations. This renders possible the mass exploitation of women and children. The capitalist prefers child labour as the cheapest form of labour and the workers, burdened with children, are compelled "by the bony hand of famine" to throw them into this inhuman form of exploitation.

*Fr. Engels "Condition of the Working Class in England."

The end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries saw the employment of child labour at its height. The number of young workers as compared with the adult proletariat becomes fairly large in all countries. Thus, according to a census taken in 1907 the number of children between the ages of 14 to 18 engaged in various occupations in Germany was three millions; in Switzerland in 1912 405,000 labourers, including 92,000 young workers, that is to say, almost 22½ per cent. of the working population.†

The labour of young persons is exploited in two directions. (1) In large machine industry; (2) in small industry. Whilst the capitalist prefers child labour as the cheapest form of labour, the small manufacturers and craftsmen find in their unlimited exploitation the sole means by which they can compete with large production. "Small industry is preserved by the employment of apprentices," writes V. Muzenbug in one of his articles.‡

What is the price of this "preservation"? It is the lives of thousands upon thousands of young beings, who never learn to know "*the golden age of youth,*" who are kept at exhausting work beyond all endurance, and who grow prematurely old and perish.

In some countries the numbers of young workers employed in small production, and whose conditions of life are most precarious, are very considerable. In Switzerland, a country where small industries prevail, out of 92,000 young workers in 1912 about 30,000, i.e., nearly a third, were apprenticed to various trades. In the more developed branch of Swiss industry, viz., in the textile industry, in which large enterprises prevail, the number of apprentices reached the figure of 1,500 out of a total number of 22,300 working youths, making only one-fifteenth of the whole. (These figures are for 1905).

The rise and development of the general labour movement was forced into existence owing to the unbearable exploitation and oppression of the masses. The younger of these who live under difficult conditions, formed the basis from which were recruited the Young Socialists.

The young workers' organisations rise, first of all, as a movement directed towards the *improvement of the economic conditions of the young wage earners*. In some countries it is pledged to other tasks. On the whole, however, it pays particular attention to the economic problem. The young workers were known to have formed unions at the beginning of capitalism. At that time there existed what we may call the harbinger of the modern labour movement—Brotherhoods of Apprentices; it was in connection with these that in certain places apprentice organisations arose which were the prototypes of the modern socialist movement of Young Workers. Thus, in the revolutionary year of 1848, there were established in Vienna, as well as in Austria generally, "Organisations of young apprentices," whose first demands were

†*Freie Jugend* (Free Youth), organ of the Swiss Social-Democratic League of Youth, 1917.

‡Programme of the Free Youth. *Freie Jugend*, No: 18, August, 1917.

“the reduction of exploitation and oppression and the procuring of better conditions of life and work.” These organisations were, however, destined to fall beneath the heavy blow of reaction, before they ever had an opportunity of manifesting themselves. About half a century later the movement of the Young Workers rose again, this time in a more durable and organised form. In the eighties it made its appearance in Belgium. Whatever has been done to introduce apprentice laws, imperfect as they are from a socialist point of view, is due to the struggle of the Young Workers' organisation. A struggle was carried on co-jointly with the worker's ordinary trade unions. But the adult workers refused, for a long time, to pay attention to the conditions under which their younger brothers worked.

II.

The Struggle against Militarism

IN addition to the economic reasons, such as the widespread employment of the labour of the young, there was also a number of other reasons which gave rise to the organisation of the young workers. The first one of these is militarism, which has blossomed out on the bloodstained soil of imperialism during the last decade.

The imperialist system, with its national struggle for markets, competition, aggressive policy, and aims of world domination, inevitably led to the growth and development of militarism and to an enormous increase of military power. The “Armed Peace,” which was established in Europe after the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-71, as well as the notorious theory of a European balance of power, led to the uninterrupted growth of militarism.

The whole burden of imperialism fell upon the toiling masses at home and abroad. It is they who supply the means necessary for the manufacture of armaments. It is they who supply the flesh and blood of the armies which perish in wars waged in the interests of their capitalist rulers. Another and important purpose of militarism in bourgeois States is that of a force against the working class; it is an undisputed fact that armies, especially in peace time, are more often employed against “the internal” enemy—i.e., the Labour and Socialist movement than against any foreign power.

It is not surprising, therefore, that the Socialist parties of all countries, for a long time, struggled against militarism. This struggle took the form of protests against monstrous armaments; of peace agitation and propaganda carried on against almost insurmountable difficulties. At the same time it was most important to deprive if possible, the bourgeoisie of the power which the army represents. It became indispensable to render the army unfit for “home use” against the struggling workers. Quite naturally, the idea arose to take the young workers in hand prior to their being called up for military service.

On the other hand, the young workers who were Socialists, and who had experienced the sufferings inflicted by military service, could not but protest against it. This led to their fight against

militarism. Military oppression, added to the oppression of economic exploitation, was another of the causes that gave rise to the Young Workers' movement and a large number of organisations were organised for the purpose of fighting militarism.

This, for instance, happened in the case of Belgium with the formation of the first organisation of the Young Workers. In certain cases these groups were formed by the Socialist parties in their struggle against militarism. This took place in the Scandinavian countries. The struggle was rather weak in those countries where there existed difficult political conditions as, for example, in Austria, where the oppression of the Hapsburg monarchy was strongest.

"That the Young Workers' movement fights against militarism is a fact familiar to almost every Socialist child. The militarist education of the young instituted in chauvinist interests led to blind hatred against the nations; it is guilty of the terrible crime of devastating whole countries and slaughtering the flower of our manhood. This military education for war is counter-balanced by the Social-Democratic League of Youth by means of a Socialist preparation for peace."* It must be said, however, that the work of these leagues of youth had never been limited merely to a "Socialist preparation for peace" by the propaganda of anti-militarist ideas. A more direct anti-militarist activity, taking the form of demonstrations and protests against militarism and military service, was also carried on. Some of the largest demonstrations held were those in Belgium during the mobilisation for the 1914 war. "Large processions paraded the towns on the way to the recruiting stations, carrying red banners and singing revolutionary songs, the demonstrators were dressed in mourning and wore black bands round their hats. When the turn came for members of the Belgium organisation of the Young Workers, it was known then as the 'Young Guard,' to draw their lot, instead of doing so they delivered fiery speeches, refusing to draw their numbers. This was followed by their being compulsorily drawn into the army."†

Finally direct evasion of military service was practiced in certain cases as the best method of actual struggle.

III.

The Cultural Tasks of the Movement

THE Young Workers' movement, which arose as a result of economic oppression, depression and the struggle against militarism, very soon extended to almost every country and acquired many hundreds of thousands of members. In addition to the economic struggle and anti-militarist activity, which were the chief tasks of the movement at the time of its establishment, it was soon faced by a more far-reaching and greater task, viz.:—*The education of the wide masses of the young workers in the spirit of Socialism and the class struggle and the training of the young workers to take their part as fighters in the struggle for the emancipation of Labour.*

*V. Muzenburg: "Programme of the Free Youth."

†G. Chitcherin: "The History of the Young International."

The movement thus assumed different forms in accordance with the local conditions in the various countries. In Belgium it was principally an anti-militarist movement; in Austria it concentrated its forces on the economic struggle; in Germany its activity was more of an educational character, and so on. Yet in every country it followed one direction and pursued one aim, *Socialist education and the training of the young workers.*

The reason for this is quite clear. "The future belongs to those who have the young on their side," and it is of course to the Socialists, the fighters for a new and brighter future, that the future should belong. It is therefore natural that the most ardent revolutionary Socialists should have directed their attention to the Young Workers, who are drawn into the general proletarian class struggle as the result of the position which they occupy in bourgeois society.

What are the methods by which this aim of the movement of the Young Workers is attained? What are the methods by which this extremely important task of the movement is being solved?

The primary method is that of educational activity. In the majority of cases the bourgeois system deprives the young workers of real education. Compelled to work for a living from an early age, they have to consider their education finished after two or three years' attendance at an elementary school. Suffering and destitution soon drive out of their head much of the knowledge which they may have acquired at school. "The Young Workers' organisation strives, first of all, to supply the young proletariat with information which *will be of the utmost importance to them in their after-life to guide them both in their political and economic struggle.*"†

Although, generally speaking, the educational activity of the organisations has thus a practical aim, these eventually become more than "recruiting schools for social democracy," as Robert Danneberg, one of the leaders of the movement, said during the war. They are now extending their activity to raising the educational and cultural level of all young wage-earners. In the reply to the question: What are our aims?—raised in the *Arbeiter Jugend* (Young Workers) (No. 21, 1912), the central organ of the German Young Workers' organisation—a prominent social-democratic educational leader, Henrich Schultz, said:—"We do not aim at converting the proletarian youth from the ages of 14-18 merely into politicians and social-democrats. We want to avoid our great and noble teaching becoming hateful and repulsive to the young workers as happens in the case of religion in present-day schools, as a result of compulsory and artificial inculcation. But it is our wish that young working men and women should grow up a free thinking people, looking upon the world with clear and bright eyes constantly striving to improve their own education and to acquire a knowledge and understanding of life. What we want is that the desire for the well-being of the human race should burn fiercely in their breasts and that they should sacrifice all their ambition and

†V. Muzenburg: "Programme of the Free Youth."

pride to the interests of the hard and persistent struggle for the higher ideals of modern culture."

These words mainly apply to the movement of Germany which, prior to the great war of 1914, made great strides in the sphere of education and culture. It is true that this was accomplished at the expense of certain important tasks, particularly in the political struggle. Here are some figures which substantiate this much more eloquently than words. In 1913 there were in Germany 291 houses for Young Workers, as these were called, being in reality clubs of the movement. There were also 171 libraries. For the year under review, 3,309 lectures and reports were read and delivered, 2,405 literary and musical evenings were organised, as well as 672 excursions to museums, picture galleries and 3,630 rambles, and so forth. The total number of persons participating in all these undertakings amounted to the amazing figure of 3,000,000. The organ of the movement, *The Arbeiter Jugend* (The Young Worker), prior to the war, had a circulation of 1,000,000 copies. This was a splendid magazine, supplying a great deal of educational matter.

These figures make it clear that the educational work of the movement is not narrowly limited. This work embraces the wide masses of proletarian youth, and affords them a proper understanding of the social sciences and strives to fill in the gaps of their general education. It is training "the ranks of the new fighters," which are to take the place of the fighters who become old and worn out.

The movement of youth is thus cultural. It has declared war against all the "privileges of the bourgeois culture," which poisons the heart and soul of the young and which render them incapable of taking an actual part in the struggle. In place of capitalistic spiritual slavery, the movement supplies to the young proletariat a healthy atmosphere of comradely solidarity and equality, affording them the opportunity of forming an acquaintance with at least the most important branches of human knowledge. It brushes aside with contempt the reproach of their bourgeois opponents, that they direct their efforts to draw *inexperienced young people* into the sphere of political life. If the capitalist regards young and inexperienced workers to be sufficiently mature for the purpose of exploitation we must not be surprised if they organise to put up a struggle for emancipation. The assurance made by the bourgeoisie to the effect that no political influence is exercised by them in education is sheer hypocrisy. In reality, everything taught in school touching upon social science, is thoroughly imbued with bourgeois ideas of nationalism, chauvinism, and so forth. The proletariat has no need for concealing the facts of social science, hence the young proletarian organisations treat openly that which the bourgeoisie pass over in silence. From the very moment that the young workers make their entrance in industrial life, from the moment they fall into the whirlpool of capitalist lies and exploitation, they tend to become conscious of their class position, and instinctively feel their place in the social struggle. It is the task of the Young Workers' organisation to supply its members with such information and to

educate them in such a way as to enable them to become *conscious* of these sentiments. One of the principal means is by the study of the theory of scientific Socialism, which opens the eyes of young workers to the nature of the existing social system.

To counteract the poison of bourgeois education and ideology is a great and difficult task. Therefore, in addition to the numerous economic demands which are made from the Young Workers' classes, such as the abolition of Sunday employment, the organisation of courses of study during labour hours without reductions of pay, etc., a number of demands of an educational character are also put forward.

Dealing with the educational work of the organisations, it is necessary to mention an important institution which is particularly widespread in England, namely, the Socialist Sunday schools. The labour movement in England and especially the powerful trade unions pay far less attention to educational activity than in other countries. It was only the Socialist parties which, prior to the war, were by no means mass organisations, devoted any attention to educational work. A section of the intellectuals who took part in the Socialist organisations considered their particular tasks in the movement to be the spread of Socialist education under a coating of philanthropic, humanitarian, and moral teachings amongst the young masses. These schools did not preach the class war and were anti-revolutionary. The Socialist Sunday schools were indebted to them for their existence. In the first place these Sunday schools were intended for working class children. Very soon, however, large numbers of the proletarian youth with little education attended the classes. "In addition to this purely educational work, the Socialist Sunday schools paid particular attention to the development of the character of the pupils in the spirit of what the intellectuals working in the Socialist movement considered to be Socialist morality. The pupils learned by heart the Ten Commandments, of Socialist ethics, which really represented sentimental and Utopian maxims of a vague and philanthropic character. Many pupils devoted themselves to sports, games, excursions, and great care was taken of the development of individual character and the moral training of individual pupils."* Owing to the sentimental character of these Socialist Sunday schools several revolutionary workers formed sections of their own. Until recently these groups were the sole representatives of the Young Socialist movement in England. A Young Communists group was organised in the industrial districts in the North of England, a section was very active in the West of Scotland, and groups sprang up in London and South Wales.

"Our aim is not only to educate the young, but also to afford the young worker the possibility to act this very day for himself and for his comrades," says Muzenburg in his article on educational work. This is so. The activities of the organisation are by no means limited to the education of the young workers. More than that, it affords them the possibility of being active and to fight now. This self-reliance and actual struggle prepares fighters for the future.

*Chitcherin : "The History of the Young International."

Whilst the Socialist educational work supplies the young workers with theoretical knowledge they acquire in their organisations also the necessary practical experience to enable them to take part and to be accustomed to the proletarian class struggle. This is of as great importance to the proletarian youth as a knowledge of theoretical scientific Socialism.

During the score or so years of its existence it has passed through a revolutionary filter and has thoroughly trained a large mass of young workers. The ranks of the young organisations of all countries have given scores and hundreds of leaders and thousands of revolutionary fighters to the movement. It is interesting to observe that among the participants at the first Congress of the Communist International were a number of very influential comrades who had passed through the above mentioned schools. For instance, there was Max Albert, who took an active part in the movement of the Young German Workers; Otto Grimlund, who was a member of the Swedish League of Youth; and I. Milkitch, the Serbian delegate, who was active in the Young Workers' movement. This list is by no means complete.

IV.

The Betrayal

NO group was more shamelessly betrayed in 1914 by the Second International than the Young Workers' movement. Because of their youth, they were the first victims of the various imperialist States. In this struggle the Young Workers' organisations met with the active support of the truly revolutionary elements of the Labour movement; those elements which remained at their posts during the war formed the nucleus of the Third Communist International. On many occasions the organisations of Youth were established on the initiative of comrades uncontaminated with the opportunism of the Second International, who quite properly sought in the young workers a support for the revolutionary struggle for Socialism and a means for strengthening the revolutionary strivings against capitalist imperialism. It is sufficient to recall the fact that the Leagues of Youth of Northern Germany were **born due** to the initiative of Karl Leibknecht. In Holland, Henrietta Roland-Holst took an active part in the organisations of young workers. In Sweden the movement was greatly helped by Linhagen, and in Hungary by Leibknecht's friend—Alpary.

The position of the Young Workers' movement was most unfavourable in those countries which had strongly organised and centralised parties guided by the spirit of compromise. This was the case in Germany, where the Social-Democratic Party at first treated the movements of Youth with distrust and refused to support their organisations in any way. As soon, however, as the movement rapidly spread all over the country, the Party decided to pay attention to it and to try and exercise an influence over it. The law published in 1914, by the German Government (17 of the State code), prohibiting youths up to the age of 18 to take part in any

kind of political organisations, was of great assistance to the Social-Democratic opportunists. They exploited this law for the purpose of establishing a strong control over the Young Workers' movement. Independent organisations of Young Workers were forcibly liquidated, and the entire work of the Social-Democratic Party amongst the young workers were transferred to the so-called "Committees of Youth," which were composed of representatives of the Social-Democratic Party, of free, social-democratic trade unions, and occasionally also of representatives of the young workers. Notwithstanding the favourable financial conditions which were brought about by the fact that the Social-Democratic Party systematically subsidised the Young Workers' organisations, the movement suffered greatly in quality by having been deprived of the most important factor, namely, that of self-reliance and independence.

The Anarchist movement among the youth was strongly developed in many countries; this movement was partly fed by the revolutionary strivings of the young workers, who were in a critical position during the peaceful and treacherous epoch of the Second International, and partly by the struggle of the opportunist official parties against the independence of the Young Workers' movement. There were Anarchist organisations of young workers in Sweden called "Young Socialists." Similar organisations existed in Belgium, France and Italy. In all these countries the Anarchist movement among the young workers developed at the time of the struggle of the Young Workers' organisations against the moderate parties. They passed out of existence immediately the relations between these were regulated on the basis of the independence of the former.

The bourgeois Young People's movement, which existed in a number of countries prior to the establishment of the workers' movement, was another rival and enemy of the Young Socialist Workers' movement. At the outset these bourgeois Young People's organisations were formed by various capitalist parties and religious associations with the idea of bringing up the young generation to be loyal defenders of the existing system of capitalism. From the standpoint of the class struggle the most successful movements were the various forms of Boy Scout organisations, which exist in almost every West European country. There are quite a number of attractions in the Boy Scout movement for the young proletarian; of these we may mention such alluring things to a child's imagination as the bright military uniform, all sorts of ornaments, and the excitement of war atmosphere which appeal to the children of the labouring classes.

The Scout movement provides a preparatory training for the growing population, especially of the ruling class, for the coming class struggle. The slogan: "Be Prepared," actually means be prepared for a struggle against the working class. This was clearly evident during the war, and the revolution. With the outbreak of the war the scouts in all countries became the most enthusiastic and dauntless young champions of chauvinism and traditional patriotism. Whilst in the present Communist revolution of the proletariat, which is spreading rapidly after the war, the scouts everywhere represent

a strong capitalist fortress against the workers. The development of the revolutionary Young Workers' movement led to the necessity of its International amalgamation. The movement in various countries was faced with a number of questions and problems the solution of which was possible only on an international scale. The number of questions which had to be dealt with included, for instance, the struggle against militarism, the question of the relations with Socialist and Communist parties, the struggle against hostile organisations of young workers, the rôle of the Young Workers' organisations as schools for the revolutionary struggle, etc. We give a short outline of the reasons why the Young Workers threw in their lot with the Communist International.

The Second International fell with the first shots of the world war. The Socialist parties of the Second International formed an alliance with their bourgeois government for the "Defence of the Fatherland." The sight was truly ignominious; Socialists of various countries, who had protested their international solidarity and revolutionary preparedness, became the lackeys of their class enemies. The workers were overwhelmed and stampeded by the onrush of events, by the war, and the treachery of their leaders. Only the most class conscious and revolutionary representatives of the working masses understood the situation well and strove to continue the revolutionary struggle.

Historical justice demands that we note that almost in all countries the young workers were the first section of the working class which declared a "war against war," and the Young Workers organisations were the first proletarian groups to take up a revolutionary attitude on the question of the war. This was not unexpected to those who were acquainted with the Young Workers' movement prior to the war. These organisations were in all countries famous for their self-sacrifice, courage and revolutionary spirit. The war opened the possibilities of the application of these qualities: it is a chapter of the history of the imperialist war written in tears and blood.

The Young Workers did not fear to put up a fight against the grey-haired "leaders" of the proletariat, who went over to the side of the bourgeoisie. These "milksops from the League of Youth," as the German opportunists called the young rebels, had enough courage to afford unanimous support to Leibknecht and his followers; they did everything to raise the red banner of Socialism out of the muddy pool of blood, where it had been trampled upon by the united efforts of the social traitors of all countries. For this sort of activity the Young Workers' organisations were broken up with all the severity of wartime law. The organisations were closed by the police; the leaders were arrested and thrown into prison, and their papers suppressed by the Government. These "feasts" of the bourgeoisie and the bourgeois state met with the active support of the alleged guardians of the Young Workers, namely, the official Socialist parties. This gave rise to a universal split between them and the Young Workers. Credit should be given to the Young Workers and their organisations for re-establishing the revolutionary international communications, which had been destroyed by the war.

The International Bureau, No. 16 of the *Jugend Internationale* (Young International), gives the following report of the First Congress of the Young Communist International, which took place in November, 1919: "International communication was re-established in the spring of 1915 at Berne. This Congress was convened by the initiative of the Italian, Scandinavian, and Swiss comrades. With this Congress the Young Workers' movement entered upon a new stage of its development. For the first time the Young International took up a definite position as a political organisation with regard to the more important political and tactical questions of the labour movement. The Berne International Congress of 1915 of Young Workers, in which representatives from Russia, Poland, Germany, Italy, Scandinavia, Switzerland and Holland took part, definitely decided upon the international solidarity of the proletariat and denounced the treachery of the social traitors. The Congress called on the masses to demonstrate against the war. It was decided to set aside one day in the year to organise an international demonstration of all the Young Workers."

These demonstrations were held on October 3rd, 1915, September 3rd, 1916, September 2nd, 1917, and October 4th, 1918. Their agitational importance was most valuable. They made a great impression on the adult workers and reminded the bourgeoisie of its impending doom.

The International Bureau, which was elected at the Berne Congress, brought the question of the struggle against the war to the forefront. The fact that the conditions of this struggle were equally difficult in all countries gave rise to the necessity for the amalgamation of the movement of the various countries. The Berne International ceased to limit itself to the establishment of communication and mutual information; it became the headquarters of all the battalions of Young Workers, which rose against the war. It issued campaign instructions and revolutionary slogans. This International Bureau took part in the Zimmerwald Conferences, which represented the first attempt to unite the international revolutionary proletariat. Thus the first point of contact was established with the courageous group which was, at a later date, destined to build up the Communist International. The Berne International Bureau suffered persecution at the hands of the "Democratic" Swiss authorities for its revolutionary activity. Its secretary, one of the best workers of the International movement, Comrade V. Muzenberg, was arrested, detained in prison, and then exiled from Switzerland.

During the war, the revolutionary struggle, conducted under the most difficult conditions imaginable and great sacrifices, imported a *somewhat different character* to the Young Workers' movement. It no longer participated in the general struggle of the working class, as one of the elements of the orthodox Socialist movement. It became independent and waged a struggle against the old-fashioned official working class parties. Those Socialists who, like Karl Leibknecht, remained true to the International Socialist Revolution, understood the nature of this struggle. This explains the constant attention which these Socialists paid to the Young Workers' movement.

V.

The Young Vanguard of the Revolution

THE Young Workers in almost every country showed themselves during the war to be the "vanguard" of the "vanguard." They were the first to break with the opportunistic Second International. They enthusiastically accepted the ideas of the new Communist International before any other section of the working class.

At times of great strikes, demonstrations and armed risings, the Young Communists are to be seen in the front ranks. During the Spartacist rising of January, 1919 in Berlin, the Young Workers seized several districts in street fighting and defended them heroically against the desperate attacks of Noske's White Guards. The rising was suppressed, but the victims of the "Socialist" executioners included hundreds of young, undaunted, pure and self-sacrificing lives.

The Young Workers were the first to respond to the appeal for help by the Russian proletariat. On the second anniversary of the October revolution on November 7, 1919, a great demonstration was organised by the Young Workers. The iron measures of suppression which were taken in this connection by the "Democratic" governments of Western Europe and the "Socialist" government of Central Europe, led to the arrest of the more prominent leaders of the Young Workers' organisations and the prevention of the demonstration.

The International Congress of Young Workers' organisations, which took place in Berlin in 1919, and at which fourteen countries were represented, laid the foundations for the Communist International of Young Workers and clearly and fully defined the political life of the movement. The programme accepted by the Congress says: "The road to Socialism lies through the Dictatorship of the proletariat expressed in a revolutionary government of Soviets. The immediate task of the working class of all countries is to overthrow the political, economic and moral domination of imperialism, and to establish the Dictatorship of the proletariat.

The Communist International of Young Workers forms part of the Third International and is in close contact with the Communist parties or groups of each respective country.

The political rôle of the Young Workers' organisations in no way ends with the assistance which they render to the Communist parties. In the "Communist International, Nos. 7-8, in an article entitled, "Italy and the Revolution," it says that "In some backward agricultural districts where there are no adult organisations of any kind, there are, however, strong organisations of Young Socialists." In the same article it is stated that in Italy "Over 300,000 demobilised soldiers have united into a Socialist organisation. This organisation was formed chiefly as a result of the efforts of the young Socialists."

The young Socialists referred to above play a still greater part in the establishment of the Dictatorship of the proletariat. The

activity of the young workers expressed itself in the important assistance which they rendered to their grown-up Communist brothers in the struggle against the counter-revolution, as well as in the task of establishing a new form of society. We are able to judge of the importance of their work in Russia for the last two and a half years as well as by the brief experience in Soviet Hungary.

The primary task of the proletarian State is the armed defence of the revolution from all hostile forces. This defence is maintained with the assistance of the Red Army, which is composed of members of the best section of the working class. Thousands of young workers and peasant members of the League of Youth filled the ranks of the Red Army in Soviet Russia. The revolutionary youth of Hungary fought with undaunted courage and shared all the victories and defeats of the Hungarian Red Army. They also played a conspicuous part in the efforts to create a Red Labour Guard in Germany and Austria after the overthrow of the monarchy.

Another task of equal importance is the education of the ignorant working classes in the spirit and programme of Communism. In this direction the Young Workers' movement possess considerable experience in educational work. "During the Dictatorship we carried out a part of the great work of culture conducted by the Hungarian Soviet Republic; one organisation despatched to the agricultural districts over a hundred and fifty organisers and propagandists," writes Johann Lekay, in an article on the Young Proletarian movement in Hungary (*Jugend International*, Young International, No. 14, September-October, 1919).

The work of organising Socialist production in a proletarian Republic is really tremendous. The Socialist organisations of the labour of the Young Workers becomes the task of the organisations of the League of Youth. "A complete change of the conditions of labour of the Young Workers is possible only in Communist society," is a statement made in an article by a Hungarian comrade on the programme of the Young Communist International, and he continues: "The struggle that we have hitherto been carrying on against the capitalist state has now become a state task." The demands for a four and six-hour working day for young people, an adequate rate of pay, a close connection between labour and a general social education and a professional and technical training—all these strivings and aims of the Young Workers' organisations are now becoming realised in the labour state, with the close participation of the above organisations.

"A labour club is of greater importance in the history of the development of mankind than the battle of Sadova," said a certain German Liberal of the last century. We may paraphrase this and say "That the revolutionary movement of the young proletarians is of far greater importance than the aggressive 'peace' treaties of Brest and Versailles, more important than the plundering League of Nations, and all the rest of the historical activity of the imperialist bourgeoisie. Once we have a young, growing population in favour of Communism, its victory is certain, and this victory will sweep all the chains, with which Imperialism has bound the earth, into the scrap-heap of history."

Observations on the Scientific Education of the Proletariat*

By B. FOGARASI

THE scientific education of the proletariat, down to the present day, could not, in general, present any other spectacle than that till now afforded by the entire work of education—a picture of incoherent individual details, of lines running at random side by side, or intersecting one another, and not held together by any fixed arrangement. We are very far from undervaluing the sacrifice, the indefatigable and diligent work with which the sacrifice of the proletariat in the nineteenth century strove to impart to it the elements of science. But however great may be our regard for this irksome work it does not absolve us from the duty of passing a radical criticism upon it.

This criticism applies partly to the conduct, to the method, of the whole work of scientific education, and partly to the choice of the subjects of instruction, to the plan of teaching which is more or less uniformly adhered to everywhere. We shall begin with the logical arrangement of the details for reasons of greater, and come back to a discussion of the latter point.

The fact that Socialism is the only political and economic position which is based upon a scientific foundation explains why, from the beginning, it placed the centre of gravity of scientific teaching upon those branches of scientific knowledge which stood in immediate connection with Socialism. Thus the problems of national economy and the class struggle stood in the foreground of its interest. Moreover, it is natural that the so-called "general education" of the proletariat was advanced. This general education, however, has been conceived, for the most part, as education in natural science. For the outlook of the proletariat has been declared to be the so-called materialistic, natural scientific outlook by prominent leaders of the workers' movement. Ninety per cent of the lectures and courses at training-colleges deal with the theory of descent, the philosophy of Spencer, Darwin and Haeckel, the new "holy trinity of Atheism," as they have been aptly termed. Monism in the Haeckelist form was considered the crown of the knowledge which the proletariat has appropriated to itself.

Nowadays, it is no secret that this so-called natural-scientific outlook upon the world has nothing whatever to do with the natural sciences themselves. It asserts that the method of natural science is the only one upon the basis of which learning can be pursued. The consequence of this has been the transference of natural-

*Lecture to revolutionary students at Prague.

||Translated by P. Lavin from *Kommunismus*.

philosophical conceptions and forms to a sphere where at the best they can only have been used as similes. Of these transferences, that of the biological theory of evolution to social phenomena has been particularly fateful. The wholly false opposition of evolution and revolution which to-day is "scientifically" used against revolutionary Socialism owes its origin to the circumstance that the conception of evolution has been uncritically carried over from biology to social life. The idea of an evolution, mechanical and independent of ourselves, is the scientific scarecrow intended to deter the proletariat from resolute deeds.

For a long time the case was the same with psychology. But now we are indebted to the finest results of modern psychology for the circumstance that psychology has emancipated itself from mechanical materialism (always opposed by Marx) and desires to understand psychic phenomena in its own particular way. Psychology, however, is precisely that sphere of study which has been wrongfully neglected in the education of the proletariat. Monism represents at best, when looked at apart from the abstract obscurities clinging to it, a picture of Nature, of the *macrocosm*. What concerns us in the first place, however, is an insight into the *microcosm* of intellectual life, into the world of consciousness.

From the world of genuine Marxism this is only natural. The final import of the Marxian theory culminates in the thesis that man has hitherto lived in the realm of nature, in the realm of necessity, from which he must work himself up to the "realm of freedom." (See "Capital," Vol. iii., page 355; also Engel's "Mr. Eugen Dühring's Revolution in Science," page 306). This transition from the realm of nature to the realm of freedom is no mere natural occurrence, no mere biological phenomenon, but the apperception of man by himself. Marxism is a science of consciousness.

A deeper penetration into the phenomena of consciousness forms the key to the understanding of social phenomena in much greater measure than the natural sciences, whose great importance otherwise should in no way be called in question.

While we say that Marxism ends in a theory of consciousness, we do not mean by that psychology as taught at present in the universities. The science of consciousness embraces this psychology, but is a wider conception. Thus the study of class-consciousness which is for the proletariat a decisively important study, alike theoretically and practically, cannot be treated with the means of psychology hitherto existing; because class-consciousness cannot be taken hold of either with the instruments of experimental psychology in the laboratory, or by self-observation. Class-consciousness, on the whole, cannot be established empirically: it is a construction like every other fundamental conception of science. We are therefore involved in the theory of the perceptive faculty, whose full significance for the education of the proletariat was not nearly highly enough valued.

Self-knowledge and self-consciousness in the problems through which the proletariat will actually achieve its liberation, required therefore, as a foundation, a scientific education extending over the

whole sphere of human consciousness. We have had occasion to see how eagerly the proletariat rushed to acquire this knowledge, when the opportunity presented itself. This is not to be wondered at, for the lack of this knowledge was always a great hindrance in the political movement. If Socialism is a scientific policy, then not only production, but also the policy itself, that is human actions, must be scientifically comprehended. In fact the handling of men in politics under which category the whole movement—organisation, propaganda, etc.—falls, must be pursued, not merely instinctively but scientifically and consciously. The human life of consciousness, beginning with the life of instinct, up to the highest psychic forms, must be unlocked, with all its riches, to the proletariat.

But as Socialism, specially revolutionary Socialism, insists upon not only knowledge but action as well, the greatest importance must be placed upon the fact that in the education of the proletariat this action must be understood in the fullest sense by the subject of the action (that is, by the proletariat). To make feasible self-consciousness in our actions and therefore, to use Engel's words, "to take the fate of humanity in our own hands," constitutes the task of the science of ethics, which analyses human consciousness from an entirely new standpoint, namely, with regard to duty, with regard to productive acts.

We shall be told that it is useless to burden the proletariat with such a difficult and complicated a thing as the study of ethics, that in the domain of ethics great uncertainty still prevails, and that the capacity for action of the proletariat need not be disturbed by "speculation." But in the first place, it is not at all correct to say that ethics is a "difficult and complicated thing;" in the second place, the uncertainty is only an appearance which vanishes when the subject is looked at closely; in the third place, the strength of the proletariat to act is not paralysed but increased, if the proletariat comprehends the ethical problems with which it must occupy itself, no longer chaotically, but in ideal clearness, and fits them into the whole of its world picture. For what happens today? Ethics is not recognised as a science, it is eliminated from education, but in politics every party fights with moral arguments, and not without reason, for it knows that moral valuations can be of the greatest importance for its position, and very often of decisive importance.

It is not sufficient to say, in a few phrases of popular historical materialism, that the conceptions of good and evil were always products of the economic system in which men lived, produced and consumed. The problem is what, in general, we desire the conceptions of good and evil to signify, and what they are meant to signify. So far from being a class which is less interested in ethics than other classes, the proletariat is precisely the class which desires not to preach, but to understand morality in order to translate it into deeds. That does not signify, the acceptance of a fixed system of ethical values of scientifico-ethical education, but only the task of rendering feasible for the proletariat the making up of its own mind, and self-consciousness in its ethical problems. The

word "ethics" is a misleading one, as it can mean the scientific analysis of moral phenomena as well as the setting up of ethical imperatives. (The interesting pamphlet of N. N.* on "Proletarian Ethics" confuses these two meanings with each other)

To refer again to experience we may mention here that our audiences of workers have eagerly welcomed the treatment of ethical problems (in the form of free discussions and debates). Their interest in analysis has never declined; they have even demanded an increase in the weekly number of hours devoted to psychology, history and ethics at the expense of that devoted to economics and social statistics. It is a fundamental error to believe that the workers in general are not interested in "theoretical" questions and are concerned only with "practical," "concrete" matters of fact. To allude to this point cursorily we can only say that it is, on the whole, a mistake to set up general theses on the scientific capabilities, interests and potentialities of the proletariat to-day, as the conception "proletariat" comprises such varied and as yet undifferentiated strata of interests and capacities that in this matter not even conjectures can yet be made.

These observations on the extension of the subject-matter of scientific education are naturally not exhaustive: they serve merely to indicate the direction which the necessary complement of natural-scientific and social-economic instruction must move.

More important than the selection of subjects of study appears to us the method which was followed in the scientific education of the proletariat. The observant reader has perhaps noticed that we have hitherto used the words "instruction" and "education" as equivalent terms. Indeed, no distinction has hitherto been observed between them in practice: the whole of education was really nothing but more or less fragmentary, rhapsodical instruction, which was limited to the *communication of knowledge*, and did not give any *guidance in scientific thinking*. This was due to the fact that the goal always kept in view was the *popularisation of science*. It is time that we thoroughly explained this whole work of popularisation from the standpoint of the proletariat and from the standpoint of science. The popularisation of science always consisted in lecturing upon the results of the sciences (biology, for example) in a "light, intelligible" manner, as if they really had been gained in that way. In other words, the method, as opposed to the substances, was held to be inessential. With the representation of Darwinism, as of historical materialism, or of any other scientific theory, instead of the circumstantial manner in which the founder of the theory had arrived at his results, a shorter and simpler way is chosen generally with the sole object in view of making everything as simple as possible.

But very often a caricature of science (and in the best of cases, a substitute for science) was offered, and not science itself, whose essence is method! It is a serious error to believe that the proletariat can take up anything with scientific knowledge if it cannot handle the methods of science. The great educational value of the

*Pseudonym of Lunacharsky, Russian People's Commissary for Education.

pursuit of science lies in the fact that it leads to independence of judgment, to critical thinking. This critical independence, the capacity to test analytically every fact of experience, to differentiate between the known and the unknown, to isolate the elements of the complex—in short, the method and not merely knowledge, makes it possible for us to become masters of experience. Of education in scientific, methodical thinking, however, very little, almost nothing in fact, has been heard till the present.

But we must go further. Not only could the substitute for science, the popularisation of science, hitherto offered instead of the spirit of science—not only could it be a support for proletarian culture, but it has been, on the contrary, a great danger to it. Because it has, by the dissemination of superficial knowledge, of shallow extracts, contributed to the position that the proletariat has become acquainted with a mass of opinions without proving or critically examining them, and very often, instead of ordered knowledge, has retained merely a chaos of surface learning. It is therefore an erroneous view that although it is true that we cannot supply a genuine scientific education to-day, until such time as we can do so, something is better than nothing. Now this “something,” if by that is meant the article hitherto popular, is worse than nothing. If, for example, we examine the average representation of the Marxian theory from above and ideologically, it turns out to be a clumsy and coarse reproduction of a theory whose greatest value lies in the fact that it teaches one the connection between ideology and production, that is to say, to analyse their functional transformations. The simplification of the idea means in this case, a falsification of the idea!

But we are in another sense believers in the motto, “Better something than nothing,” when it means that we should endeavour to make clear the spirit, the mode of thinking, the methodical procedure of science, even if only in the still modest materials available and to make necessary learning accessible to everyone.

The wholly false conception of “popular science” in opposition to special science is, moreover, a phenomenon which finds its expression in the philosophy of life of capitalist society. Capitalist culture was a culture of the small minority of mankind. The full and genuine appropriation of science was reserved for a few chosen people. Not only was it intended that science should not be taught to the proletariat and to the great masses of the people in general, but capitalist society kept a strict watch to prevent scientific culture (a source of strength and power even in the class struggle) from being spread abroad. In countries like the old Czarist Empire, Roumania, etc., the problem was simply solved by allowing the proletariat to grow up illiterate. In the civilised West more refined methods had to be used. There, instead of science, a substitute for science, an apparent culture, was offered in order in this hypocritical manner to quiet the conscience of those who had not given up the liberal ideas of English democracy, and at the same time to prevent the sources of genuine science from becoming accessible to the people. *In exactly the same way as a social policy instead of Socialism was offered*, in order to avert the coming of Socialism,

popular science was offered in the cultural sphere in order to avoid giving genuine science. In the one case, alms instead of bread, and in the other crumbs of knowledge instead of science. University extensions, people's high schools, etc., are instituted in order all the more effectively to cut the proletariat off from science.

The Communists of all lands must avoid falling into the trap of giving support to this whole cultural social policy, as has so often happened in the case of Social Democrats (especially in Germany). On the contrary, the cultural institutions of the proletariat must be erected, if only in modest proportions, independently of these bourgeois and petit-bourgeois undertakings.

In order to proceed not in an anarchistic, but in a uniform and international fashion, an international section of culture must be established by the Communist International, with sub-sections in all countries in which there are Communist parties. In spite of the cultural differences of individual countries, a common revolutionary educational programme must be worked out, and within this the rôle of scientific education be fixed.

Are You a Member of an Economic Class ?

Thousands of Young Communists are attending economic classes. That is just as it should be. Many of the new students at these classes are not Communists. That is not as it should be. How can you interest them in the Party ?

It is very simple.

You have only to hang up a COMMUNIST REVIEW advertisement card in the class room and book orders for the REVIEW.

By doing this you will be helping the student. You will be helping to make new readers for the COMMUNIST REVIEW. But, above all, you will be helping to make new members for the Party.

**Get a Card for Your Class Room
GET IT TO-DAY!**

Statement of the Executive Committee of the Communist International on the Washington Conference

I.

The Washington Conference

THE Washington Conference, called by the American Government for the settlement of Far Eastern problems and the limitation of armaments, is the next of a series of vain attempts made by capitalist society to find a way out of the inextricable contradictions which the imperialist world war so strikingly revealed and so deplorably failed to solve. The conception of a *Central Europe* and the illusion of a *League of Nations* have both successively failed. German capitalism, as well as English capitalism, have successively proved incapable of so organising the capitalist world as to perpetuate the exploitation of one nation by another, and still simultaneously abolish armaments and dispel the danger of war. At this moment, three years after the close of the war, and two years after the conclusion of peace, Europe presents the picture of a cage, in which wild beasts contend for the possession of a fleshless bone, under the supervision of animal trainers, who at times throw them a new one, and at other times assail them with a whip. Now that victorious capitalism has so splendidly proved its inability as the organiser of the world, the United States of America, which participated in the attempt to establish a League of Nations at Versailles, and subsequently refused to join that very League of Nations, their own handiwork, are now once more taking the initiative to attain a settlement of the problems of the Pacific Ocean so intensely important to them, namely, the settlement of the conflicts in Eastern Asia. Proceeding from the shores of the Pacific Ocean, they desire to grapple with the problem of the limitation of armaments as a general international question. All this is to be achieved at the Washington Conference. This attempt will *fail*, just as all the preceding ones have failed. At best it can only result in a revised grouping of the nations, and further intensification of the prevailing contradictions. This is proved by the identity of the impelling forces in the United States, England, and Japan, as well as by a concrete circumscription of their conflicts.

II.

The Return of the United States of America to Europe

The United States of America withdrew from the League of Nations, first, because England, possessing six votes, had made itself dominant in it; secondly, because the American capitalists did

not desire to assume any responsibility for the territorial boundaries of the world as patched up at Versailles; and thirdly, because the republican capitalist coterie wished to utilise the disgust for intervention in European affairs felt by the petty-bourgeois masses, in order to drive the democratic capitalist clique from the government trough. And yet the United States of America were unable to retreat from the sphere of world politics. The capitalists of Europe and the Allies are indebted to them to the extent of twenty billions of dollars. The development of the European conflicts was decisive, not only as to the possibility of the debtors being unable to settle their debts, but also as to the inability of the United States to maintain the industries that arose during the war. Although a part of American capitalism presumed in 1919 that its prosperity was not at all dependent upon the economic development of Europe, the crisis that raged during 1920 and 1921 impressed upon the consciousness of even the American farmers, that America cannot export its products to Europe for fear European industry continues to deteriorate and decay. It is for this reason that the United States participated in the settlement of the question of the German reparations, that they are taking a hand in solving the Upper Silesian problems through the Allied Council, that they are interested in the problem of the famine in Russia. In short, the United States of America have returned to the Council of the Allies, that real representation of victorious world capital, which has reduced the Council of the League of Nations to a mere dummy. The United States of America are now attempting to obtain control in the Allied Council, and to that end are taking advantage of the difficult position of their English competitor.

III.

The Position of England

To secure victory, English imperialism enlisted its colonies in the war, and the latter were greatly strengthened industrially by the war. In 1917, it granted them the privilege of a voice in the determination of the foreign policy of the British Empire. Now, it must really allow them this right of co-determination, because it is unable *alone* to meet the expenses of the maritime armaments it deems necessary to maintain its position as against the United States of America, and its own Allies, Japan and France, and because it is compelled to reckon with them as powerful factors. Great Britain has made way for the *Federation of Great Britain* with the self-governing capitalist English colonies, whose foreign interests do not coincide with those of their mother country. Whereas English imperialism desires to maintain the alliance with Japan, in order to have an ally in case of a conflict with the United States of America, and in order to be able to play the rôle of intermediary between American and Japanese imperialism after having added fuel to the American-Japanese contradictions, young Canadian capitalism, on the other hand, growing ever more dependent upon the United States of America by virtue of its adjacent position, is unable to stand any injury in its relations towards its

powerful neighbour. At the Imperial Conference Canada declared itself against the renewal of the alliance with Japan, and refused to consider itself bound in case of such an eventual renewal. To Australia, Japan represents the only possible opponent, and America would be an ally in case of a conflict with Japan. The South African farmers will have nothing to do with international political conflicts. Owing to these policies of its most important colonies, English imperialism has *lost its freedom of movement as against the United States of America.*

Increasing economic competition between Great Britain and the United States confronts both with the problem of whether such competition, in the unwholesome atmosphere of unsolved international political conflicts, will not lead to an increase of armaments, and subsequently to a new world war. In such a world war the position of Great Britain will be far more dangerous than it was in the world war of 1914 to 1918. On the one hand it would be unable to rely completely on its colonies; on the other hand, it would probably find an enemy in France, whose attempt to dominate entire continental Europe by a system of vassal States such as Poland, Czecho-Slovakia and Roumania, as well as English imperialism aided in crushing not only the maritime, but also the military power of German capitalism. The disarmament of German capitalism promoted French militarism to the position of a decisive factor on the continent; and this decisive factor will, in view of the development of distance guns, aeronautics and submarines, be able, in alliance with the United States, to not only completely blockade England, but even venture landing in England. In the face of these circumstances, the English Government feels compelled to attempt arriving at a conciliation with the American Government. The object of such an agreement is the formation of an *Anglo-Saxon capitalist trust, whose centre of gravity is to be located in America. And Japan is expected to pay the price of this trustification.*

IV.

The Isolation of Japan

During the late war, Japanese imperialism succeeded in extremely enriching itself, at slight cost, as a furnisher of war materials to the Allies, and by taking advantage of the fact that the war prevented England from adequately supplying industrial products to its colonies. After diplomatically preventing China's participation in the war in the beginning, Japan wrested Kiou-Chau and the province of Shantung from German imperialism, and occupied that territory. It fanned the flames of internal strife in China, availing itself of the opportunity to assume the position of an organiser, but in reality of a ruler of that great Empire, which is gradually emerging from feudal dissension into unity, under the leadership of the bourgeois South. The results of the world war make the permanent possession of these fruits of Japanese victory rather questionable. The defeat of Germany, the elimination of Russia as an imperialist factor, capable of allying itself with Japan

for common predatory expeditions, make Japan completely dependent upon England's aid as against the United States of America.

V.**America's Plans in Eastern Asia**

The economic expansion plans of the U.S.A. in China and Russia (primarily in Siberia), find their explanation in the need of important markets for American capital. The U.S.A., being the world creditor, and able to compete not only with Japanese but even with British industries in the world market, are opponents of all imperialist privileges which the older imperialist States, such as Great Britain, France and Japan, have hitherto obtained in China, and might in future obtain in Siberia. America is endeavouring to squeeze Japan out of China under the slogan of "the open door," a policy already adopted in 1900 by State Secretary John Hay. Moreover, America's attitude towards the question of the Chinese radio stations on the isle of Yap, is a sign that the U.S.A. mean to take up the fight along the whole line. This policy of the U.S.A. is a menace to British interests, although in a lesser degree than to those of Japan, not only because Great Britain's capitalist development is more advanced and better able to compete with America than that of Japan, but also because the question of the Pacific Ocean is a life question for Japan, whereas it is only one of the very important world questions for Great Britain. Japan can expect, therefore, only limited support from Great Britain. Should Great Britain be given the choice between the U.S.A. and Japan, it would certainly decide in favour of the former. For this reason the Washington Conference may safely be interpreted as an American attempt to rob Japan, by diplomatic means, of the fruits of victory.

VI.**Prospects of the Washington Conference**

Any limitation of warlike preparations in the Pacific, or any delimitation of the seas in which some Powers have obtained a predominant position, depend entirely on the result of the negotiations on the Pacific controversy. Great Britain will side with Japan, endeavouring to bring about a compromise between the U.S.A. and Japan, which will enable her to maintain her alliance with Japan by making America a party to the contract. The alliance with Japan is of considerable military value in the event of a war with the U.S.A., and of no mean diplomatic importance in the event of disputes with the U.S.A. This might be engineered either by compensations to Japan in Siberia or by concessions to the U.S.A. in China, and the admittance of the U.S.A. to the exploitation of the oil wells in Mesopotamia, etc. Should the U.S.A. succeed in this plan, they will endeavour to maintain close relations with Japan within the limits of the Anglo-Japanese-American Alliance, and come to an understanding as to the degree of armament permissible to the respective partners in the Alliance. In the

event of the failure of such an adjustment of the controversy, the economic struggle, as well as unlimited armament, will take their due course. Thus we have, on the one hand, the Anglo-American Trust and the curtailment of Japanese war gains in favour of the U.S.A., at the cost of China and perhaps even of Soviet Russia, this pact leading to new diplomatic groupings and new political complications; just as in 1894, when Russia, Germany and France endeavoured to rob Japan of the fruits of her victory over China by means of the Chimonoseki Peace Treaty. On the other hand, the differences between these States will reach an acute stage much sooner. But on no account will they disappear, as the economic differences between Great Britain and America are bound to remain a dominant world question. The same may be said of the Anglo-Japanese and the Franco-English differences; and behind these differences which divide the world of the capitalist victors, are the differences with the beaten capitalist countries, such as Germany, with the colonial countries, and finally, with Soviet Russia, a State which forms a breach in the capitalist State system.

VI.

Capitalism Doomed

The attempt to introduce limitation of armaments in Europe is doomed to failure. Even if France renounced its preparedness plans in view of the complete disarmament of Germany, she will not give up her ambition of being the foremost military Power in Europe; for domination of the European continent is the policy of French imperialism. Moreover, there are the vassal States of France, which have all been provided with territories by the Treaty of Versailles and the other treaties. There are large masses of Ukrainians, Little Russians and Germans in Poland. Czecho-Slovakia, like the former dual monarchy, contains, in addition to the Czecho-Slovakian, large German, Czekian and Hungarian populations. Hungarians and Bessarabians are groaning under the Rumanian yoke. Large sections of the Bulgarian population have been allotted to Rumania and Jugo-Slavia. The entire status quo of Central, South and Eastern Europe stands or falls by force majeure. In the Near East, France, from her vantage-points in Africa and Syria, is endeavouring to outflank Great Britain in her most vulnerable spot—the Suez Canal. She is attempting to hamper Great Britain's policy, which rests on the establishment of a connection between India and Egypt through the territory of a large Arabian State subject to British imperialism. In order to make France renounce its preparedness plans under the existing conditions, Great Britain would have to come to an understanding with her on all the world questions.

That the capitalist Powers are rather sceptical on the question of disarmament, is shown by the fact that the British Government, while welcoming Harding's proposal to discuss disarmament in Washington in November, is voting 30 millions sterling for new warships on the excuse that Japan is constructing eight Dreadnoughts, which are to be completed in 1925, while credits have

already been voted for eight more, and that the U.S.A. will have completed the construction of twelve super-Dreadnoughts in 1925.

The Executive of the Communist International exposes the true character of the Washington Conference, which can lead neither to disarmament nor to peace for the masses, but is only an attempt to harmonise the interests of the bigger despoilers of China and Soviet Russia. The true nature of the Washington Conference is emphasised by the fact that Soviet Russia has not been invited to participate in it, so that she might be prevented from exposing the abominable game which is to be played with the destinies of nations at Washington.

The Executive of the Communist International warns the working masses and the subject colonial peoples against setting their hopes on the Washington Conference as a means of freeing them from the menace of a capitalist world, which is armed to the teeth, and from exploitation by the capitalist States. The Executive of the Communist International calls upon all Communist parties and upon all trade unions affiliated to the Red Trade Union International to increase the agitation and the struggle against the imperialist governments, the conflicting interests of which will lead to a new world conflagration, unless the proletarian revolution wrenches the arms from the hands of the capitalist class, and forms a basis for a real League of Working Peoples.

The Executive of the Communist International draws the attention of the working class of the entire world to the intrigues which are being hatched out in Washington against Soviet Russia. It enjoins the Chinese and Korean masses, as well as the population of Eastern Siberia, to unite more closely with Soviet Russia, the only State which is willing to put the relations with the Eastern peoples, which are menaced by world imperialism, on the basis of community of rights and brotherly aid.

Are You Unemployed?

Then you ought to read the
“OUT OF WORK”

It is the official organ of the unemployed.
 It is published every fortnight and only
 costs one penny. 30 copies may be had for 2/-

Full particulars from:—

P. HAYE,
 Secretary, National Administrative
 Council of Unemployed,
 28, East Road,
 City Road,
 London, N.1

Communist Tactic

By VICTOR STERN

[Translated from "Die Internationale," July 15th, 1921, by Eden and Cedar Paul.]

The lessons of the March rising in Germany are applied to the problem of Communist tactic. Comrade Stern shows the importance of a combination of resoluteness with flexibility, and of adaptability to circumstances. He clearly exposes the futility of sectarian groups which do not realise the tactical value of participating in the immediate struggles of the masses.

RIGIDITY is unquestionably one of the chief faults of our tactic. It lacks flexibility, it displays deficient capacity for rapid, and at times sudden, adaptation to changed circumstances. The trouble is aggravated because we are still wanting in the necessary counterpart to flexibility, namely, an iron steadfastness and unbending resolution. We take far too much trouble in our search for the right "line." By the time when, at long last, this has been discovered, the situation will very likely be one for which our line of action is now quite unsuitable. During periods in which we were weak, and through the unhappy experiences of our failures, we learned to practise undue caution at the very moment when audacity and energy were eminently desirable. The time of the Kapp Putsch* is an instance. From the unfortunate results of such timidity and irresolution, we then drew conclusions which led us to rush into the fray at a time when caution was expedient. As a matter of theory we know that there cannot be any universal tactic applicable to all possible situations. In practice, we are apt to forget the fact.

The events of last March point the moral. The rising was not in itself a false step. Notwithstanding the grave mistakes by which it was characterised, it was of great value to the progress of the German revolution. It put an end to a state of affairs which was endangering our party; it gave us much valuable experience; with a vigorous push, it brought us nearer than a year of theoretical discussions could have done to the ideal of a Communist Party. Nevertheless, we must be under no illusions. Its practical execution was anything but ideal; and the failures in this respect have taught us (let us be grateful for the lesson!) that before the March rising our party, from the leaders down through all grades to the rank and file, was still very far from being a Communist Party.

From the very outset, the methods of action were defective. As far as theory was concerned, our line of action was set forth with sufficient clearness in the inaugural manifesto of our party. Unfortunately, it had not been realised in practice, and its realisation was now suddenly called for. As Communists, we were never to shun a conflict; we were to fight fiercely and were to extend the area of conflict; we were to endeavour, in such struggles, to lead

*A "Putsch is an ill-considered and unsuccessful rising.—ED.

as many workers as possible to the combat; in such struggles, rather than in ordinary organisation and agitation, we might expect to win the confidence of the working masses by proving ourselves the boldest and most resolute champions of the interests and aims which all workers can understand—even those who are not Communists; we were not to be troubled by the thought that the pursuit of such immediate interests and aims might seem open to the reproach of opportunism. This may be termed "the work-a-day line of action" of the Communists. It must be the main theme, the continuous accompaniment of our tactic during the "tranquil" interludes of a revolutionary epoch. Thus we can prevent stagnation among the masses; we can secure that the workers in general shall be inspired with sympathy for the Communist Party; and we can create conditions of interest and excitement favourable to more serious struggles. Such was the tactic which we were, quite without preparation, called upon to apply in a situation which demanded that the tactic should already have been pursued for a considerable period and was now to be intensified. Here is the crucial point. Only in view of this consideration can we detect the fallacies in Paul Levi's criticism, which otherwise has a seductive aspect of soundness. The suddenness of the change from passivity to activity was a mistake; this criticism is perfectly true. But the fault was that the change to activity came too late, mainly owing to Levi himself; not that it came too early, as Levi and his school contend.

The political situation was the outcome of the magnitude of the demands made by the Entente and of the initial recalcitrancy of the German bourgeoisie. The entire German nation was in a condition of political tension. Levi and Co. accuse us of having artificially fomented a political movement, but in truth we Communists had no occasion to fan the flames. The movement had begun of itself, and all that remained for us was to turn it to the advantage of the proletariat, to lead it wisely and to guide it into the right channels. But this could not be intelligently achieved merely by the rigid application of our excellent "work-a-day line of action." In the circumstances with which we now had to deal, this method, if naturally applied, would prove too slow; and if artificially forced on us by the behaviour of our enemies, would prove too speedy in its action. As far as the "work-a-day line of action" was concerned, we could indeed leave matters to take their natural course; but what was needed in addition was that we should take action along the whole front in conformity with the political tension of the hour. Our leadership ought to have been of such a character that at any moment we should have been able to intensify our activities or to slacken them, as the changing situation might demand. The course would have been a very difficult one to follow, too difficult for the party as it then was, but such was the right course. Our party began its work rightly—though with insufficient energy in most parts of Germany—by demonstrations and a Press campaign. We used the struggle which was being conducted by the bourgeoisie to give a vivid proof of the hopelessness of any way out for capitalism; and we used it to increase the difficulties of the government. It behoved us, not

blindly to follow a definite "plan" regardless of what was taking place, but to keep the masses alert, so that at a critical moment they might be able to advance resolutely, or to withdraw in the event of the conflict having to be postponed. No one could then foresee the issue. It was quite possible that the Entente would immediately take vigorous action; it was possible that Simons would respond in such a way as to lead to a fierce conflict within the German bourgeoisie. In that event, the hour might strike for a decisive attack on the part of the German proletariat. Our party must be ready for action. But it was also possible, and indeed far more probable, that the bourgeoisie would once more succeed in avoiding an open struggle, that the issue would be postponed. In that case it would be necessary to resume the "work-a-day line of action," and to content ourselves with the opportunities for a vigorous stirring up of the masses. What our party actually did was to gamble upon both possibilities at once, instead of providing for each possibility separately. Hence we took a middle course; engaged in disastrous half-measures; vacillated between open revolt and the "work-a-day line of action."

To this deficient flexibility and adaptability for action, there came as a dangerous supplement a lack of resoluteness in the rising. As soon as the fight had actually begun in Central Germany, it was wrong to follow the "work-a-day line of action" in other parts of Germany and to wait in these for "natural" opportunities for a conflict. The impulse of solidarity should have been used as a lever. Above all, the Communists should have done their duty. Had this course been followed, there can be no doubt that (despite the sabotage practised by the Menshevik leaders, with which we always have to reckon on such occasions) large masses of the workers would have participated in the struggle. But events showed how greatly our Communists still lack resolution. Readiness for the fight need not necessarily display itself by the immediate taking up of arms. The resoluteness of those who never waver and are not over-ready to calculate consequences, the resoluteness characteristic of true Communism, can manifest itself in every form of struggle.

To be a Communist signifies to combine fearless resolution and unqualified fidelity towards the revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, with the utmost flexibility and adaptability; with the qualities that are necessary for the adoption of all means that will lead to the desired end; with the faculty for yielding in one place and fighting through in another, for making compromises here while resisting to the uttermost there; with the readiness to yield to circumstances in one place, while in another, even when all seems lost, we can keep our heads and stand our ground.

This is a difficult art, which can be learned only in the struggle. This is the genuinely Communist "dialectic" of tactic.

We must be ready to forget "most valuable" experiences whenever a situation arises to which they do not apply. For example, we must distinguish between times when the masses are in movement and times when they are inert. During the Kapp Putsch,

the masses were in movement. At that time, therefore, it was wrong to attempt to secure a unified front with the Menshevik traitors. Then it was needless to make concessions to them in order to induce them to set the masses in motion. They had to do this then, for the sake of their own skins. The important thing at that time was to keep a free hand, to diffuse our rallying cries as widely as possible, to magnify the impact. At that date, all the workers were so greatly embittered by the taste they had had of the Noske system, that the slogan "the protection of democracy," i.e., the defence of Noske, would not merely have failed to widen the basis of the struggle, but would actually have repelled or at least paralysed our best fighters. We could tranquilly leave it to the Mensheviks to raise that flag, while ourselves proclaiming that we were fighting for the dictatorship. There was no occasion to fear that we should drive the Mensheviks into Kapp's camp, and we knew that the utmost they wanted was the overthrow of Kapp. That was the proper time to demand with all possible energy the election of *political workers' councils*, so as to fashion a lever which would render possible a unified advance of the masses. But to-day, when our problem is (to-morrow it may be different) to rouse the masses out of a condition of comparative inertia, and when we can succeed in this only by issuing watchwords which all can understand, we shall gain nothing by trying to outdo the Mensheviks in the matter of watchwords. Our only practical aim to-day is the attempt to increase the intensity of the struggle for such general ends, even though to us they seem of trifling importance. Of course, we must not go so far as to fight for objects which the bourgeoisie can concede without demur so that they may satisfy the masses by false concessions. In the present situation we have to understand that there is no contradiction between our actions when, on the one hand, we relentlessly exclude the opportunists from our own ranks, and nevertheless, on the other, simultaneously endeavour to secure a unified front with declared traitors. The only object of this unified front is that it may be easier for us to set the masses in motion. But when the masses are in motion, and when at the decisive hour they are betrayed (as of course they will be betrayed) by the Menshevik leaders, nothing but the absolute purity of our own party will enable us, with perfect mental clarity and a full understanding of our aims, to intensify the movement and to lead it.

The lever to-day by which the masses can be set in motion will in part be supplied by meetings and congresses of industrial councils, which will have to take up a definite position in relation to the employers' offensive, to the danger of reaction, etc. Of course, to-day also, we must retain a free hand, so that when conflicts actually occur we can take a definite line of our own; we must not fail to recognise that a situation may suddenly arise in which a struggle must break out along the whole front. We must not wait about for such opportunities, but we must not miss them when they occur.

A deficient understanding of this dialectic of the struggle is responsible for the continually recurring disputes: mass party versus sect; the final issue versus partial struggles.

Certainly, our party must be large, pure, and a mass party. It must be a mass party above all, in this respect, that it must inspire confidence in and secure the sympathy of the masses of the workers outside our own party. But this will only prove attainable if the party is pure and circumscribed, for only such a party can deserve and win the confidence of the masses. When, apropos of the Italian dispute, the representative of the Third International expressed the opinion that the Communist Party must be a party of genuine Communists, there was a general outcry, and the opinion was voiced that this would prove impossible in Germany, and that the attempt to secure it would lead to the formation of a petty sect. I think the events of March must have taught most of the objectors that their dissent was mistaken, and that in the hour of struggle non-Communists are dangerous ballast. How greatly was action paralysed by the reports that the Communists in this or that industry had failed to move; or that Communist officials, industrial councils, etc., were opposed to the rising. Of course, we cannot expel all those who are not yet true Communists; but we can get rid of the hopeless cases, by making demands upon the members which none but Communists will fulfil. Nevertheless, the party must remain a large party, or it will never be able to set the masses in motion.

No less wrong-headed is the alternative: final issue versus partial struggle. The ultimate victory will be achieved through a series of partial struggles, and after a number of defeats; but the party must always keep its gaze fixed upon the ultimate issue. Both extremes are symptoms of cowardice, of opportunism. To do nothing because we are waiting for the final struggle means that we are masking our fear of partial struggles. On the other hand, to contend that "for the present" we are concerned only with partial struggles, implies that we have no faith in the possibility of ultimate victory, that in reality we do not wish to lead even partial struggles, and that we only make a pretence of readiness to engage in them in order that we may avoid having to make serious preparations for the decisive issue. We must lead every fight that becomes necessary, partial fights included. But we must never forget that in a period when conflicts are continually occurring and recurring, we may at any moment be called upon to wage a decisive struggle for power along the whole front, and to lead the fight with that vigour and resoluteness which alone can secure victory.

Such a tactic presupposes, before all, that there exists a true, an iron discipline. We are still far from possessing such a discipline. The lack of it is in part an indication that hitherto the party has been badly led; but in part it is the chief excuse for most of the mistakes hitherto made. Without such an iron discipline, effective action is impossible. The onslaught upon discipline is the main crime of Levi and Co. They are fond of quoting Lenin; and yet they will not remember how Lenin has continually declared that without iron discipline we cannot hope to win a victory, and still less to maintain power should we secure it. Just as Hilferding

and his friends are always insisting that the Communists over-estimate the value of force, so do Levi and his friends charge us with thinking too much of discipline. They trumpet the platitude that iron discipline can set neither masses nor party in motion unless the necessary conditions exist. True enough, but the other necessary conditions do not alone suffice; an iron discipline is itself one of the necessary conditions.

Communism, truly understood, is an ideal hard to attain. None of us as yet are genuine Communists, but it is time that we should set about becoming so.

Push the "Communist Review"!

The difference between the Communist Party and any other political organisation in the world is that every one of our members must perform some useful function in the revolutionary movement.

What are YOU doing for the working class? Everyone cannot be a speaker. Some earnest comrades are unable to write for the movement. But everyone, in his or her own little way, can do something for Communism.

What are You doing? If you are not particularly active at present there is a most important job ready waiting for you. By doing so you will become a real live revolutionary spark. It is simple and interesting work.

You have only to see that every member of your branch buys a COMMUNIST REVIEW every month.

Then you take a note of everyone in your district, or in your workshop, who reads the COMMUNIST. Here is a splendid field for you. You approach every reader of the COMMUNIST and persuade them to buy the COMMUNIST REVIEW.

The next move is to observe the local newsagents who sell the COMMUNIST. Call upon them and ask them to show the COMMUNIST REVIEW advertisement card. When you think you can sell 12 copies of the REVIEW ask two newsagents to hang up the advertisement card in their shop and order 6 copies from each of them every month. They will buy from us at *wholesale* rates and sell to you at *retail* price. When your order mounts up to 18 copies go to a third newsagent and place an order there for 6 REVIEWS every month on the condition that the advertisement card is displayed in the shop. You extend this method as your order increases.

BEGIN ON THIS JOB TO-DAY

The Rift in the Entente

By J. T. WALTON NEWBOLD

In last month's COMMUNIST REVIEW, Comrade Newbold most ably dissected the clash of interests and the conflict of policies among the Allies in the Near East. This month he continues his analysis of the economic antagonisms which are surging beneath the international political crises which break out periodically in Paris and London. We venture to assert that Newbold's masterly examination of "The Rift in the Entente," in which he lays bare the game of the European Allied financiers, is one of the most brilliant exposures of High Finance that has been written in recent times. So far our contributor, as in the following article, has dealt with coal, iron and steel, but when, in future articles, he passes on to examine modern imperialist policies in relation to oil, we promise our readers some amazing revelations. We thank our talented comrade, J. F. H., for the splendid map he has drawn to illustrate the points made by Newbold.—(Editor, COMMUNIST REVIEW).

I.

Blood and Iron

THE theory, expounded by Louis B. Boudin, in "Socialism and War," abundantly illustrated from the facts of armament development by myself in "How Europe Armed for War," and elaborated by Eckel in "Coal, Iron and War," the theory that connects in the relation of cause and effect, the expansion of the iron and steel industries and the growth of imperialism and the intensified rivalry of the great Powers, is receiving constant substantiation from the events and tendencies, both economic and political, which have been happening in rhythmic sequence and with convulsive reactions in Central Europe since the signing of the Armistice. Repeatedly, during the war, in *Plebs* and elsewhere, I drew attention to the facts concerning the iron-ore deposits of Lorraine, their influence on the incidents of the campaigns as, for instance, at Verdun, and the importance which they had so far as the war aims of the belligerents were concerned. The advance of the American armies upon the St. Mihiel sector, thrusting, as it did, between the iron-fields around Nancy and those of Briey, convinced me, in the early autumn of 1918, that the war was, practically, at an end. This conviction, stated on the platform, at the time, was borne out two months later.

In October, 1917, the *Bulletin* of the Federation of British Industries had thrown a flood of light athwart the scene when it remarked:

If Germany loses the Lorraine ores and the Basin of Briey she will never be able to go to war again. In reality, the iron-ore beds of French Lorraine are the crux of the whole struggle (October 2nd, 1917).

Still earlier, in May, 1915, a group of German patriotic associations, including the Central Union of German Manufacturers, the League of Manufacturers, and the Union of the Middle

Classes of the Empire, had circulated a memorandum in which they said:—

... We demand ... the annexation of ... the mining area of Meurthe-et-Moselle, as well as the French coal areas in the department of the North and the Pas de Calais, besides the Belgian areas.

They went on to state that:—

The security of the German Empire in a future war demands the possession of all the deposits of oolithic iron-ore, including the fortresses of Longwy and Verdun, without which these deposits could not be defended. . . . From today, as is shown by the embargo on coal by England, this material is one of the decisive elements of political influence. Industrial neutral states are forced to make themselves the instruments of that belligerent party which can assure them their supply of coal. . . . If our hostile neighbours secure the sources of mineral oil, Germany must take care to secure the necessary supplies of coal. . . .

These were the arguments of German industrialists in 1915. They might, with the substitution of "France" for "Germany," be taken as equally representative of the views of French capitalists in 1921. They are arguments which, in their more general application, hold good for all great states at the present stage of economic evolution.

Six years ago the great protagonists of capitalism were Britain and Germany. At present, so far as Europe is concerned, they are, without a doubt, Britain and France.

The reasons for this growing antagonism of the two European Powers of the first rank, and the fundamental nature of their divergence of interest and, hence, of policy, as well as the more noteworthy details of their capitalist activity in Central Europe will, therefore, be the theme of this article.

For many centuries, by reason of their geographical juxtaposition, England and France have been hereditary enemies, save during limited periods of intermission, when some common hostility to Spain, Holland, Russia or Germany, may have drawn them together in an ill-assorted *entente* or alliance. Their rulers have in the past seen in each other's border warfare, as in their several dynastic quarrels or attempts at national consolidation, opportunities for plunder or for glory. Raids and battles and sieges, recorded in song and story and document, have bred a tradition of enmity that no seventeen years of the *Entente Cordiale* have really destroyed. Onward, from the close of the Middle Ages, two peoples, welded into two nations and two State systems, have conceived themselves as struggling for the primacy of Europe. Two centralised autocracies, the governments established in London and Paris, have woven their several webs of diplomatic intrigue, *always*, in peace and war, in alliance and in crisis, striving each to overreach the other. Two governments, strong in the enthusiastic approbation of their subjects, have struggled for the mastery of the Narrow Seas, the Channel, the Mediterranean and the ocean. Two

governments, employing all the arts of war and the artifices of diplomacy, have fought each other for Empire on every continent.

England—now become Britain—knowing how to raise up against her rival enemies upon her land-frontiers, has passed France in the race for world hegemony.

Britain, by means of the Balance of Power, has sought and largely succeeded in securing for herself freedom of action outside of Europe and liberty to expand her Empire on every hand. France, needless to say, has not yielded pride of place in any kindly humour. She has not forgotten nor has she forgiven the nation that drove her out of America and made her of little account in Asia.

II.

The Age of Coal and Steel

SHE has, however, been labouring, for more than a century, under another handicap more serious even than her necessary pre-occupation with the growing power of Germany and Italy. Things have happened in the world which have enhanced immeasurably the potentialities of Britain, but have not, at the same time, made an equivalent improvement in the fortunes of France.

The change which we call the Industrial Revolution made the machine, the giant tool built of iron and worked by steam raised by coal, the most important factor in the production of wealth. The increasing circulation of commodities—the basis of the system of capitalist production—required the development of railways and of steamship services. Production and distribution called for the expansion of the iron and steel trades and the mining on a great scale of cheap coal.

No country in the world was so favourably situated as Britain in respect of the natural resources essential to the high development of capitalist production. It had numerous extensive and valuable coalfields, near to the coast line and to good harbours, in proximity to or even containing within their own measures, comparatively large deposits of iron-stone. France, on the other hand, had her considerable supplies of iron not so much upon the coalfields or conveniently situated with regard to her sea-ports but, for the most part, so far as these were valuable prior to the invention of the basic converter method of steel production, close to the German frontier, and lost one-third of her entire ore-production capacity when she had to give up Lorraine to Germany in 1871.

Still more unfortunate was France in respect of her coalfields which, with the exception of the large field in the Nord and the Pas de Calais, a field extending into Belgium and even into Germany, were small in extent and scattered about the centre and southern parts of the country, two of the more notable being those around St. Etienne and Le Creusôt, respectively.

Thus handicapped, France has not been able, at any time, to build up large-scale undertakings comprising collieries, blast furnaces, steel works and engineering plants economically placed

with regard to each other and, consequently, has been at a marked disadvantage as compared both with Britain and Germany in those key industries which are vital not only to the advanced development of capitalism within a country, but to the equipment of a State with the undertakings necessary to transform man-power into effective military might under the conditions of modern warfare.

This circumstance has been quite well understood by the French capitalists, although opportunity has only come to them at and since the Congress of Versailles to remedy the injury not only of 1871, when they lost the orefields of Lorraine together with such part of the Saar coalfield as lay within that province, but also to take from Prussia the greater portion of the Saar field awarded to her by the Allies of 1815, and to secure its certain enjoyment for a period of years that might be extended eventually into a term *sine die*. Ever since the beginning of the epoch of railway and steamship construction and use, French capitalists have had reason to appreciate the disadvantage under which they were labouring, mainly by the niggardliness of nature but, also, to some extent, by the mischance of frontier-drawing and the subsequent watchful jealousy of their industrialised neighbours and rivals of Britain and Germany. The former has, in days gone by, put a ban on her too great friendliness towards Belgian Liberalism and any relations that might have resulted in acquisition of the coal-bearing territory abutting upon the frontier.

The latter has, also, in the past, deprived her of coal and iron, employing the forfeited resources to enhance the industrial and military power of an even more detested adversary.

We must take into account these experiences of the French bourgeoisie when observing and commenting upon the aggressive policy and impatient tone of French diplomacy as regards all questions concerning coal and iron. We must realise the difficulties and the disadvantages which have impressed themselves with their indelible lessons upon the mentality of the rulers of the Third Republic and have caused Millerand, Briand, their colleagues and their critics, relentlessly to struggle to gain and to maintain control of coal and iron, those prime necessities of capitalism and the capitalist State.

Capitalism in France appears to be characterised by a dominance of the banker over the business man. Until lately, at any rate, the men at the head and in control of the great financial houses of France seem to have been engaged primarily in assembling together and in manipulating the deposits of innumerable *petit bourgeois* and in providing for these same people means of profitably investing their savings in all kinds of undertakings both at home and abroad.

Two institutions particularly engaged in discharging these functions on behalf of the generality of the French bourgeoisie are the *Crédit Mobilier Français*, formed in 1852 in competition with the Rothschilds who, up to that time, completely controlled the investment operations and stock-broking business of Paris, and the *Crédit Lyonnais*, established in 1863 and now the largest

joint-stock bank in France and, formerly, possessed of exclusive privileges from the Imperial Russian Government.

Another and, probably, more influential institution is the *Banque de Paris et des Pays Bas*, formed in 1872 by the union of two business men's banks, one in Paris and one in Holland. This great concern does not accept deposits from the general public, but works with its own capital, the capital of its directors, "who are all rich people and some of them bankers," and the deposits of big companies which the bank has promoted or whose stock it has issued. We shall have much to say about this bank as we proceed, for its activities well repay careful attention.

An undertaking, trading chiefly as a discount bank and dealing "with commercial people" and older than any of the other joint-stock banks of France is the *Comptoir National d'Escompte de Paris*.

In 1901, there was formed, presumably, with the very active assistance if not at the instance of the Banque de Paris et des Pays Bas and the Crédit Mobilier Français, the *Banque Française pour le Commerce et l'Industrie*. Three years later, as a result of a re-organisation, there came into being what is now the second largest business bank in France, an institution in which all the big Paris banks participated, viz., the *Banque de l'Union Parisienne*. This bank is called "The Schneider Bank" because of the intimate association and continuous co-operation between it and the great French armament concern. It has, in recent years, become the great financial house co-operating with and assisting the firms in the heavy industries.

In 1917, the other great group of French armament and colliery interests, headed by the Compagnie des Forges et Acieries de la Marine et d'Homecourt and the Forges et Acieries du Nord et de l'Est, together with the Banque de Paris et des Pays Bas, and the Crédit Mobilier Français bought up the *Société Générale de Paris* and made themselves masters of credit facilities for use both at home and abroad.

This undertaking, the associate of the *Russo-Asiatic Bank*, will, also, come in for further notice as we proceed.

In France, as in all countries of high capitalist development and military or naval activity, the reader will have observed there is the same tendency displayed of the iron and steel interests taking pride of place in the sphere of finance. The phenomenon, which we remarked in a previous article, wherein we dealt with the British Trade Corporation, of the great British armament syndicates promoting their own medium of overseas credit service, is to be seen manifesting itself in France.

During the war there existed in France, as in this country, the closest connection between the syndicates and associations of producers of war material and the departments of State. The Committee of Forges was entrusted with the purchase of steel from this country. The purchasing agent in London was a great iron-master in France, one of the de Wendels, and the military attaché, whose duty it was to check his activities, was his brother-in-law. Clemen-

ceau's brother was high up in the French branch of the Dynamite Trust and Millerand was a one-time attorney of the Committee of Forges.

In Britain, the benefited profiteers of the Ministry of Munitions raised their benefactor, the creator of the department, to the post of Premier.

In France, the same kind of people made their beloved attorney President of the Republic and flattered his vanity and increased his utility to themselves by agreeing to an enlargement of his customary powers of initiative.

Steel having blasted the way to victory, the owners of steel works handed the most coveted political laurels to their puppet statesmen and bade them "carry on" with the politics of steel in the internal and external affairs of their respective countries.

III.

The Calculations of Cardiff

PRIOR to the war, France had a consumption of coal amounting to somewhere in the neighbourhood of 60,000,000 tons per annum, and, of this, produced herself only some 40,000,000 tons. The balance of her needs she had to import and she derived a very considerable part of this from the collieries of South Wales. First, coal merchants in Paris and the French ports had bought coal in Cardiff and carried it over to their dépôts in France. Then, they had, as in the case of the Guèrets and the Plissons, acquired interest in coal mines in Glamorgan and had entered into competition with the producers and the salesmen of South Wales. These latter tended to eliminate their French competitors by purchase or agreement. Particularly during the last ten years the great coal-masters, operating their commercial and industrial undertakings from Cardiff, have extended their chain of transport services and buying and selling agencies to take in such ports of import as Rouen, La Rochelle, Nantes, Bordeaux and Marseilles and, thoroughly, to entrench themselves on the coal market of Paris. Recognising, as they have done, that the steam coal market—the primary source of South Wales prosperity—is going into permanent decline, the capitalists of the city which produced more than a score of war-time millionaires, have been all the more anxious to increase their control of the French import trade and to bring France into complete dependence on Welsh sources of supply.

For nearly half a century the blast furnaces of Guest, Keen and Nettlefolds, who are now within the Cardiff colliery syndicate, built up by the late Lord Rhondda and his successors, have been dependent on overseas supplies of iron-ore. The steel works of South Wales are now, for the most part, built close to the sea-coast and often on the dockside, convenient to receive ore, to transform it into steel and to send it abroad once more.

Their owners, all of whom have collieries as well, regarded with satisfaction the development of the ore mines of Soumont, in

Normandy, and the determination of the French to recover the enormous ore-fields of Lorraine from the Germans. The latter contained reserves estimated at 5,600,000,000 tons. Its annexation to France would, according to the general secretary of the Committee of Forges, compel France to import 28,000,000 tons of coal per annum.*

France, thought the ardent Coalitionists of Cardiff, would have to import nearly 50,000,000 tons of coal a year if she desired to work up her iron-ore at home and they knew, from experience, that iron-ore gravitates to coal more readily than coal to iron-ore. France would import coal and export iron-ore. In this happy exchange, what wonderful returns there would be in freights for those many over-capitalised shipping companies which they had floated during the "boom" years of that blessed submarine blockade, what profits for their repair-yards and shipyards, what orders for their steel mills, what transports of rapture for their own covetous, rapacious and notoriously shallow-pated selves!

These profiteers, who held Italy to ransom in the more critical years of war and excited the wrath of the French coal consumers during the Armistice, are losing many illusions besides the fictitious values of their high-priced shares. They are doing so in no good humoured fashion and the measure and intensity of their discontent are reflected in the abrupt tones and interrupted harmony of Mr. Lloyd George's conversations with the French Government.

IV.

The Liberation of Saar, Lorraine and Belgium

THE French capitalists were not so simple as to subordinate themselves to the interests of the British coalowners. They had suffered severely by reason of the damage done to their coal-mines in the region of the German occupation and were, in consequence, handicapped by the diminution in output of the pits which they recovered with the retreat of the Germans from Northern France. Temporarily, at an even greater disadvantage than usual, the French took the first step towards the recovery of their economic independence by ensuring the incorporation in the Treaty of Versailles of the famous Clause 45, which secured to France, for fifteen years, the absolute and exclusive control and operation of the coalfields of the Saar Valley, together with all their equipment about the collieries, by-product plants and all accessories. It was also laid down that at the end of the term of fifteen years, the inhabitants of this territory, who were meanwhile mandated to France under the League of Nations, should decide by plebiscite their future incorporation whether with France or Germany.

The Saar coalfield was estimated at an international congress of geologists at Toronto in 1910 to contain 16,500,000,000 tons of coal as against 17,500,000,000 tons for the whole of the coalfields of France of that time. During a debate in the Chamber of Deputies in June of this year, a member stated that this year it

* "Where Iron is, there is the Fatherland," p. 49.

has been possible to raise 20,000,000 tons of coal in this region as against 13,000,000 tons raised by the Germans in 1913. This seems an over-statement though it may be correct. Some five or six million tons would be required in the locality and the rest released for use elsewhere. Whatever were the actual figures of present output, the coalfield has great potentialities and the Minister of Public Works said, in winding up the debate in the Chamber, that the policy of the Government in the Saar "tends to reduce the tribute that we pay abroad, to develop the exploitation of coal, to feed the Lorraine industry by improving the manufacture of coke, to increase the prosperity of our metallurgy by the increase of our exports."

The coalfield of the Pas de Calais and the Nord extends into Belgium and the contiguity of French and Belgian collieries is reflected in the co-operation of French and Belgian banks interested in the development of their respective coalfields and steel works.

The Banque de l'Union Parisienne, the associate of Schneider and the metallurgists generally, is very closely connected with and, in part, owned by the *Société General de Belgique*, the oldest and the most influential of the Belgian credit banks. This latter concern is "widely interested in Belgian coal mines." It is financially concerned in some twelve colliery companies with an output last year of about two and a half million tons. It has, also, heavy holdings in the iron and steel industry, including new French companies in Lorraine and Luxemburg.

Associated with its creation, the *Banque d'Outremer*, we find the Banque Française pour le Commerce et l'Industrie, co-operating in the development of coking plants.

We hear loud complaints to-day of the serious competition of Belgian steel producers who can undersell their British rivals by as much as £4 a ton. This competition is rendered more effective by reason of the interested assistance of French banks likewise connected at home with the steel-masters. It may have been to check the influence in Belgium of the Schneider and other French armament firms, lurking behind the Banque de l'Union Parisienne and the Société Generale de Belgique, that banks like the *Banca di Sconto* and the *Banque Transatlantique* have become closely associated with the other big Belgian institution, the *Banque de Bruxelles* and its subsidiary the *Bank of Commerce* at Antwerp. The Banca di Sconto has for its chairman, Guglielmo Marconi, chairman of the Marconi Wireless Telegraphy Company, and is connected intimately with Barclays Bank, which does great business with coal and iron and shipping interests on the North-East Coast and in South Wales. The Banque Transatlantique, whilst a French institution, is, presumably, one of Sir Basil Zaharoff's affiliations and, consequently, in the orbit of Vickers Limited.

In fact, it is quite plain to be seen in Belgium that British and French banking and heavy industrial interests are struggling for mastery. It is all part of the politico-economic game that began in superficial conjunction against Germany and is now developing along lines of mutual antagonism. Belgium is a country of importance in matters pertaining to coal and iron and conse-

quently remains to-day, as in 1914 and before that date, a useful make-weight in the balance of opposing forces.

Meanwhile, the steel companies of France and Belgium were making their industrial position continuously more secure by a number of expedients with which we, in this country, have become very familiar. Singly or, more often, in collaboration with each other, they acquired control of subsidiary undertakings, such as machine-tool shops, wagon works, collieries, new steel plants and metal smelters and foundries. They issued, or had issued for them, new stock to the total of hundreds of millions of francs and so handed on the cost of extensions, improvements and acquisitions to the eager investing public whose money was as easily raked over the counters in France, in 1919-20, as it was in England. Then, having secured the appointment of their darling Millerand as Governor-General of Alsace-Lorraine in February, 1919, the French steel-masters stood ready to avail themselves of the opportunities which the sequestration of German holdings in mines and works would afford them. During 1920 the liquidation of German properties in Lorraine was completed and 166 concessions of mineral iron were ready to pass into new hands. The allocation of 138 of these brought nearly 90,000 acres of mining rights into the possession of some eighteen syndicates and companies.

Schneider and the Chatillon-Commentry companies took up large shares in the iron mines and steel works of the *Terres Rouges* which, together with the Aumetz works, had constituted amongst the very finest properties of the great German syndicate, the Gelsenkirchen Co., the head and origin of the world-famous Stinnes combine. Schneider, also, took over another big German concern, the *Burbach-Eich-Dudelange* works.

The Société de la Marine et d'Homecourt, other four French and two Belgian steel companies, the Société Generale de Belgique, the Banque d'Outremer and the Company of Railways and Electricity, of Brussels, took over the *Société Hadir*, with a capital of 110,000,000 Luxemburg francs and the properties formerly known as the "Deutsche Luxemburgische." The Company of Railways and Electricity, elsewhere associated intimately with Schneider, has amongst its leading directors, D. Berthelot, brother of Monsieur Berthelot, Permanent Secretary to the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Then, the Société de la Marine and other four steel companies took up the *Dillingen Works*, which used to be one of the two armour-plate-making plants of Germany.

The head of both these firms, the "Hadir" and the Dillingen, is a near relative of the French Ambassador in Berlin.

In the same way as the above mentioned concerns, all the great iron and steel properties of Lorraine have fallen one after another to the Longwy Works, the Forges and Works of the North and East, the de Wendels or one or more of the more prominent French metallurgical groups or families.

In the spring of this year, *L'Information* was able to record that the French output of iron has risen, thanks to the recovery of

Lorraine, from 5,000,000 tons in 1913 to between 10,000,000 and 12,000,000 tons, and to add:—

By amalgamations and grouping of interests, our great metallurgical companies are already prepared to reduce their net costs and to develop their commercial strength, in fine, to build up a stronger position on foreign markets. As a large export of our metallurgical production is in the national interest and would favourably affect our exchange, the question is being considered by the Ministries of Commerce, Public Works and Industrial Reconstruction, together with the representatives of heavy metallurgy.

These figures and these facts must have proved interesting reading for the masters of idle steel works in Middlesbrough, Motherwell and South Wales. Doubtless, they felt that much had happened since, in May, 1918, they and others, to the number of seventeen representative British iron-masters, had come together in a prospecting association called the French Iron Ore Company, Ltd., to explore the iron-ore yielding capacity of France with a view to using it to their own particular and patriotic profit!

V.

Buying up the Bankrupt

WHILST all this was happening at home "a powerful French group" was availing itself of the state of the Central European market and the terrible stagnation of industry and the demoralisation of the exchanges to buy up valuable properties particularly in the domain of the former Austro-Hungarian Empire.

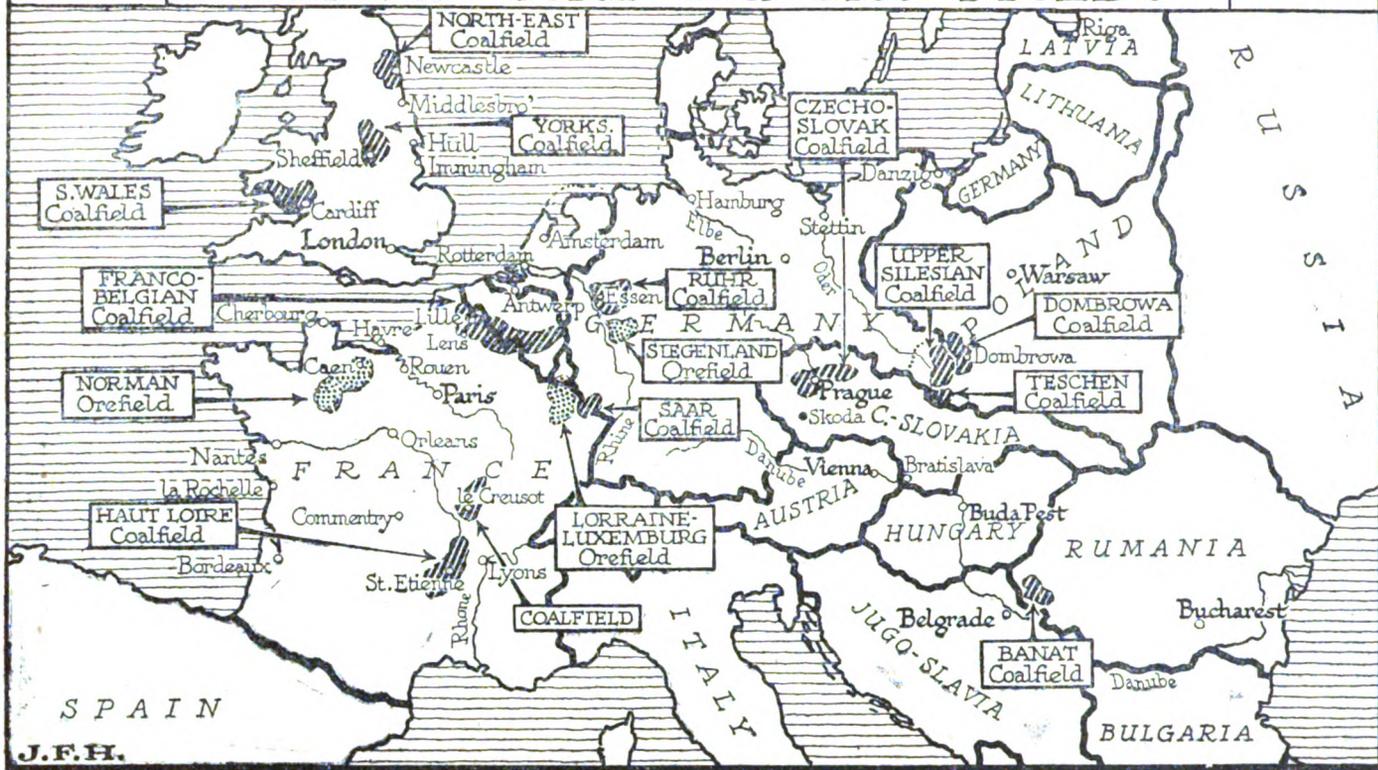
In April, 1920, to take over, to consolidate and to extend the interests already acquired and to provide adequate finance for the gigantic projects involved, Schneider et Cie and the Banque de l'Union Parisienne took the lead in forming the *Union Européenne Industrielle et Financière*, with an initial capital of 75,000,000 francs.

There collaborated with the promoters of this "great French trust," whose purpose is stated to be "to strengthen abroad the influence and control of the French metallurgical industry," all the greater Parisian banking institutions with the apparent exception of the Crédit Mobilier Français which would, however, be indirectly involved.

In the Union Européenne we have the very quintessence of modern capitalism as it prevails in France. This concern is the equivalent in influence and more than the equal in aggressiveness of the British Trade Corporation. It is the embodiment of the will of the French bourgeoisie to conquer economic power, to build upon an impregnable material foundation the armed might of France and to make an invincible reality of the flashing sabres of Foch's imperial vision.

Let us note the undertakings which the Union Européenne was formed to acquire and to develop. They are located, ominously enough, in Austria, Czecho-Slovakia and Poland.

EUROPEAN COAL- and ORE-FIELDS



J.F.H.

They comprise, first, the world-renowned *Skoda Works* of Pilsen in what was known as Bohemia and is now called Czecho-Slovakia. This was, formerly, the principal armament works of Austria-Hungary, and there were made the great mortars used to batter down the forts of Liège and Namur. It had a capital, at the time it was taken over, of 144,000,000 crowns and gave employment normally to about 15,000 workers.

Then, there is the *Austrian Mining and Metallurgical Company* in the region, the plebiscite region whose situation Mr. Lloyd George did not know, of Teschen. The French financial paper, *L'Information* says (July 13th, 1920) of this company "It occupies, however, a preponderating place in the industrial organisation of Central Europe: it possesses, in fact, important collieries, blast furnaces and steel works in the district of Teschen, as well as iron mines situated in the same neighbourhood. The average output of this company can be estimated at: Coal, 3,000,000 tons; coke 800,000 tons; steel 250,000 tons. The simple statement of these amounts shows the importance of this company, which is the chief producer of coal in the Mährisch-Ostrau region and possesses very important deposits (500 million tons of coal at least) from which it obtains coking coal considered to be amongst the best in Europe."

Thirdly, there is the *United Workshops and Mechanical Construction Company*, at Pilsen, Prague and Koninggratz, with a capital of 50,000,000 crowns, controlled by the Skoda Company and making agricultural and other machinery. Fourthly, there is the *Forges and Steel Works Company of Huta-Bankowa*. This concern "exploits important steel works at Dombrowa in Poland. It possesses, likewise, in Poland, iron mines and controls a certain number of mining and metal companies in the Donetz."

L'Information (July 28th, 1920) further announced concerning the Union Européenne that "Agreements have been concluded with the *Hungarian Credit Bank* which would undertake the rôle of agent of the company in Eastern Europe and would favour the concentration, in its hands, of mineral and petroleum affairs in the Balkans." The Union Européenne, moreover, took up 200,000 out of 300,000 shares of 400 crowns each, issued by the Hungarian Credit Bank.

Subsequently, this latter concern, together with another and pre-war creation of the Banque de l'Union Parisienne, viz., the *Banca Commerciale Romana*, acquired the Banat coalfields, in Transylvania. Schneider and Co. also acquired, on behalf of consumers, of magnesium products in France, the Saar and Luxemburg, important interests in the *Veitscher Magnesitwerke A.-G.* in Styria.

VI.

The German Coalfields and the Entente Split

THUS, Schneider and the great banking concerns of France, during the spring and summer of 1920, acquired collieries and iron and steel works, as well as valuable reserves of coking coal, undeveloped coalfields and iron-ore deposits in Czecho-Slovakia, Austria, Roumania and Poland. They, also, registered a claim to anything there might be worth appropriating in

Hungary. Whilst private interests were thus availing themselves of the results of the blockade and in this manner furthering the cause of French imperialism, the French Government was driving a hard bargain at Spa and thereby securing the delivery by Germany of 2,000,000 tons of coal per month.

Having gained this much, the French capitalists commenced to clamour, in their own name and through the dutiful mouthpiece of their government, for further impositions upon Germany or, in default, the occupation of the Ruhr coalfield. In one way or another, occasion was sought, an excuse canvassed, for entering, with a view to its exploitation, a coalfield having, in pre-war times, an annual output of 140,000,000 tons and, at present, of about 85,000,000 tons, an amount equal to twice the French coal production in 1913.

At the same time, in devious ways, quite obviously opening out of the counting houses and the coal market of Paris, a tremendous ferment and agitation was worked up around the question of Upper Silesia.

In "Industrial Germany," written in 1912, W. H. Dawson says (p. 22):—"The Upper Silesian coalfield is believed to be the richest quantitatively in Europe. Nearly two-thirds of the Silesian coal beds are situated in German territory, while one-third is in Austria and under five per cent. in Russia" (p. 22). Again, on page 23, Mr. Dawson says, writing of the actual output of coal: "The production of Upper Silesia (1910) was 34,461,000 tons."

Now, the five per cent. was what fell to Poland when carved out of Russia, together with a portion of the one-third part pertaining to Austria. The remainder of this one-third, by other means, became available to the Union Européenne. But more than sixty per cent. lay out of effective reach in Germany. There, in Upper Silesia, along with it and by reason of it, were fine steel plants, zinc smelters, Portland cement works and chemical factories. These were held in the capable hands of Stinnes and other great financiers of the Fatherland and nowise to be bought up at bankrupt prices by the syndicated agencies of the greedy little bourgeois of France.

Hence, remembering how Schneider had fallen heir to Stinnes in Terres Rouges and others to the Deutsche Luxemburgische as a result of the liberation of Lorraine and new orientations in the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg, someone or other commenced to agitate violently for the liberation of Upper Silesia and to endeavour from the turmoil that was bound to ensue, to obtain one or both of two advantages. One, political in character, was the reversion of Upper Silesia to Poland, that, the vassal republic of Monsieur Noulens and his colleagues of the *Banque Franco-Polonaise*, might sequester the mines and factories of Stinnes and allocate them to the French steel syndicates. The other, economic, aimed at the systematic depreciation of values of the coveted properties that, if the political plot failed, nevertheless French capitalism might be able to buy them up for an old song.

It is not surprising that, coming latest—one does not hazard to say “last”—in such a series of official and semi-official manœuvres, all having for their end the acquisition of an industrial independence that, in its development, becomes rather an industrial preponderance, the French attitude and policy towards Upper Silesia should have encountered an opposition from Mr. Lloyd George that becomes more obdurate and inflexible. By procrastination or some more or less plausible pretext, the British Prime Minister avoided yielding to France on the question of reparations or a further entry into the Ruhr Valley. Latterly, a more direct blow has been struck at the French coal and iron interests in the matter of adjusting payments between the Allies out of the reparations. Reporting the results of a conference of Allied Finance Ministers, held in accord with the Treaty of Versailles, the *Manchester Guardian Commercial Supplement* (August 25th, 1921) says:—

It transpired that France would have to hand over surplus receipts amounting to the difference between the value of the Saar and the cost of the French Army of Occupation, a considerable sum, while Great Britain has an unsatisfied claim of approximately 500 million gold marks, although some measure of relief was given to France by the distribution of payment over a term of years.

France obtained the reversion of the Saar coalfield, which is being operated by or on behalf of the State, on the grounds of gross damage done by the Germans to the collieries in the Nord and the Pas de Calais. This damage was greatly over-estimated and will, certainly, be made good by 1925 or 1926 at the latest.

The value of a coalfield is estimated in terms of coal production and “the surplus receipts,” mentioned above, to be handed over by France to Britain, mean payments in coal. The British Government is not a coal merchant, but it has “unsatisfied claims” upon it, year by year, for interest on and principal of War Loan subscribed by coal exporters who are, at the same time, coal owners. These British coal owners see in the adjustment of payments between France and Britain in the form and medium of Saar coal production a means of juggling with the books of coal companies, which will show losses whilst their owners, as merchants, are making profits. At one and the same time, the British coal owners hope to over-reach the French capitalists and hoodwink that brilliant French linguist, Mr. Frank Hodges.

Needless to say, the French are very angry about this interpretation of the financial clauses of the Versailles Treaty, and there is doubt as to whether or not they will accept it.

The British capitalists and their tools, Messrs. George, Horne and Baldwin, would not have tolerated so long this French campaign for the conquest of coal and iron but that they realise several things, some agreeable and some aggravating in the extreme.

To begin with, the French colliery and iron and steel properties are scattered about an unsettled and semi-bankrupt series of small States. Their values are steadily falling with every slump in the comic opera currency of Poland, Roumania and Hungary, and the

ramshackle credit of Austria and Czecho-Slovakia. Again, France is in debt to Britain and, at the same time, British coal merchants are well entrenched on the French coal exchanges and, having more experience and abundant resources, can make much money out of the deliveries of coal from Germany to France and France to Britain. Furthermore, the surplus coal available in France or French hands during 1920-21 was very useful to stock against the miners or to release on the market to make a bogus "slump" at the end of the autumn strike. The other side of the picture may be described as "a study in oils" and belongs to the great exhibition of Anglo-American rivalry in the petroleum market. France is to America as Belgium is to France, a pawn in a great game of capitalist empires. She may be a make-weight, economically, diplomatically and militarily, to the United States. She knows her value and adjusts her price accordingly. The capitalists of Britain know this. Hence, the Entente survives—that and nothing more!

Do you read the Plebs Magazine?

It is the most important journal of working
class education in the country

6d. Monthly

11a PENYWERN ROAD,
LONDON, S.W.5

Thesis on Unemployment

The following important thesis on unemployment was presented to the Congress of the Red Trade Union International, and was unanimously accepted. The thesis was written by Comrade Tom Bell, the international delegate of the Communist Party of Britain.

I

Economic Basis of Capitalism

MODERN capitalism rests upon the most thorough and systematic exploitation of the working class. The basis of the entire productive life of society is conditioned upon the extraction by the bourgeoisie of surplus values produced by the propertyless proletariat. This "surplus value" which is only another name for rent, interest and profit, is the life's blood of capitalism. Without it capitalism is unthinkable. It is by the realisation of this "value" that the maintenance and accumulation of capital is made possible. It represents the difference between what the working class produces and what they get in the shape of wages. It is therefore the pivot of the class struggle.

II.

Competition Leads to Trusts and Mass Production

Since the control of the means of wealth production outside Soviet Russia is in the hands of a small class, i.e., the bourgeoisie, and since the realisation of profit is the stimulus to production, competition which, in the early stages in the life of the capitalist system, makes for its growth and development, eventually becomes a menace to the primary purposes of capitalist production. It leads to concentration of capital in the shape of trusts and combines as a means of economy in exploitation.

Economies, however, are brought about not only by large scale, i.e., mass production, but also in the distribution of the products. Labour thus becomes more productive and commodities are produced quicker than they are consumed.

III.

Imperialism Leads to Mass Unemployment

In the measure, however, that production is increased the volume of commodities for sale becomes ever larger, the home markets are the sooner exhausted and the eyes of the bourgeoisie turned abroad for new outlets. This is the basis of modern imperialism.

But modern imperialism has not solved the contradictions of capitalism. It has not prevented the periodic "gluts" or crises that afflict society from time to time; crises which throw millions of workers on to the scrap-heap of labour and forces them to be unemployed because they have produced too much. In a word, it has

not solved the problem of unemployment, rather has it accentuated it, until to-day the large army of the workless, numbering over 20 millions, has become for the bourgeoisie a festering sore on the body politic.

IV.

Basis of Present Crisis—Production Sabotaged

The present crisis of unemployment, however, cannot be put down simply to the ordinary previous causes of "over production," etc. During the war, production was carried on at a high pressure to fulfil the destructive objects of the various governments. The competitive principle was largely eliminated by the governments, who accepted full responsibility for output. But the direction of production placed the satisfaction of human needs in a secondary position to the war aims of the imperialists, with the result that the world's stock of commodities is to-day abnormally low.

On the other hand, the delicate and intricate fabric of international credit, being broken by the war, the poverty-stricken countries are unable to purchase the things they need from the countries that can supply them. Industry is accordingly dislocated and millions of workers are suffering through unemployment, as a consequence of the folly and greed of capitalism. But this crisis is not merely the result of the inevitable breakdown of the capitalist economy. A deliberate "sabotage" of production is being carried out by "big business" to cut wages and reduce the fighting strength of the labour unions.

The revolutionary unions must expose to the widest masses of the workers this conspiracy against them, not only because millions of workers are innocently sacrificed to the mercenary desires of the capitalists, but because their best fighting elements—"the rebels"—are thrust out of the factories under cover of the slackening of trade.

V.

Must Lift Above Charity Plane

In previous crises the unemployed have generally suffered in silence. No definite methods were adopted or concerted plan of organisation carried out. It was purely a question of bread and if charity was forthcoming, the workless were usually quietened. Some radicals and social-democrats attracted attention to the plight of the unemployed by holding mass demonstrations or leading hunger marches. In many instances, such demonstrations and marches gave rise to conflicts between the unemployed and the police, which generally resulted in the batoning of the workers, arrest of the leaders, and the breaking up of the movement.

The Red Trade Union International must lift the unemployed movement above the plane of a charity movement. It rejects as inadmissible the principle of throwing workers on to the streets as industrial derelicts without right or concern of the industry they are engaged in. The Red Trade Union International stands for the principle of social service as a basis for production and not the

private aggrandisement of capitalists. It must rally the workers round the slogan of workers' control of industry.

VI.

Scientific Management

It is impossible under capitalism to fully satisfy the "human claims" of labour. The irreconcilable antagonism between the producers and exploiters must, in the last analysis, override sentimental considerations. But modern capitalism is faced with an ever-increasing army of proletarians always on the border of actual want through unemployment. It cannot at its peril allow such an army to drift into revolutionary channels, and so it seeks to profess consideration, for, what it calls, "the human needs of labour." These claims it seeks to meet by temporary expedients, while it searches in vain for the "ideal" solution. Thus, it resorts to social welfare work and financial "doles," either by voluntary effort or State management. Through the medium of "doles" it seeks to win the workers for the capitalist state by professing a paternal interest in the lot of the proletariat, and prompting the fictitious belief in the "square deal." The financial concessions, however, by the capitalist governments to the unemployed, are merely in the nature of a sop or soothing syrup. Such concessions must always fall short of the lowest possible standard of living.

VII.

Systematic Short Time

On the other hand, unemployment, or the fear of it, is a powerful factor in the making of "labour unrest." To create an atmosphere of "harmonious relations between capital and labour," to solve the problem of "labour and unrest," and ensure the peaceful exploitation of the working class, modern capitalism has abandoned the old-fashioned policy of *laissez faire*. It now resorts to the more covert method of scientific management. Thus it sacrifices a portion of its profits in schemes of "welfare work" and social clubs as a soporific for labour discontent. By means of joint committees, it seeks to conciliate the "human" claims of labour. Under cover of the joint committees, unemployment is concealed by an apparent mutual arrangement for systematic "short time," which, while placing the burden of unemployment upon the working class, deceives the workmen into looking upon such "short time" as an example of the paternal interest taken in labour by the capitalists.

This treachery must be exposed by the revolutionary unions.

VIII.

Full Wages Demand

The labour unions in the past have tried independently to meet the problem of unemployment by means of donation or out of work benefit, raised by union levies. While such a policy may have been

advantageous in the early stages of capitalist development in keeping the unemployed from competing with those employed, to-day when the industrial reserve army fluctuated between tens of thousands and millions of workers, "donation" benefit makes for conservatism and reaction and lames the fighting strength of the unions.

The accumulation of out-of-work benefit funds not only weakens the unions as a fighting force, it is an admission of the bourgeois principle that the wages system is just and that the responsibility for maintenance during the periods of economic crises, born of capitalism rests upon the individual workers.

The revolutionary unions must reject such a principle, as well as the principle of State "doles," and demand full wages or maintenance from the employing class during periods of compulsory unemployment as a social right.

IX.

On the theory of individual responsibility, even in well organised trade unions, the unemployed worker has hitherto been left to shift for himself. The labour unions, apart from financial assistance, have never tackled seriously the organisation of their unemployed members. Undoubtedly there are difficulties in the way of organising an army which is shifting or fluctuating in its character. Especially there are great obstacles among that section which belongs to no labour union. But the revolutionary unions must reverse the present policy of haphazard effort. We must draw the employed and the workless closer together, by means of unemployed committees, by insisting on the identity of interest between the employed and the unemployed workers in a given industry, we take the first steps towards a practical policy for unemployment.

X.

Committees of Workless

Not the least important task, therefore, of the revolutionary unions is the setting up of committees of the workless. By means of such committees a close relationship can be established between those in the streets, through active demonstrations outside and inside the factory or workshop gates. We must seek to break down that marked hostility which has always been exhibited between the unemployed and the employed. The latter has always looked upon the former as a competitor for his job. And since the wages of the workers are always on the border of insufficiency, the unemployed man has been hitherto regarded as a possible enemy. Thus the proposal for a reduction in the hours of labour to absorb the workless army has always been opposed by the employed on the grounds that it would reduce his already scanty wage. The revolutionary labour unions must press for the reduction of hours without loss of pay, as a method of promoting the identity of labour's interest. By propagating the idea of an adjustable working week to the requirements of industry; by the demand for the abolition of systematic overtime while unemployment prevails, larger and larger sections of the working class can be recruited to the revolutionary ranks and to the slogan of workers' control of industry.

XI.

Relief Works ; Local Committees to Force Authorities

Although it is becoming more and more understood by the masses that there can be no remedy for unemployment under capitalism, this is no satisfaction for the uneducated and starving toilers. No sooner is the worker thrown on to the street than the question of food becomes the all important and pressing problem for solution. The bourgeoisie has always understood the significance of this and turned it to immediate account. The lash of starvation has always been used as a whip against the rebellious workers inside the workshops, either to cut wages or render the workers more docile and tractable. In the case of the unemployed, by means of charitable institutions, labour colonies, or relief works, the spirit and character of the workers is often maimed and broken. And since it is one of the anomalies of capitalism that acute periods of economic crises are accompanied by huge stores of food and necessaries in the warehouses of the capitalists, everywhere the local committees for the unemployed must force the authorities to distribute the food without the slightest stigma of task work.

XII.

But it is not enough that the revolutionary labour unions should wage the economic struggle against unemployment, for improvement in the labour conditions. Each succeeding crisis only sharpens the contradictions within the capitalist state and demonstrates the impossibility of a permanent economic security for the working class under capitalism. This conviction is coming home to larger and larger sections of the workers. From the struggles by the combined factory and unemployed committees on the grounds of the economic crisis the conflict must be carried on to the plane of a political struggle for power, centred round the workers' control of industry.

XIII

During acute periods of economic crises, the revolutionary labour unions must go beyond the immediate demands of the moment. They must be prepared to face the task openly, challenging the capitalist control of the factories, especially where the shutting down of the factories is excused on the score of lack of raw materials, state of the finances, and other technical pretences, which are confusing to the ordinary worker. Such a challenge is bound to meet with the strongest opposition from the owners. But side by side with a campaign showing to the masses the responsibility of the capitalists for the immediate capitalist breakdown, such opposition from the owners must bring the general masses of the workers over to the revolutionary ranks. Thus, by means of the decisive leadership of the workers by the revolutionary unions on the immediate and practical questions of the day, backed by the most energetic prosecution of the struggle by means of strict, demonstrative pressure on the local authorities, combined struggle for possession of the factories, etc., whole masses of the working class can be drawn into the political struggle for power and the final conquest of capitalism.

SONGS of the REVOLUTION

WITH this month's issue we begin a new and novel series. It is our intention, in addition to the feast of good things supplied every month, to include a revolutionary song in each issue of the COMMUNIST REVIEW. These songs, however, will not be like the usual tunes generally served out to the British Labour movement, which are in most cases poor words wedded to a patriotic melody or a church hymn. The COMMUNIST REVIEW intends to supply the very finest and most inspiring of the militant songs of the international revolutionary movement.

It is not true that the British masses cannot sing. In South Wales, on the Clyde, and in many Midland areas, there are proletarian choirs equal to anything in the movement in Italy, Germany, France or Russia. Our meetings and demonstrations lack verve and revolutionary *elan*, mainly due to the absence of good revolutionary, stirring, music. What demonstration could generate enthusiasm after singing that awful dirge—the Red Flag? If the movement wishes to stimulate great audiences, if it wishes to create that peculiar electrical atmosphere which pervades the mass meetings in Russia, we must teach our audiences to sing soul-stirring music. Many superior people treat music in the revolutionary movement with proud disdain. Poor fools! If there are healthy emotions which can be stimulated by music, why should not the Communist Party appeal to them with the aid of its own songs?

The Communists have a Philosophy, a History, an Economics, a Policy of their own. We build our own organisations. We struggle beneath our own flag. We go forth to battle with our own slogans emblazoned upon our own banners. And why not sing our own songs?

The Marseillaise inspired many a weary soldier during the difficult days of the French Revolution. It was a fighting song with a challenge to feudalism in it and it was as good as a sword to the revolutionaries.

This month, the revolutionary month of November, we produce the great marching song of Russia's Red Army. To see a Red battalion marching to meet the armies of capitalism, to see it swinging along singing the Red Army March, is a feast for the eyes and a tonic for the ears.

Music has a legitimate place in our movement. Autocratic governments have time after time sought to suppress the songs of the rebels. Ireland is a case in point. Let us begin to learn to sing real revolutionary songs. And let us begin with the March of the Red Army.

W. P.

No. 1

The Red Army March

From the Russian of Leonid Radin

Translated by Eden and Cedar Paul

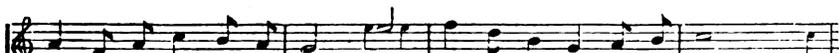
Russian air harmonised by Muriel Davenport

Vigorously, in March Time.

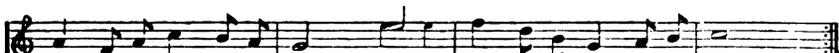


1. Com-rades, the bu - gles are sound - ing! Shoul - der your arms for the fray!
2. Born in the ranks of the work - ers, Whom toil's scan - ty wage must suf - fice!
3. Hun - ger and chains were our por - tion; They fed us like beg - gars on crumbs; But
4. Sing - ing, we hast - en to bat - tle! Speed! let us speed to the fight!
5. Ru - lers who sit in high pla - ces— What gives them pow'r in the land?
6. Firm is our faith that we'll con - quer; Sla - ver - y's yoke we shall break;
7. Work - ers, now ral - ly your for - ces, Break the last bonds of the slave!

Vigorously, in March Time.



1. Bold - ly we'll fight for our free - dom! Brave - ly we'll hew out a way!
2. "Bro - ther - hood! U - ni - ty! Free - dom!" This is our fight - ing de - vice.
3. sun - shine the dark - ness is pierc - ing, The day of de - liv - er - ance comes. But
4. Sol - diers of free - dom, we're fear - less Of kings and their shad - ow - y might.
5. Cart - rid - ges, ri - fles, and bayon - ets! All are the work of our hand.
6. Bat - tle - ward step - ping out gai - ly; Fight - ing for lib - er - ty's sake.
7. Hoist up the Red Flag of la - bour Whose folds o'er the wide world shall wave!



1. Bold - ly we'll fight for our free - dom! Brave - ly we'll hew out a way!
2. "Bro - ther - hood! U - ni - ty! Free - dom!" This is our fight - ing de - vice.
3. sun - shine the dark - ness is pierc - ing, The day of de - liv - er - ance comes.
4. Sol - diers of free - dom, we're fear - less Of kings and their shad - ow - y might.
5. Cart - rid - ges, ri - fles, and bayon - ets! All are the work of our hand.
6. Bat - tle - ward step - ping out gai - ly; Fight - ing for lib - er - ty's sake.
7. Hoist up the Red Flag of la - bour Whose folds o'er the wide world shall wave!





Communist International Manifesto

(Translated by L. MADELBIN WERTHEIM)

Famine Speculation and the Campaign of World Capital against Soviet Russia

TO THE WORKING MEN AND WOMEN OF ALL LANDS.

THE Communist International when first appealing for your aid for famine-stricken Soviet Russia, made it clear to you that it was not merely endeavouring to procure bread and medicines, but even more to prevent the capitalist powers from exploiting Soviet Russia's misery with a view to snatching political concessions and even to planning and undertaking campaigns against her. Our fears have been confirmed. The capitalist governments, it is true, declare that they desire to treat the Russian Famine as a purely humanitarian question; but that is merely lies and trickery. For every capitalist government the Russian Famine is a welcome ally in their war of destruction against the Workers' and Peasants' State. First and foremost, the French Government is proving it by preparing for a military attack against Soviet Russia. This government is assembling great masses of troops in Upper Silesia, not merely to threaten with French cannon the Ruhr district in addition to the coalfields of Upper Silesia, but still more to transform the latter into a *military base against Soviet Russia*. The Polish army is very weak. The economic situation in Poland does not permit of the Polish Government preparing openly for a new war against Soviet Russia. Briand's plan is, therefore, to accumulate French forces there, to form army-commands, and to establish munition depôts, so that, in winter, when lack of fuel will be increasing Russia's misery, they can drag Poland and the other border States into a campaign against Soviet Russia. This is the goal for which the agents of the French Government are working in all these border States. In Rumania, they have already achieved a great success. Rumania is preparing for "great manoeuvres" in the autumn, which in reality, are merely preparations with a view to a winter campaign against Soviet Russia. At the same time, French diplomacy has done everything in its power to prevent any action on the part of the various humanitarian organisations in favour of Russia. Under the pretext of the necessity of concentrating the aid sent, the international capitalist plotters are

International Review

seeking to put themselves in a position to be able to impose political conditions on Soviet Russia, and, in exchange for bread, to exact political concessions for the Russian bourgeoisie. In case the Soviet Government should refuse to let the bourgeoisie carry on after this fashion, they have formed the project of initiating a campaign of agitation against that Government, and thus to prepare for a military attack to be undertaken by French militarism against Soviet Russia; to present this attack in the guise of succour to the starving by breaking down, with the aid of bayonets, the barriers separating the famine-stricken Russian people from their benefactors who have accumulated bread abroad, but who cannot, owing to the wickedness of the Soviet Government, send it to its destination. Workingmen and women, we invite you from the start to form *autonomous proletarian aid committees*. It is only if the working masses will give their aid promptly and energetically, that the infamous game begun by the bourgeois governments can be checkmated. It is only by the rapid intervention of working class aid committees that it can be proved that it is not for technical reasons that succour is delayed, but merely because it is the desire of world capital to make the starving peasants and workers of Russia an object for speculation.

We invite you to undertake an energetic campaign of agitation and protest against every attempt on the part of bourgeois governments to impose conditions on the Soviet Government and on the Russian workers in exchange for help. Snatch the whip of famine from their hands, remind them of what even the liberal English journal *The Nation*, has made clear, that is to say, that half of what the English government has spent on Denikin, Koltchak, and Judenitch to destroy the Russian national economy, would suffice to provide the famine-stricken regions with the necessary bread. Let the cry, "Down with Famine Speculation"; "Aid to the starving masses of Russia," fill the columns of your papers, let it echo at your meetings, and we are certain the working masses, without consideration of Party will rally to this cry.

At the same time, we invite you to fight most energetically against every new attempt at intervention. Workers of France, it is your duty to checkmate by every means in your power the attempts of the French government and their allies the White Guards to let loose a new war against Soviet Russia. It is your duty to exercise the strictest surveillance over every consignment of munitions and troops to the East, to denounce it publicly and prevent it by every possible means. Workers of Germany, the moment has arrived when, as in 1920, you must muster all your forces solidly to prevent all transport of troops and munitions across Germany; German railwaymen and workers, attention to transports from the West! Workers of Czecho-Slovakia, of Poland, German-Austria, Rumania, Finland, Esthonia, and Lettonia, be on your guard, keep a strict eye on your governments, prevent all preparations of world capital for a new war against Soviet Russia. Workers of Greece, Jugo-Slavia, and Bulgaria, munition transports go also across your countries to Rumania. Be on the watch!

The Communist International is convinced that the attempts of world reaction, and above all, those of France, will break down

before the solid and energetic resistance of the proletariat. The Communist International hopes that not only the Communist Parties, but also those workers organised in Trade Unions, will do their duty towards Soviet Russia. The famine offensive prepared against Soviet Russia is part of the general offensive of world capital against the proletariat. The bourgeoisie of the whole world wish to annihilate Soviet Russia in order to have their hands free for the struggle against the proletariat in each country.

Down with Capital's Famine Offensive against Soviet Russia!

Down with the Famine Speculators!

Forward with proletarian aid to Soviet Russia!

Up with the international solidarity of the working-class against world capital!

Long live Soviet Russia!

Executive Committee of the Communist International.

President.

G. ZINOVIEV.

The Situation in Italy

By ENRICO MASSINE

THE economic and political position in Italy is moving forwards towards a new crisis. In a very short time it will attain the same dimensions as it reached during the critical days of last autumn, when only the unpreparedness of the masses, and the indolence of the leaders, enabled the bourgeoisie to escape final defeat. It was demonstrated in the brilliant article by Comrade Umberto Terraccini,* which appeared in the COMMUNIST REVIEW, that the slowness of the socialist leaders enabled the master class to spring to the attack upon the working class by organising their White Guard "fascisti" bands. These murder gangs were able to work much better than ordinary State troops, because the Government said it was not responsible for their actions. Everyone in Italy knows that these reactionary assassins had the whole power and machinery of the Italian State behind them.

The Italian masses, misled by their moderate and timid socialist leaders, have not yet clearly grasped the full significance of the happenings since last autumn. The outburst of capitalist violence, as manifested in the "fascisti," has so intimidated many of the Labour leaders that they are afraid to proclaim themselves as allies of the Communist International; at the same time they dare not line up with the Second, or even the Two-and-a-Half Internationals, out of fear for the wrath of the masses, who hold the leaders of the Russian revolution in sacred esteem. Cowering before the armed brigands of property on the one hand, and quailing in front of the indignation of the workers on the other, the ineptitude of the Italian leaders may well express itself in a refusal to line up with any of the organised sections of the international Labour movement. The approaching political and economic crisis can only be

*This appeared in the *Communist Review* (September) and was entitled "Initiative in the Class Struggle." It was a splendid analysis of the meaning of Fascism.

handled by bold measures courageously carried out; but the tacticians of the Italian Socialist Party are anything but heroic in their policy. Just as during the murder campaign of the "fascisti," so the brunt of the future fighting will have to be borne by the Communist Party and its audacious members. Indeed, the existence of a fearless Communist Party in Italy is a god-send to the moderate socialist leaders, because it acts as the group that draws all the enemy's fire and enables the more timid elements to escape the full force of the capitalist attack. The proof of this is borne out by the fact that the moderate socialists, at the height of the "fascisti" offensive, actually displayed their cowardice by entering into an agreement with these murderous White Guards. This agreement, in practice, has meant that the whole apparatus of the Italian State, the "fascisti," and the moderate socialists, are lined up against the dauntless Communist Party. Such an act of unspeakable treachery would have been impossible two years ago, and would not have been tolerated by the socialist party. The explanation why the party can lend itself to such base deeds is due to the fact that last year the real revolutionary elements left and formed the Communist Party, which is now the fighting vanguard of the Italian masses. When the most active and fearless revolutionary fighters left the socialist party, the right wing grew in relative importance, and has managed to emasculate it as a powerful factor in the Italian class struggle. The people who try to explain that the influence of Moscow is on the wane, in the councils of the socialist party in Italy, are dishonest enough to forget to mention that the bona-fide revolutionaries *left the party* and formed the present Communist Party, which conducted its work so well that the "fascisti" black and tans were organised and hounded upon its members. If the vote on the adhesion to the Communist Party is lost at the Milan Conference, as it no doubt will be, it must not be looked upon as a triumph for either the Second or the Two-and-a-Half International. The importance of the Communist International in the Italian Labour movement may be judged by the fact that the only question that the Italian moderate leaders dare discuss at present is FOR or AGAINST the Communist International.

Meanwhile, the Communist Party prepares itself for the intense struggle which is imminent. Already it is preparing its plans and is getting into close contact with the industrial masses in order to get a united class front, so that everything will be ready for the moment when the battle against capitalism begins. While the moderate socialists are entering into agreements with the "fascisti," the Communists are preparing for the combat. To that end they have addressed the following manifesto to the organised masses:—

Workers and Comrades,

A repetition of many serious and violent acts clearly demonstrate that the reactionary offensive by the armed fascisti bands is not on the wane. The fury of these groups—which, acting as a mask for State opposition against the masses—is but one form of the class struggle which is at present manifesting itself in reduction

of wages, dismissals, and lock-outs. All these are directed against the organised power of Labour.

We have declared, several times, that the powerful onslaughts made against the masses are inseparably connected with the crises which automatically develop in capitalist society. The dominant class, by its relentless attacks, are forcing the workers to prepare their forces for a final offensive.

Confronted by the growing intensity of the aggression of the bourgeoisie, the Communist Party re-affirms its position of the need for militant action, and to give blow for blow, and match the weapons used against us with similar ones. We must combat the pernicious illusion that pacific relations, between opposed classes, can be possible within the framework of capitalism and its institutions.

At the same time, the Communist Party points out the only way to escape from the present situation—which grows worse each day as it passes—and that is, for a united front on the part of all workers of all kinds, including the syndicalist groups. To achieve this the Communist Party has proposed, through the Communist Trade Union Committee, a programme of action for the whole Italian proletariat. The first step in this programme is the organisation of a general mass strike to be conducted by an alliance of the large industrial organisations.

This invitation has been sent to the General Confederation of Labour (C.G.L.), the Syndicalist Union (U.S.), and to the Federation of Railwaymen, to call a National Council to discuss the propositions put forward by the Communists and to draft a general line of action, amongst themselves, in order to get unity of purpose amongst the industrial masses. This proposal has been received with enthusiasm by the masses, but so far the leaders have not responded. Our party realises the need for immediate proletarian action, and has carefully worked out a policy for that purpose.

The other political parties which claim to represent the masses, conspicuous among which is the Socialist Party, which is to-day mourning the death of one of its murdered parliamentary members, have not responded to our call, and have not even suggested an alternative line of action.

Comrades! The murderous actions of the fascisti White Guards, which are making your ranks vibrate with indignation, and the prospect of famine which threatens you and your families, compel you to face an inescapable situation. Return to your Trade Union branches and discuss the acceptance of the proposals of the Communist Trade Union Committee. Demand the calling together of a national industrial congress, composed of all the Trade Unions, in order to get some line of definite and decisive united action discussed, and put into operation. Demand those parties and politicians who talk about the interests of the oppressed, victimised, and attacked workers, to declare openly what policy they intend to pursue to uplift the masses.

Your only salvation lies in united action. The right path is not to be found in futilely attempting to reconcile the interests of the masses and their masters, but by waging the class war against

them; not in seeking to reform or to re-establish capitalism, but in its final destruction. Only in this way will you be saved from famine, murderous reaction, and capitalist offences—all of which are now pressing heavily upon you.

Long live the mass action of the united workers against capitalism!

Hail the final triumph of the social revolution!

Georgia

Reply of the Revolutionary Committee and Communist Party Executive of Georgia to the Proposal of the Executive Committee of the Second International

MR. RAMSAY MACDONALD, through the medium of the Chairman of the Russian Trade Delegation in London, Comrade Krassin, has handed the Government of Soviet Georgia the resolution of the E.C. of the Second International, supporting the request of the Tiflis branch of the Menshevik Party for a mixed commission representing the Socialist and Communist Parties of the world, to administer a free consultation of the Georgian electorate as to what form of government is desired by the majority. The E.C. of the Second International, through Mr. MacDonald, requests the Soviet Government to accelerate its reply, as he says in all probability the Socialist movement of the various countries will be taking a more and more lively interest in Georgian affairs.

The Revolutionary Committee of Socialist Soviet Georgia, and the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Georgia, consider that under the circumstances they would prefer to have dealings with, and reply to, the master class, i.e., entente imperialism sooner than with the lackeys and mouthpieces of that bastard imperialism which stands at the head of an organisation calling itself the Labour and Socialist International.

The disgraceful and treacherous part played by the leaders of the Yellow International has been demonstrated, even for the workers of the Caucasus, by the visit, last autumn, to Menshevik Georgia of the delegation from the Second International comprising Messrs. MacDonald, Vandervelde, Renandel, Debrouchere, Kautsky, and others.

All of these appeared in Georgia as the undisguised emissaries of capitalism and imperialism. Thus, Mr. MacDonald, one of the leaders of the Labour and Socialist International, did not find it unbecoming for himself as a Socialist—be it only as a former Socialist—immediately on his arrival in Tiflis to visit the People's Commissary for Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Republic, of Azerbeidjan, who was then in the city, and also the plenipotentiary representative of the Russian Soviet Republic, and anxiously request them to set free a few officers of the British imperialist army

who had come to Azerbeidjan, as everywhere, with whips and scaffolds for the workers and peasants, and who had been rightly arrested in Baku. The same Mr. MacDonald did not even enquire as to the fate of the hundreds and thousands of Georgian Communists thrown into jail by the Social Democratic Government, and sought for no information as to why the police and gendarmerie of this democratic state were hunting Communists as though they were wild beasts, herding them in prisons or sending them in cattle trucks out of the democratic oasis, as Menshevik Georgia was called by its yellow masters and their yellow guests. The same Mr. MacDonald, in his public speeches at meetings to which no one even suspected of sympathy to Communism was admitted, asserted that Menshevik Georgia had shown its ripeness for the right to independence; thereby setting the seal of the Second International upon the sociological theory of imperialism which divides nations into those worthy of independence and those unworthy of it.

On their return from Georgia to Europe the delegation of the Second International, and amongst them particularly the same Mr. MacDonald, wrote that Great Britain, France, and the entente generally must aid in the formation of a federation of the three Caucasian Republics, which at that moment meant an appeal to the imperialists of the entente to crush the Workers' and Peasants' Soviet Government in Azerbeidjan, drive the Communists out of Baku, and attach a Federation composed of Menshevik Georgia, Messavat, Azerbeidjan, Bashnek and Armenia to the bloody chariot of the entente. To-day Mr. MacDonald and his colleagues of the Yellow International consider that the time has come to open a campaign of intrigue and malignant agitation against the Workers' and Peasants' Government of Georgia, demanding the formation of a commission for controlling democracy in Georgia. They wish to consult as to what form of political order is desired of the electors, not excluding the exploiters, speculators, landlords, and other parasites who were masters of the situation under the Menshevik régime, and who are now politically and economically expropriated by the régime of the dictatorship of the proletariat and poorest peasantry—the descendants of forefathers who executed their kings without consulting the electorate. The witnesses of, and the direct participators in, the cruel oppression by entente imperialism of large and small nations, the gentlemen of the Second International who are in love with democracy and recommended it for Soviet Georgia, should be ashamed to deny the most ancient right of peoples—the right of revolution. This democracy should be practised on a wider scale and commissions should be set up at all costs to investigate the wishes and aspirations of the popular masses in Ireland, India, Africa, and other colonies and semi-colonies. If, however, Mr. MacDonald and his colleagues love democracy in Soviet Georgia, where the dictatorship of the proletariat has been established, and forget about it where the possessions of their fatherland's money-bags are concerned, they only demonstrate once more the depth of the abyss into which they have fallen not only as Socialists but as simple political honest democrats seeking to support the Georgian Mensheviks.

They support the aims of the entente imperialists, eagerly stretching out their blood stained hands to the manganese and forests of Georgia, the oil of Baku, and the other national wealth of the Caucasus at present in the possession of the workers and peasants. This can be the only meaning of their support for the strange demands of the Georgian Mensheviks and their vague hints at raising the Georgian question on the agenda of the entente conference.

With the specious excuse of interest in the Socialist movement of the various countries the Messrs. MacDonald assume the rôle of assistants to imperialism in its preparation for a new attack against the Soviet Republics. For who, if not these very Georgian Mensheviks, called in the troops of German imperialism to occupy Georgia in 1918, and with the help of the bayonets and guns of Wilhelm's troops, seized and retained power, suppressing, with the help of the German generals, the revolting areas which did not wish to be torn from Workers' and Peasants' Russia. At that time neither the Mensheviks nor the MacDonalds ever mentioned the idea of either consulting the population or of democratic control in order to ascertain the will of the people. The Georgian Mensheviks, when British generals took the place of the Germans, began also to bow to them as their saviours from a Bolshevik revolution, and begged them on their knees, sending the most "loyal" requests by telegraph to the British king, to leave the British troops in Georgia. At that time, when the mass of the people absolutely rose, arms in hand, to demand a democratic consultation of the popular will, Georgian Mensheviks seized and jailed hundreds and thousands of the workers and peasants of Georgia, and executed the insurgents after trial by court-martial.

This is what took place in the Menshevik "model democracy" of Georgia, as it was called by the Mensheviks themselves and their yellow protectors of the Second International.

To-day, when an end has come to the violent domination of the Georgian Mensheviks, when by a rising of the labouring people they have been thrown out into the camp of their western patrons, they are aflame with love for democracy in Workers' and Peasants' Georgia, and with all the impudence of the petty bourgeoisie demand that the revolutionary government should consult all the electors.

Rejecting with contempt this piece of political swindling, the revolutionary committee of the Communist Party of Soviet Georgia, over the heads of the hypocritical leaders of the Yellow International and their bankrupt agents, appealed to the workers and peasants of Europe as follows:—

"Comrades.

Do not believe these liars and agents of the imperialist bourgeoisie. Do not believe their professions of democracy. Demand of them that they should give practical expression to their democratic pretensions by conducting an active struggle for the liberation of the oppressed peoples of Ireland, India, Africa and other places from the thralldom and iron heel of rapacious imperialism. As for the will and aspirations of the labouring masses of Georgia, they have

been made sufficiently clear by the fact that during the almost six months existence of the Soviet Government in Georgia, there has not been the slightest expression of discontent on the part of the workers and peasants in the most remote corners of the country, against the Soviet order of society—an order in which there are no exploiters either in town and country, in which the factories and workshops are in the hands of the workers, the land in the hands of the peasants, and in which the power belongs to all the workers. Such an order of society cannot be an object of hatred and attack on the part of the labouring people.

The Georgian Mensheviks, in spite of their far-famed bourgeois democracy, set up through constituent assembly only in the second year of their rule, did not leave that stillborn institution a single question to settle of vital importance for the workers; for using the apparatus of their bourgeois dictatorship they had settled them previously in the interests of the speculators, capitalists, and landlords. The Soviet Government of Georgia, which is working at the head of the proletariat of the towns and the semi-proletariat of the villages at the reconstruction of the economic life of the country on Socialist foundations—and under conditions of a de facto blockade by the entente, as Mr. MacDonald ought not to forget—is organising elections for a congress of Soviets, of workers, peasants, and Red Army deputies, at which the will of the workers will be given formal expression.

The poison of intrigue and agitation spread by the traitors of the working class who sit on the Executive Committee of the Second International will not endanger the foundation of the dictatorship of the workers in Georgia, but on the contrary will bring about an explosion of hatred and contempt both for the lackeys of imperialism and their masters.

As for the question of control over the state of affairs in Georgia, the Revolutionary Committee of the Communist Party of Georgia will readily place themselves under the control and observation of the revolutionary workers of all countries rallied under the banner of the Third Communist International and the Red Trade Union's International. To these, therefore, we address ourselves, asking them to take all steps necessary to open the eyes of the workers of Europe and America, who have been poisoned by the Yellow International, explain to them the true position in Georgia, and, if necessary, bring about their own proletariat control over Workers' and Peasants' Soviet Georgia."

(Signed) For the Revolutionary Committee of the
Central Committee of the Communist Party
of Georgia.

CRAKHELASHVILI, *Secretary.*