

**WORKERS OF THE WORLD,
UNITE!**

THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL



No.

25

Price

Published for

THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

By **The COMMUNIST PARTY of GREAT BRITAIN**

16, KING STREET, COVENT GARDEN, LONDON, W.C.2



THE DARK NIGHTS

of Autumn and Winter are here again with their opportunities for reading and study. The questions "What to read?" and "What to study?" find numerous answers, but none more important to the worker in this epoch of revolution than this — Read and study

The Report of the 4th Congress of the Communist International

1s. 6d.

Post free 1s. 9d.

RESOLUTIONS AND THESES of the 4th CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST INTER- NATIONAL held in Moscow, Nov. 7th to Dec. 3rd, 1922.

One shilling

Post free 1s. 1½d.

—and learn how the workers are waging their struggles in many lands, the errors they commit, the triumphs they achieve and the lessons they have learned.

¶ These are not books for the dilettante or for those who don't want the trouble of thinking. But they are indispensable books for every worker who wants to understand the greatest crisis of world history and the way to the victory of the proletariat.

¶ Obtainable at all Communist Party offices in England, Ireland, South Africa and Australia, and from the offices of the Workers' Parties of America and Canada

WORKERS OF THE WORLD, UNITE !

THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

ORGAN OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE
COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL



EDITED JOINTLY by G. ZINOVIEV and KARL RADEK

The following writers have contributed from time to time :

Russia : Bucharin, Kamenev, Lenin, Lunacharsky, Pokrovsky, Rakovsky, Riazanov, Trotsky, Rothstein. *Finland* : Kuusinen, Manner, Sirola. *Sweden* : Nérman, Ström, Hoeglund, Chilbum. *Norway* : *Kirre Grepp, Tranmael, Friis, Scheflo. *Holland* : Wynkoop, Ravenstein, Roland-Holst, Rutgers. *Austria* : Toman, Strasse. *Germany* : Brandler, Pieck, Thalheimer, Clara Zetkin, Heckert. *England* : Gallacher, T. Quelch, Tom Mann, MacManus. *France* : Henri Barbusse, Guilbeaux, Cachin, *Lefevre, Lorient, Monatte, Sadoul, Souvarine, Rappoport, Rosmer. *Italy* : Bombacci, Bordiga, Gramsci, Fabricio, Maffi, Terracini. *Switzerland* : Herzog, Müntzenberg, Platten, Humbert-Droz. *Hungary* : Alpari, Bela Kun, Varga, Rudas. *Poland* : Warsky, Marchlevsky. *Bulgaria* : Blagoev, Kabakchiev, Koraloff. *America* : *John Reed, Charles Ruthenberg, Foster, Haywood. *Czecho-Slovakia* : Kreibich, Smeral. *Jugo-Slavia* : Markovitch. *Japan* : Sen Katayama. *China* : Chang Du Su. *India* : M. N. Roy, Evelyn Roy. *Ireland* : Jim Larkin. *Ec. Ec.*

*Dead



Publishing Office :

Petrograd, Smolny, 63. Tel. 1.19.

Editor's Office -

Petrograd, Smolny, G. Zinoviev's Cabinet

The Communist International

[ENGLISH EDITION]

Published at

16 KING STREET, COVENT GARDEN, W.C.2

TELEPHONE : GERRARD 877

Advertising Rates

Ordinary position, £5 5s. per Page and *pro rata*
Cover £8 8s. Small advertisements on last pages
of text £1 1s. Discount for series.

¶ *Newsagents, publishers, subscribers, contributors, &c. are requested to note that remittances, books for review, exchange copies, &c. should be addressed to the Manager, Communist Bookshop, 16 King Street, Covent Garden, London, W.C. 2*

THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

Organ of Executive Committee of Communist International

ISSUE NUMBER TWENTY - FIVE

C O N T E N T S

	PAGE
Obituary—V. Vorovsky, Yan Kreuks	5
Twelfth Congress of the Russian C.P. <i>Bukharin</i> ...	10
Speech on XII Congress of Russian C.P. <i>Zinoviev</i> ...	17
Party and Class—25th Anniversary of R.C.P. <i>Yaroslavsky</i>	40
Ruhr and Hamburg <i>Karl Radek</i>	47
Working-class Education in Great Britain <i>MacManus</i>	51
Development of the Capitalist Offensive (cont.) <i>Leder</i> ...	57
The Frunkfurt Conference <i>Lozovsky</i>	81
The Battle of the Ruhr <i>Sommer</i>	95
Some Tactical Problems of War in Ruhr <i>Thalheimer</i> ...	99
1914 & 1923—Another Word on Ruhr Tactics <i>Thalheimer</i>	104
Resolution on the differences in the German Party ...	110
Reviews of Books and Periodicals	115



Y. Vorovsky
(*Russian Communist Party*)

MURDERED AT LAUSANNE, MAY 10, 1923.

O B I T U A R Y

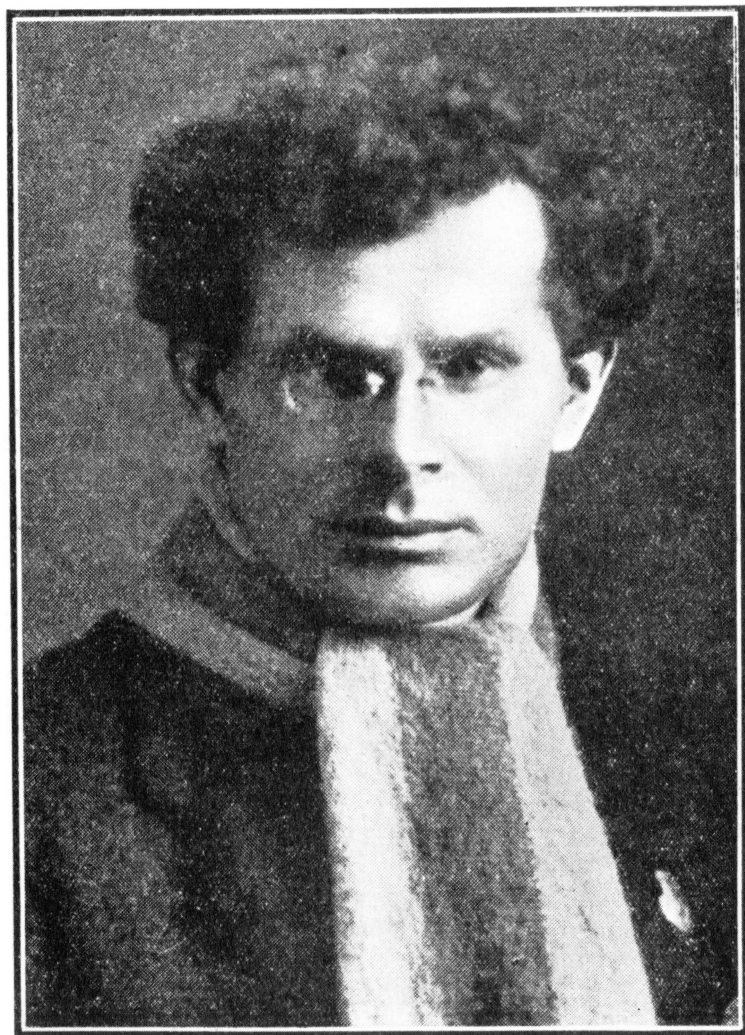
V. V. Vorovsky (N. Orlovsky).

Vazlar Vazlavovich Vorovsky was in the revolutionary movement for over thirty years. As far back as 1891 he was one of the leaders of the revolutionary students' circle in Moscow. Already in 1896 he received his revolutionary baptism of fire; he was exiled from Moscow during the coronation festivities to Vologda, where he lived under police supervision. In the autumn of that year he definitely joined a social-democratic circle, closely connected with the "Rabochii Soyuz" (Labour Union) group. He was arrested in 1891 when the police found a large number of manuscripts and illegal literature in his possession. In 1891 he was again exiled—this time to the Viatka Gubernia for three years.

This is the period when our late comrade began his literary activity. He wrote a series of very promising, and at times, positively brilliant articles in the Marxist literary journals over the nom-de-plume of U. Adamovich. In 1901 V. Vorovsky fled from Perm and made his way abroad, where he immediately took up a prominent position among our comrades who were then abroad as political refugees. During his stay abroad V. Vorovsky continued his literary work and contributed to the leading Party publications. At the same time he prepared himself for his work in Russia. In 1903, when the split between the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks took place, Comrade Vorovsky unhesitatingly joined the former and occupied a very important position in the Bolshevik fraction. When the latter published its first organ, "Vperéd" ("Forward"), Comrade Vorovsky was appointed to the editorial board, together with Comrades Lenin, Lunacharsky and Olminsky. In 1905, representing the Nicolaievsk branch of the party, he was one of the most prominent delegates at the Third Bolshevik Congress. Immediately after the October events of 1905, Comrade Vorovsky, together with the other leaders of the Bolshevik Party, returned to Russia, where he continued to work as one of the members of the "Bolshevik Centre" and as editor of the leading Bolshevik papers and journals. In 1907 he was again apprehended for adherence to the party and exiled for three years to the Viatka Gubernia. In 1909, when counter-revolution and repressions were at their height, V. Vorovsky was a member of the Odessa Party Committee. In January, 1901, he was again arrested and sent for trial. In 1912 he took an active part in the Odessa election to the Fourth Duma, for which he was again arrested and exiled to Vologda.

Needless to say, V. Vorovsky was one of the first to take up his part in the party in 1917, when the Soviet Power was established. The first-rate articles appearing over Comrade Vorovsky's signature in the old "Iskra" (edited by Plekhanoff and Lenin); in the Bolshevik papers "Vperéd" and "Proletarii," and in a number of legal Bolshevik publications, proved V. Vorovsky to be thoroughly grounded in Marxist literature.

Those who were acquainted with our late comrade will never forget his brilliant wit, his remarkable perspicacity and his Marxist learning. Comrade Vorovsky was one of those who not only witnessed



Yan Krenks

(Estonian Communist Party)

MURDERED AT REVAL, MARCH 28, 1923.

the birth of the Bolshevik movement, but was also a pioneer and founder of the Labour Movement in general.

The workers of Russia and of the whole world must feel the great loss they have suffered through the assassination of Comrade Vorovsky.

The scene of Comrade Vorovsky's assassination was "the most 'democratic' country in the world." He went to Switzerland as the representative of the Soviet Government to participate in the Lausanne Conference. The arrival of the Soviet representative was most unwelcome to those who wish to strangle the Turkish people behind closed doors, with as little fuss being made about it as possible. Soon after our comrade's arrival in Lausanne, the Press stated quite definitely that the Nationalist cut-throats were preparing an attack on our envoy. The "serious," "big" papers contented themselves with the usual "diplomatic" instigations against our representative, but in reality they were preparing the ground for a Fascist outrage.

The responsibility for the foul deed does not only rest on the criminal elements of Swiss Fascism and the handful of obscure bourgeois who are at the head of the so-called "democratic" Swiss Republic. The political responsibility for this foul deed rests, in the first place, on the rulers of the Entente, the so-called "convening" Powers, who are the stage managers and masters of the Lausanne Conference. The workers will find means to call to account the true culprits of this foul assassination.

The shot that killed Comrade Vorovsky was fired in a troublous period. The most irreconcilable section of British imperialism is doing its utmost to draw Europe into the whirlpool of a new war. The Ruhr adventure, the triumphant tour of General Foch, Curzon's ultimatum to Soviet Russia, the shots fired at Comrade Vorovsky, the arrogant conduct of the Polish bourgeoisie—are merely so many links in the one chain.

Comrade Vorovsky, one of the founders of our party, who was at the same time one of the most brilliant brains of international Marxism and one of the most devoted workers of the international workers' movement, fell at his post. The time will come when the assassins of Comrade Vorovsky and those who inspired this crime will have to render account to the working class.

• • •

Comrade Yan Kreuks.

On March 28, 1923, in a street in Reval, a hired assassin laid low our comrade Yan Kreuks, a prominent leader of the Esthonian workers, an underground worker and member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party and of the Central Committee of the Young Communist League of Esthonia.

The bourgeoisie of the "potato Republic," knowing with what enthusiasm the Reval labour organisations accepted the candidature of Comrade Kreuks for the forthcoming elections on the United Front ticket, and fearing the presence of this trustworthy and energetic leader of the workers in Parliament, did not hesitate to resort to base assassination in order to remove one of the best champions of the liberties of the working class from their path. Comrade Kreuks was murdered without even the preliminary "hands up" by two shots from a revolver, one which entered his back and the other shot

into his eye when he was already laying senseless on the ground.

Comrade Kreuks was born in Esthonia in 1892. His father was an agricultural labourer on the Alaviena Estate, so that from his earliest childhood he experienced all the charms of a labourer's life in the smoky and gloomy hut of his parents, who were compelled to slave for the idlers rolling in luxury on the estate. At ten years of age he went to live in the town with his parents, and was sent to school, but it is not as easy for a labourer's child to attend school as the sons of the bourgeoisie. For he had to help to maintain the family by selling newspapers in the streets after lessons. On leaving school he was apprenticed to a fitter, but, unable to tolerate the cruelty of his master, he left him and signed on a merchant ship as a seaman.

After staying abroad for some time and experiencing the life of a worker at sea, he returned to Reval and worked for some time as a brick-stove maker, and in 1911 went to Petersburg. Here he met some comrades, who acquainted him with the fundamental tasks of the organised struggle of the workers. Not lagging behind the Petersburg comrades, he closely followed the progress of the struggle against Czarism, took part in strikes and demonstrations, and felt the lash of the knout on his own back. After a time he returned to Reval, where he obtained employment as a smith's hammerman. There he aroused the interest of his fellow workers by his stories of the lives and struggles of the Petersburg workers. Meanwhile, he did not neglect his education, and supplemented his knowledge at evening schools.

On the outbreak of the world war he was mobilised and sent to the Austrian front, where he served first as a male nurse and later as a writer at the staff. There he remained until the outbreak of the Revolution, when he hastened to Esthonia, joined the Bolshevik Party and devoted himself to revolutionary work, mainly the organisation of the Red Army.

In 1918 the occupation of Esthonia by the Germans made it necessary for all party and Soviet institutions to evacuate to Soviet Russia. Comrade Kreuks also came to Russia, but did not stay long. At the beginning of 1919 he returned to Esthonia and secured a job at the Reval Railway Depot as a labourer, in order to be able to conduct propaganda work among the railwaymen and to expose the predatory bourgeoisie who at that time, with the aid of the Mensheviks, were pacifying the Esthonian workers by promises of liberty and "the independence" of Esthonia. His ability and energy as an agitator soon made itself felt, and before six months had passed, the Mensheviks, who at that time possessed enormous influence on the workers in the Depot, were defeated during the elections of delegates to the First Esthonian Trade Union Congress, and Comrade Kreuks was elected as a delegate. At the Congress Comrade Kreuks was elected to the Central Council, which, however, was fated never to meet. Twenty-six of the members of this Council were murdered by the order of the Menshevik Minister for the Interior, Gallat, during their deportation to Russia. By sheer good fortune Comrade Kreuks escaped this fate and continued his activities in the Depot. Soon after the Trade Union Congress, a general railway strike broke out and Comrade Kreuks, as the initiator of the strike, was compelled to go underground in order to escape from the persecution of the military secret police.

At the First Congress of the Communist Party of Esthonia, held secretly in 1920, he was elected a member of the Central Committee, and remained such until his death.

Comrade Kreuks was not a prominent theoretician. Nevertheless, from the very first moment he was an indispensable secret worker. Being himself a worker by origin and only just torn away from legal activity, he was able to judge every step in the class struggle from the point of view of practical application. As an organiser he served as an example to his comrades. Nearly all the nuclei and groups in the factories and large works were formed with his direct participation, and there was hardly a meeting of the Reval Committee or any of its sections at which he did not take a most active part.

Comrade Kreuks will live in our memory also as a leader of the Young Communist League in Esthonia, on the organisation of which he exerted all his efforts. In 1921, when the "democracy" strove to strangle the developing movement of the revolutionary youth, smashed up their legal organisations in Esthonia, Comrade Kreuks came to their aid and organised the first underground Young Communist nuclei, around which the membership increased all over the country. He did not neglect a single meeting, in spite of snowstorms, almost impassable mud or deluging rains, according to the season of the year, and by his energy and devotion, inspired all those who came in contact with him. It was under his leadership that the First underground Congress of the Young Communist League was convened.

At the end of last year the party delegated him to the Fourth Congress of the Comintern, and the Young Communist League delegated him to the Third Congress of the Young Communist International. Having fulfilled his mission, he, at the beginning of this year, returned to his difficult and dangerous work. Comrades urged him to rest awhile, but this untiring worker replied that the time had not yet come for resting, and that his duty called him to where he felt he was wanted—to underground Esthonia.

The death of Comrade Kreuks is a heavy blow to the Communist Party, to the Young Communist League, and the whole of the Labour Movement in Esthonia. Our loss is all the greater for the fact that Comrade Kreuks, being a worker, thoroughly understood the psychology of the working class, and being young and energetic, he might still have completed his theoretical knowledge and become a powerful revolutionary leader.

The bourgeoisie of this Lilliputian country, with a government like that of the Inquisition, fearing to arrest this active worker, who was known and respected by every Reval working man, basely assassinated him, and with the cowardice of a highway robber, fearing him even when he was mortally wounded, finished him off as an inexperienced butcher finishes off his victim. These poltroons violated not only generally accepted laws of humanity, but even their newly promulgated Czarist laws.

Comrade Kreuks is dead, but his memory will live with the Esthonian workers for ever.

The sacred gospel of revolutionary struggle for which in one year two of the best of the leaders of the Esthonian workers, Comrade Victor Kingissep and Yan Kreuks, will be carried out by workers of all countries, and this will be our vengeance for their death.

G. ZINOVIEV.

The Twelfth Congress of the Russian Communist Party

BY N. BUKHARIN

The bourgeoisie of Europe, and particularly the White Emigrants from Russia, looked forward to our Party Congress with joyous expectations. For this time the Conference assembled without its central motive, driving and binding force. But our adversaries were over hasty in counting on the disorganisation of the party. The wish was father to the thought, especially with those who are ill-acquainted with our organisation, the motley life of Soviet Russia and the variety of its economic aspects and social types and consequent numerous antagonisms. But such anticipations of a dissolution were doomed to disappointment. Despite all the ingenious speeches of foreign and White journalists, and despite all their illusory internal conflicts that they conjured up, the fact stands, that our Party Conference proved the unity of the party organisation to be stronger than ever.

1. THE GENERAL CONDITION OF THE COUNTRY.

A few words about the social atmosphere in which the Party Conference was held. An enumeration of the fundamental facts of the "moment" would be given us as follows:—

(1) The International Consolidation of Soviet Russia.

This much is apparent, not only that we already have a whole series of recognitions, some *de jure* and some *de facto*, but better still from the rapid growth of our economic relations abroad. Our commerce with the outer world is on the increase. Our commercial balance is rapidly losing its marked inclination to the debit side. Two years ago we had to start our foreign trade by ordering locomotives and boots for our workers. Now we export corn. From the first to the last quarter of 1922 the proportion of exports to imports rose from 2.1 per cent. to over 65 per cent. The rivalry amongst concession-hunters is growing keener. Let the imperialists of Great Britain and the vassals of the French bourgeoisie rave as they will, they must inevitably be drawn into real economic intercourse; but if they try stabbing our proletarian country with their bayonets in the back, they will meet with the very stoutest resistance.

(2) Progress in Administration.

This second fundamental fact is proved in the gradual progress of our agriculture and the growth of our light industries. Our heavy industries are still working under great disadvantages, but they will be restored as the market expands. The towns are springing to new life, and a turn of the tide of emigration from the villages is bringing the skilled workmen and technicians back again into the towns. There is no doubt that commercial activity is very much on the increase. Of course, this is largely facilitated by the circulation that is going on outside the ring of State industry (such as handicrafts, private capital, etc.). But the general mobilisation of products and material "surpluses" is attributable to the increasing vigour of the State administration.

(3) The Raising of the Wages.

On the background of the general revival of 1922 and the beginning of 1923 we have the uninterrupted rise in wages of workmen engaged in State industries, transport, Soviet administration, etc. It can now be asserted that the metal workers of Petrograd and Moscow live better than those of Central Europe.

(4) The Non-Party Workers and the R.C.P.

With the improvement in the position of the working class during this period a tremendous increase of confidence is observable in the Russian Communist Party. This found especially clear expression during the celebration of the 25th anniversary of the party, when even in the remotest hamlets, non-party workmen fraternised with the Communists and presented banners to our party organisations. A fervent stream of sympathy towards the R.C.P. spread over the whole of the country.

(5) The Attraction of the Workers to the Party.

The proportion of proletarians in the party has of late been steadily rising; and thus the danger immanent to every workers' revolution—of the proletarian advance guard running to seed—is steadily decreasing.

(6) The Supply of Economic and Administrative Organisers.

During the period of military Communism the principal forces of the country were concentrated on the solution of military problems. The stern school of war brought out a type of military organiser, commander and Commissary. The advent of the New Economic Policy found us at first without a sufficient staff of business organisers. However, at length we can assert we have such a staff at the disposal of our party, and in a year or two we shall reap the first harvest of our Red Specialists, who will have passed through the highest tests.

(7) Peace at Home Under the Rule of the Proletariat.

In general on the territory of Soviet Russia a new social equilibrium has already been discovered. The bourgeoisie can no longer wage a civil war against the dictatorship of the proletariat, but it dreams of outpacing us in the race for commerce and industry. The skilled bourgeois intelligentsia has shifted its ground and now relies on our becoming "more reasonable," the democratic sections of the unskilled intelligentsia (such as the teachers) has set itself to the honest service of the proletariat and is submitting to its ideology. The anti-Soviet groups are fast disappearing. The Russian S.R.'s convened a conference, decided to leave their party, and anathematised the S.R. Party. In Georgia (the citadel of Menshevism) there is a mass desertion from the Menshevist ranks. Lastly, the Church (the most obdurate foe of the dictatorship of the working class) has also shifted its ground and at the All-Russian Synod condemned Patriarch Tikhon, divested him of his office—just when the bourgeois Press is raging over the persecution of the clergy. Thus we have a new social equilibrium, a dictatorship of the proletariat very much fortified, a revival of social life and strengthening of the international position of Soviet Russia.

III. THE PRINCIPAL CONTROVERSIES AT THE XII CONGRESS.

The main pillars of the new order are twofold; first, the alliance of the proletariat and the peasantry, under the leadership of the

former; and secondly, the centralising and organising power of our party which sets the tone for the whole of the social life. The question of the relations of the proletariat and its party to the peasantry is perennial, and in this respect there is an old tradition in our party, the fruit of experience and experiment of the whole of the revolution. However, both before the conference and in the course of it, Comrade Larin flung gibes at the Central Committee for their too-strong inclination in favour of our peasants. This dispute was settled by a resolution moved by the Central Committee of the party and carried unanimously.

What is the basic political import of this controversy which goes far beyond the bounds of even a Russian setting of the problem?

Social Democracy in Western Europe did remarkably little to carry on work amongst the peasantry in any revolutionary sense. By its very nature it was incapable of carrying on such work. Our Russian Menshevism quite properly termed the peasantry a petty bourgeoisie and yet never attempted to win over this peasantry to the revolution but preferred to support the non-revolutionary or even counter-revolutionary Liberal bourgeoisie. On the other hand the Bolshevik cry was always for a bloc of the proletariat and the revolutionary part of the peasantry.

What caused this difference in attitude? How far was it bound up with the general views of these groups?

A party calling itself a workers' party can adopt one of two points of view.

First, one essentially opportunist, although superficially proletarian—that a Workers' Party is what it calls itself; its task is to obtain as much as possible of the general revenue for the benefit of the proletariat. But no more. Anything above and beyond this is an expression of too strong an inclination away from the proletariat.

Thus stated, this point of view is the opinion of Craft Unionists and their opportunist thinkers. For the argument here advanced amounts in substance to this: To secure the highest possible wages within the framework of the bourgeois State. This does not involve the least notion of a revolutionary overthrow of the bourgeoisie.

Secondly, the revolutionary point of view proceeds from the necessity of a mass attack upon the positions of the bourgeoisie. But it is very difficult for the proletariat to win the battle unsupported, and in most countries this is impossible. Therefore, the first task of the proletarian revolutionary is to secure the hegemony of the proletariat over the peasantry, which to a certain extent is the heavy infantry of the proletarian revolution. To attain such a leadership the very closest regard must be paid to the interests of the poorest peasantry, and sometimes too to the wealthier. These "Concessions" are revolutionary and the opposition to them is opportunism in the worst sense.

Anyone who fails to understand this revolutionary strategy at best courts defeat, and, at the worst, will become a compromiser with the bourgeoisie.

Our party in 1917 took the revolutionary peasant tide at its flood and achieved power. To do this, however, it had to proceed to such a step as the breaking up of most of the large private estates. This, to the scribes and Pharisees, was a crime; but as every Marxist knows,

large properties are easiest socialised. But the scribes and Pharisees do not understand, or pretend not to understand, that to socialise at all one must have power in one's own hands. In a modified form comrades who imperfectly understand Bolshevik tactics are guilty of repeating the same error in a slightly different form even after the power has been seized and held.

The workers dare not assume a Craft Union attitude, when they are in power, especially in a country with a preponderating peasant population, and where even the development of industry reposes in the first instance on the capacity of the peasant market. Should the working class adopt this point of view, it will inevitably forfeit the confidence of the peasant masses, and thereby sap the foundations of its power. Further, it thereby renders impossible the development of State industry, and acts like a miser who, for the sake of a farthing to-day, will let slip the opportunity of a socialistic accumulation, which, if slow, is sure.

The White Emigrés have very good reason to pay very close attention to the proposals of our party for the solutions of the peasant problem. They hoped we would blunder, and dazzled by the dictatorship over industry, would lose sense of historical proportions and destroy our bloc with the peasantry. They know that such an alliance is a *conditio sine qua non* of proletarian dictatorship. But we have quite enough experience of history not to afford this delight to our adversaries. We understand it is not the Nepman but the working class which must lead the peasant masses. That is why our Party Congress was so unanimous in settling this question and in determining on a series of measures designed to extend peasant farming. Such were the adoption of the monetary form of taxation, the unification of all the various taxes into a single agricultural tax, the adaptation of taxes to actual circumstances; fixing the periods of payment; the improvement of the staff of assessors and collectors; the export of corn as a measure to render products of European industry useful in agriculture more accessible; raising the price of corn, etc.

The second great controversy was the matter of the relations between the party and the administration of State, and especially the economic organs of the State.

This question is by no means merely one of technical organisation, but of paramount social political importance.

What is the greatest danger that faces our country, and will more or less face every proletarian revolution? It is the risk of internal disintegration. This danger has its roots in the development of the working class both under a capitalist regime and in the course of the proletarian revolution; it is its specific law. Under capitalism the proletariat must inevitably be an economically and culturally oppressed class, whereas the bourgeoisie, even under feudalism, were superior to the feudal landowners and were never an exploited class. Hence the proletariat cannot under capitalism put forward a staff of technical experts of its own, and has to employ outsiders as specialists of all sorts and classes. When a new social equilibrium is established with the proletariat on top, the influx of these social layers, who psychologically are still closely bound up with the "old world," becomes very serious. They fill up the pores of the State administration and as they represent a skilled and cultured class, there is the risk that they may gradually refashion the whole fabric of the State according to their own pattern, blending more and more with the

bourgeois and economic forms which have still survived in the general system of economic relations.

The only remedy is the gradual training of a staff absolutely devoted to the proletarian revolution and correspondingly trained in its ideology.

What more definite shape may this degeneration take? First and foremost, it might take the shape of the breaking off of the leading party of the working class from the apparatus of the State, i.e., the State apparatus may become differentiated from the Communist Party by departing from Communist policy; therefore, by a situation being created in which the proletarian party takes up the position of a society for agitation and propaganda, while real power is concentrated in the hands of non-proletarian and non-Communist elements. This would be the realisation of our enemies' motto, "Soviets without Communists," and would signify the final "liquidation" of proletarian domination.

It was for that reason therefore that the Central Committee strongly attacked the programme put forward prior to the Congress, suggesting, amongst other things, the abolition of the Communist monopoly of responsible posts and the promotion of non-party intellectuals even to elective posts.

This trend appeared in a much more delicate form in the attitude of Comrades Osinski and Krassin.

Krassin's attitude was one of scepticism towards the leading political role of the party. Comrade Krassin demanded a regrouping in our principal offices in the direction of the "business men," even if it meant the sacrifice of political consistency and experience. Krassin considered that what was needed was not so much the "political cement" (Krassin's own expression) as the revival of our industry.

The incorrectness of this position is manifest. In fact, our immediate duty is not the "revival of industry" in general but the construction of a Socialist industry. Or, in other words, the revival of industry must proceed within the frame of a hard and fast political control. It is impossible and inadmissible at this point to separate economics from politics. The "political cement" is of first-class importance.

Comrade Osinski showed the same tendency but in a different direction, on the lines of hypertrophied division of labour between the organs of the party and the departments of State. Obviously, party organisations must not have their fingers in every detail of administration. But, as we are living in a transitional period we must always have in view the danger of a transition to a capitalistic line of development. Therefore, far from weakening the effective part played by our party, we must strengthen it. At the conference the views of Comrades Krassin and Osinski found no support, and a resolution was adopted unanimously insisting on an increasing control over the apparatus of State, for which purpose the members of the party must be systematically instructed in business management and State administration.

Closely connected with these questions was the problem of organisation. Before forming an opinion on this matter, the party and State organisations must be considered in their relations to each other.

So far, one of the evils which we have not yet overcome in our State apparatus is the bureaucracy, a feature particularly emphasised by Lenin in some of his last articles. There can be no idea of breaking up this vast machine which had arisen on the basis of great cultural backwardness. It must be systematically repaired and simplified, whilst the civil service must be, from a political point of view, improved. The raising of the political status, the economic and administrative and technical equipment and qualifications of State officials brings to the front the question of combining the functions of the supreme organ of the party, "the Central Control Committee" and the supreme control organ of the State, "The Workers' and Peasants' " Inspectorate.

It was decided to reform the Inspectorate by reducing its apparatus by forming its nucleus of a group of workmen and party comrades, possessed of considerable experience both of the party and State administration, approximate its work to that of the Central Control Committee, establish a link between the two institutions by having a joint directorate; induce institutions to co-operate which deal with scientific organisation of labour. Selection of workers for the various departments of State is another such duty; another is the inspection of Departments with a view to efficiency, the purging of them; the rational demarcation of functions; and also, amongst other things, give special examinations for the commissioning of prominent workers abroad, etc.

On purely party lines there are two principal measures to be mentioned. One is the increase of the members of the Central Committee to forty, and to increase the proletarian composition of the party by making entry into the party easier for workmen and more difficult for non-workmen.

The same desire for rationalising the departments as far as may be practicable (subject to constant empiric tests) lay at the base of the resolutions carried with regard to industry. The two points we have already mentioned, viz., the correlation of industry and agriculture, and that between the party and the administrative organs, are political auxiliaries to these resolutions. Within these limits the inner questions of the organisation of industry revolve.

In this respect the conference dealt with and passed resolutions on the following:—

First and foremost, a practicable schematisation of work.

The improvement of the methods of bookkeeping and accountancy in business enterprises; the concentration of production.

The improvement of the trading apparatus.

Greater freedom to "manœuvre" for the Trusts of the combines in relation to the centre, and for separate factories in their relation to the Trusts.

The reduction of the unproductive "overhead charges."

The regulation of the financing of industries.

The training of new business administrative units.

And, lastly, a proper policy of Socialistic protectionism, together with the complete retention of the monopoly of foreign trade.

Somewhat apart from these matters was the question of the new administrative division of the Union of Soviet Republics, in connec-

tion with the economic division of the country. In this matter the Congress decided to test some new forms of uniting areas in two districts, and to extend the experiment should it prove successful.

Lastly, the Congress had to decide the most important national question.

Our party had long since made up its mind that any cut-and-dried settlement of this question, even by the finest intellects of radical Marxism (such as Rosa Luxemburg) must fall to pieces on contact with actualities. In this matter the party stands firm on ground discovered by the genius of Lenin, who has always combined the faculties of the deepest generalisation and the most exclusive attention to empirical realities, to the pettiest detail.

For us the national question is most significant, both in internal administration and for international considerations. On the territory of the Union of Republics there live an immense number of nationalities, and the preponderating element in them all is the peasant. Hence, the question of "linking up" with these classes, which under the Tzardom were under a double tyranny and which are still somewhat mistrustful of anything originating in Moscow, is of no little importance. On the other hand, these nationalities as a mass are a kind of bridge to the oppressed peoples of the East, that immense potential reservoir of international revolution.

Therefore, our policy towards them is largely defined by the position of affairs in the East, which is groaning under the heel of foreign imperialism. It is only people confirmedly myopic who will not see the whole vast gravity of the problem of nationalities. The basic problem is this: In what manner can the Russian proletariat, or its directive centre, gain the full confidence of the national and primarily the peasant sections?

The true answer must be: First and foremost, by ruthlessly combating any survivals or resurrections of the Great Russian Chauvinism. This is the only way of solving the problem. Manifestly there will be endless difficulties, mainly out of the lack of a native staff of workers to administer these border lands. Hence this problem can only be solved in the course of years. But our basic line of action must be stated.

At the Congress various shades of opinion were expressed; for the question is complicated by the complex inter-relations of these nationalities with one another (e.g., the Armenians and Georgians). But in general, all these shades were combined in the resolution of the Central Committee which was unanimously accepted.

III. THE OUTLOOK.

The Congress once again demonstrated the complete unity within the party. The general improvement at home shows that this unity will grow, whatever dangers may supervene. These dangers the party foresees, anticipates, speaks of them freely, and can therefore take precautions betimes.

The country is entering a new period of slow development. The extraordinary historical experiment is already yielding some positive fruits. Already we present our questions in quite a different manner than we did when we were in our swaddling clothes. Now things are judged, not "generally speaking," but in detail and practical limits. Quite new angles of vision are now familiar to us. A marvellous and

vast experience has been accumulated, which will be a basic capital for all the Communist Parties who still have to go the painful road to proletarian revolution. The increased strength of Soviet Russia will be the best propaganda for revolution in other countries. But that is why we are always in the position of a country against which all the cannon of Imperialist States are ranged. And this is why the international proletariat must, as in duty bound, guard and hold its first fortress, its first gigantic laboratory, in which the future of humanity is being worked out.

A Speech on the Work of the 12th Congress of the R.C.P.

Delivered by Com. ZINOVIEV at the Meeting of Petersburg Party Organisers on May 8, 1923

Comrades, I do not intend to give you a detailed account of the proceedings at the Congress. I take it for granted that most of you have followed it in the newspapers. Nor do I intend to deal fully with the resolutions which were passed; that could not be done in the course of a single speech. These resolutions are so important that I feel sure that everyone of you will consider it his and her duty to study these resolutions independently of my report. All I can hope to do is to make a few comments on the work of the Congress and generally explain the meanings of the decisions arrived at.

THE COMPOSITION OF THE PARTY.

Just a few words on the composition of our Party at the time of the XII Congress. The S.R.'s, the Mensheviks and the Cadets were telling fairy tales in their Press about alleged dissensions and some sort of a crisis within the Russian Communist Party. One of the most popular versions of this story is that our Party is declining in membership. The truth, however, is that, owing to certain measures, which we ourselves have taken, the membership of the Party has remained stationary. We are stabilising our membership. At the Congress, over 400 delegates with a decisive and 500 with deliberative votes represented approximately 400,000 members. We know that the Party, during last year, applied measures calculated to restrict the entry of new members, and thus itself deliberately prevented any considerable increase in the Party membership. The White Guard, S.R. and Menshevik émigrés are so little in touch with events in Russia that they are not even aware of such an elementary fact as our recent policy of staying the too-rapid numerical growth of the Party. We have had numerous applications to join the Party during the past year, particularly during the last six months, but in accordance with the decision of the XI Congress, considerable obstacles have been placed in the way of their joining. In my opinion this policy was correct.

The peculiar feature of the internal position of our Party is that there are at present over the whole country only from 10,000 to 15,000 old Bolsheviks in the Party, men and women of the generation of workers who built up the Party before the 1917 revolution

and prior to 1905. These workers form, as it were, the capital of our Party. During the last few years the Party grew rapidly, perhaps too rapidly. In fact, between 1917 and 1921 its membership increased from some tens of thousands to half a million. The Party membership, as it were, comprises several generations; the first I have already named—the old generation of Lenin Bolsheviks, who have been in the Party for 10 years and longer. Of these, a good half were prominent during the “Zvezda” and “Pravda” period from 1912 onwards. They are but few, but they are the soul of the Party, its fundamental guiding nucleus. Then comes the 1917-18 class—also fine types of men and women. The majority of these comrades come up almost to the level of the first category. They number from 100,000 to 150,000. The next category is that of 1919, 1920, and 1921; hardly few new members were allowed to enter the Party since 1922. That category is the most numerous; it forms nearly one-half of the Party membership (about 200,000). They are all of them young Communists lacking the old Bolshevik training, but possessing all the experience of the civil war. This latter gives these comrades a rather important standing. The test which these rank and file members of our Party stood throughout these years is equal to the severest test in a Party school or study circle. You probably remember how comrades entering the Party in those years were almost immediately sent to the front to fill the most dangerous posts assigned them by the Party. They have a very important and responsible standing in the Party. This second half of the Party was literally formed while the civil war was raging, under the fire of the enemy. Such a training is worth any amount of book learning.

Our Party, therefore, is not a homogeneous Party. All the three generations have their good points, but we must test the weak points and find a cure for them. The fact that we have 150,000 comrades who joined the Party during 1917-1918, in the very height of revolution, and 200,000 members who entered the Party in 1920-21, having passed through the experience of civil war, is not a matter to be deplored. But we have to recognise that as Communists these comrades are still very young. The leadership and the training of the Party rests upon the first group, the main nucleus of old “Lenin” Bolsheviks. This group must take care not to set itself up as a special caste. Nevertheless, we must bear in mind that the great influx of members up to 1922, when we closed the doors of the Party, has given a heterogeneous character to the Party membership from the point of view of social standing and theoretical training. Taking into consideration the history of the revolution, the section of our party that joined us from 1919-1920 has not and cannot have the same training and stamina as the first and partly also the second sections which I have already mentioned. The second half has many good points, but it lacks that of which there is an abundance in the first group. Surveying the party as a whole, it becomes evident that we have some excellent units which have gone through the school of civil war, but which are as yet insufficiently imbued with the spirit of Bolshevism and lack theoretical party training. These qualities cannot be acquired in a hurry, they will come in good time. In the meantime this weakness must not be ignored.

Clearly then, the tales of our opponents about the depletion of our ranks are merely silly. It would be the easiest thing in the world for us to double the membership of our party in the course of twelve

months, not by accepting petty-bourgeois elements, but bona fide workers who just now are revealing a strong leaning towards the party. We are of the opinion, however, that before permitting a new influx into our ranks we must remove the heterogeneity within our party to which I have just alluded. We must, in the first place, endeavour to raise the theoretical level of those two large groups of 150,000 to 250,000 party members who have joined us between 1918 and 1921. They must be consolidated and theoretically trained in order that they might blend with that fundamental group of old Bolshevik workers who were the founders of our party. By that time the workers who are now seeking entry into our party will have gained more political experience and will have familiarised themselves with the aims and programme of our party. Later on we shall welcome them as members into our party. Until then they will help us, without formally joining the party.

During the last twelve months the workers' influence within the party has grown. It is true that the growth of the working-class section within the party is but slow, but it is growing, and is nearing 50 per cent. of the membership. The purging of 1921 and all the measures which the party has adopted have had good results on the whole. There was much more equanimity and confidence at the XII Congress than at the XI Congress, and of course ever so much more than at the X, which was held during an especially difficult period. The impression one got at the last congress was that the party membership had improved in theoretical as well as in practical knowledge.

I believe that of all the fundamental problems, which occupied the XII Congress, the problem which might be termed the party and the State, deserves our greatest attention.

THE PARTY AND THE STATE.

As we all know, the first five years of revolution were spent in a struggle for the very existence of the Soviet State. Everything was in a stage of flux and development. It was a life-and-death struggle. No one knew how and when the struggle would come to an end, and the resistance of a Soviet State was problematic.

At that time everything was subordinate to the struggle for existence and to the requirements of the military front. There were not many aspirants to State power, because most people were afraid that the State apparatus might collapse and bury them under its débris. It is only now when it has become clear to everyone that the Soviet structure is firmly established and that the Soviet State is not a passing episode, that this question has inevitably become of paramount importance.

Our fundamental Communist teaching tells us that the dictatorship of the proletariat is impossible without the dictatorship of its vanguard, viz., without the dictatorship of the party of the proletariat. The history of the Paris Commune has taught us that there can be a dictatorship, or rather semi-dictatorship, of a class which is not accompanied by the dictatorship of the Communist Party. In such a case the class dictatorship is very unstable. You remember that saying of Marx: "Gentlemen of the bourgeoisie, you want to know the meaning of the dictatorship of the proletariat? You have only to look at the Paris Commune." The Paris Commune was a

dictatorship of the proletariat, not supplemented, however, by the dictatorship of the party. Almost entirely for that reason, the class dictatorship proved to be unstable, and the Paris Commune perished, after a few weeks. Unlike the Russian proletariat, the Paris proletariat did not have for its leader a Communist Party of long standing, a clear programme, firm tactics and a membership (the first group of members of our party numbering 10,000-15,000) who took a quarter of a century to bring together. We did not in 1871 have a dictatorship of the proletariat, but rather the beginnings of it. The Paris rising was drowned in the blood of the workers of Paris because there was no Communist Party at the head of the dictatorship to give it expression and to guide it with a firm hand.

The chief lesson of the Paris Commune for us is that class dictatorship requires the dictatorship of the vanguard of this class, the party which leads it. We have paid much attention in our manuals and in our study circles to the problem of party and class. With us this inter-relation has been more or less established. "Class" is the entire mass of wage workers, the entire proletariat. "Party" is the foremost and class-conscious section of the proletariat, its vanguard.

We have not hitherto paid sufficient attention to the inter-relations between party and State. This is a comparatively new problem on which we must concentrate our attention. In dealing with the State, we must differentiate between two things. Strictly speaking, the State represents all the political institutions which serve as instruments of coercion in the hands of the governing class (in our case the proletariat). In ordinary parlance the word "State" often stands for country or society.

In both cases the question of party dictatorship is of paramount importance. In the case of State, in the direct sense of the word; it is essential that the Communist Party, through which the proletariat assumes power, should have complete command of the State apparatus. Only in this way can the proletariat realise its dictatorship in an agrarian country. The dictatorship of the party is also of paramount importance if State stands for country or society, for in that case we are confronted with a very complicated task: as the party of the proletariat, we must bear in mind (and express it in our everyday practice) that only a correct policy towards the peasantry can give the hegemony in Soviet Russia to the proletariat.

I say that inter-relations between party and class are a foregone conclusion. We have to deal with only one class—the working class. On it rests our party—the vanguard of the working class. The inter-relation between the party and the State is quite a different matter. The State (in the popular sense) does not consist of one class only, but consists—like our Soviet State, for example—of two main classes; the working-class and the peasantry, plus some less important sections, not to say classes, of the population. This being so, the inter-relations between party and State are not as simple as those between party and class. In this case the inter-relations are between our party and two classes, plus some sub-classes or separate sections of society. Take yesterday's demonstration of Petrograd intellectuals. The demonstration included teachers, some professors, students, artists, and a number of other representatives of the intellectuals. What did that demonstration signify? It signified that a section of those who do not belong to the working or to the peasant class, and who hitherto were against us, are now coming over to our side. This,

of course, found a very vivid expression in the Uritsky Square and is bound to take place all over the republic. There is a general tendency to come over to our side. We have in Russia two large powerful classes: the working class and the peasantry; besides them and around them there are a number of social groups that are of considerable importance in the general balance of social forces—for instance, the intellectuals. We know that within the peasantry itself there are "sub-classes" and different sections. All these classes taken together make up what is termed the State.

The question before us is: what should be the inter-relations between our party and not only the working class, but the State as a whole, i.e., the peasants—the second powerful class; and the remaining fairly important political and social groups? What is our relation to the State apparatus, which should be at the disposal of the entire population and to the Government organs which have sprung from the revolution, etc.? This question looms before us in its entirety for the first time. Hence the vacillation observed among certain units prior to the Congress.

This question is linked up with the question of proletarian hegemony. In order that the proletariat might retain the hegemony in the Soviet State, the composition of which is largely non-proletarian, it is essential that the leading role of the dictatorship should belong to the vanguard of the proletariat—the Communist Party. You will remember the classic "Trinity" of the S.R.'s, the proletariat, the peasantry and the intellectuals. This was the three-fold force upon which the church of the future is to be built. We first opposed this formula, theoretically. Subsequently, we opposed it politically. We are now in a position to deny it empirically. We have only to look at the development of events in Russia. Is it now not quite clear that the only class which remained revolutionary to the end is the working class? Almost for forty years the proletariat were undermining the structure of Tsarism. The workers, at first singly, then in groups and finally in masses, came out into the struggle and in 1905 became the vanguard of the first, though unsuccessful revolution. The peasants began to stir twenty-five years after the workers; at first in small groups and subsequently on a mass scale. As you know, in 1905, the army, which consisted mostly of peasants, was an unenlightened mass and readily shot down the Moscow workers during the December rising. In 1917 the peasantry had already joined the workers to a considerable extent and was marching side by side with them in a united front. The intellectuals were prominent as long as it was a question of a bourgeois revolution, but when it came to the October revolution, they became counter-revolutionary. The intellectuals, as a whole, allowed six years to elapse after the October revolution before their coming over to our side. Such are the most important social events which illustrate the question of proletarian hegemony. Formerly we could only guess the dynamics of our society, to-day they stand out clearly. The hegemony is in the hands of the proletariat. It was the proletariat which initiated the revolutionary work 30 to 40 years ago and it is the only section of the population which carries it through to the end. Twenty-five years later the peasantry steps in, and only another ten years after the victory of the revolution a section of the intellectuals comes into the fray. Perhaps, another ten years hence we shall see the

proletariat, the peasantry and all the intellectuals side by side. Then will come to pass what was predicted by the first of the "narodniki."

We must bear all this in mind if we are to deal in a Marxist spirit with the controversy which arose prior to the XII Congress on the initiative of the "critics" and revisionists and reached its culminating point at the Congress itself.

Before the Congress a number of "critics" came forward, headed by Comrade Ossinsky, and were subsequently joined by Com. Krassin. They considered a revision of the relations between party and State advisable. Previous to that an anonymous platform came into being. At first some comrades were inclined to support Ossinsky, but fortunately they soon desisted.

Of course, they beat a hasty retreat after their few first encounters, and made it appear that the whole controversy was one of organisation, of distribution of posts, of organisational relations between the Central Committee of the party and the Council of People's Commissaries, etc. In reality it was not an organisational question at all but a political, nay even a sociological question. If it had been merely a question of redistributing posts and of better organisational relations between the party and the Soviet organs, we could have settled it twenty times over without a Congress. We admit that our scheme of organisation is not complete, and we are willing to examine it in full detail. Many changes have yet to be made. We are but a young State. Five years is a short period, and every year will bring changes for the better. However, the whole trouble was not about such things, and I will explain to you what it was all about.

Imagine for a moment, comrades, that now in 1923 in Russia the S.R. and Menshevik parties are legal parties. Imagine that they exist in Petrograd, in Moscow, that they publish papers, in fact that they have a legal existence, thanks to the success of the first five years of revolution; the general conviction that we cannot be overcome in an open fight, that the Soviet State is consolidating itself, that the peasantry is with us and that our economic system is beginning to revive. If such were the case, what, do you think, would be that attitude of the S.R.'s and Mensheviks, what political demands would they bring forward against us? It clearly seems to me they would confront us with the problem of the party and the State. They would certainly say: we admit that your merits are great. You have beaten the Whites; you dispersed the Constituent Assembly (which was not very polite of you). You do not want democracy. Well and good; let there be a Soviet State, but your party has only 400,000 members, while Soviet Russia has 120 million inhabitants. How can you, a small body of 400,000 people, claim the right of dictatorship over the whole State? You are certainly one of the parties, but there are other parties and non-party citizens. Stand aside, make room also for others; be tolerant, do not be so despotic, give way a little, base your actions on a more liberal constitution, etc. In other words, "revise" the question of party dictatorship. Of course, in 1917-18 and in 1921, at the time of the Kronstadt incident, they spoke differently. In 1923, however, the Mensheviks and the S.R.'s could not speak otherwise.

At the XI Congress we said in complete solidarity with Com. Lenin: Our party has the monopoly of legality, which means that it is the only party which publishes papers and exists freely and

openly. It has driven the enemies of the Soviet power underground. We said: Monopoly of legality has two sides—a very good side and a bad side, but the good side prevails over the bad side. The good side is that, in the midst of civil war, when the achievements of the revolution had to be defended, we, with its aid, smashed our opponents, drove them underground, put them under lock and key, sealed their lips, in fact did everything to make them innocuous instead of wasting time in profitless discussions with them. It was the only way, and every proletarian revolution will act thus in self-defence. Any body of rebel workers which does not want to repeat the mistakes made by the Paris Commune is bound to adopt such tactics. We were right. That is the good side of a monopoly of legality. The bad side is this. As the Mensheviks and S.R.'s were forcibly removed from the political arena, frequently we get an influx into our ranks of elements which otherwise would be with the Mensheviks and S.R.'s. Moreover, controversies which formerly would have been fought out between three parties, arise now in our party alone, and must be solved within the framework of one party. Conceptions which would emanate from Menshevik and S.R. circles, frequently get smuggled into the ranks of our own party, because we have the monopoly of legality and these views can find no other avenue of expression. Such a dialectical situation arose in connection with the question of the dictatorship of the party and its relations with the State. Ideas, which under different circumstances would emanate from the Mensheviks and S.R.'s, are now voiced by certain Communists.

Comrades, we must pay due attention to this situation, because it is not and will not remain an isolated case. History has its whims, and owing to the balance of social powers prevailing in Russia, we must expect that ideas and the trend of ideas, which under different circumstances would emanate from other parties, will be voiced by some Communist or some group of Communists who have leanings in that direction.

To-day, in order to enable me to illustrate to you that those who share Ossinsky's views are bound to land in the Menshevik camp, I received the last issue of the Menshevik "Sotzialisticheski Vestnik," which, of course, contains an article full of praise of our critics. Bubbling over with delight, the Menshevik organ says:—

"The old fraction of democratic centralism is also sharpening its weapons in preparation for the Congress. [The article was written on the eve of our Congress.] Ossinsky is coming forward (not for the first time) with his very moderate project of introducing legality while maintaining Communist dictatorship. He points out quite correctly (of course from the Menshevik viewpoint) that the amalgamation of the party and Soviet apparatus, which invariably results in the subordination of the Soviet apparatus to that of the party, has hitherto resulted in the deterioration of the Soviet apparatus and a growing passivity and irresponsibility of the officials."

The Menshevik organ goes on to say:—

"Notwithstanding the bastard nature of Ossinsky's idea it expresses (together with many other platforms) the desire of the more live elements of Bolshevism to emancipate themselves from the R.C.P.! They want freedom from party orders, every day directives, the monopolist rights of the party ticket, the senseless reprimands of self-appointed ignorant controllers. This is still a far cry

from democracy, but these demands are tantamount to the liquidation of dictatorship, i.e., of a regime which is above the law and above constitutional forms. The liquidation of dictatorship is not democracy, but it is the first step towards it." ("Sotzialisticheskoy Vestnik" N-54-55.)

It seems to me that this fulsome praise from Menshevik quarters is sufficient punishment for the shortcomings of Comrades Ossinsky and Krassin. I believe that this example shows with sufficient clearness where the intricate path which our party was expected to follow, leads.

I do not, of course, mean to imply that the comrades who propose the revision are Mensheviks or semi-Mensheviks. No one is infallible, but we must take into account the balance of forces in our country. Our politics are developing in such a way that certain processes are assuming peculiar forms. Facts being as they are to-day, the ground is not entirely cut from under the feet of Menshevism.

Take, for instance, "Smena Vekhovism," which is a very interesting phenomenon. The adherents to this movement argue as follows: "We are wholeheartedly for the Soviet Power. We support the Kremlin because it truly represents the whole of Russia." They sometimes vow that they are for the Comintern, and we have to implore them to desist, for the Comintern does not require their support. I repeat, they say: "We are heart and soul for the Soviet Power. All we desire is stabilisation, no firm dictatorship on narrow party lines; let there be a predominance of organised labour, or some thing of that kind, but not a dictatorship." All this has not tumbled from the blue. Such a trend of ideas is characteristic of 1923, of the present balance of power and of a period when our opponents have grasped the fact that we cannot be beaten in an open attack, and that they are reduced to seeking reforms (no matter how small) and slight improvements.

With such a balance of power it is inevitable that within the ranks of the Communist Party or around it groups should come into being and individual Communists should come forward who unwittingly become the trumpeters of these ideas.

Thus the question of the party and the State loomed large before our Congress.

Can we in any way reduce the status of the party as the leading organ within the State? You know full well, and so do the non-party workers and a large section of the peasantry, that the governing and ruling party in our country is the Russian Communist Party. One hears it frequently said: "Let the party govern but not rule." In my opinion this is merely an empty phrase. What does it really mean? It is either a play of words (in that case it is not worth troubling about), or it means that the party must not govern, or at least not to the full extent. Moreover, in that phrase too, there lurks the Menshevik and Smenovekhovist idea; go on governing, brother Communist, but do not do it to excess, give us also something to do in that direction.

The formula, which you will find in the 18th vol. of Com. Lenin's works recently published, puts the whole question into a nutshell: Our party is "the direct governing vanguard of the workers." This is plain Russian and to the point, "the direct governing vanguard of the workers." It does not find favour with some people, but what

of it? We have not learned the lesson of the Paris Commune in order to organise heroic risings and be slaughtered, and to provide authors with a subject about which to write panegyrics about our heroism for the next 50 years. Rebellion is not our only aim. We want to conquer, to make our victory secure and to assist the workers of other countries to achieve a victory on an international scale. This being so, the first lesson of the Paris Commune is that class dictatorship is not enough, that there must be a dictatorship of the party, that the class must have a head on its shoulders, that it must have hands. A force is needed capable of organising, of consolidating and of leading this class when the time for it has arrived. That is what the party is.

Com. Krassin dealt with this question as if it were a contest between the Communist business men and the Communist politicians. He argued as follows: The revolution has passed through its fighting period, and has now entered the economic phase. The time for big political questions is past, and we must now solve economic problems, such as the proper administration of the Donetz Basin, of the textile industry, of the Trusts, the railways, etc. He said that the country, having entered upon the economic period of the revolution, the administration of the country must be first and foremost in the hands of economists, while the party and the "pure" politicians must take a back seat. There is a great deal of truth in his arguments. It is an incontestable fact that the present period is an economic period. Sufficient for the day is the evil thereof: it is true that the Donetz Basin, coal, electrification are important matters. It is quite true that we must use great circumspection in selecting economists as the managers of our industries. Nevertheless, it is not at all true that politics and political leadership, i.e., the rôle of the party, must take a back seat. Com. Krassin received a very adequate reply from Com. Martinov, an old Menshevik, who in his old age has joined us, and has seen and thought much. This is what he said to Com. Krassin: "Look at the bourgeoisie. Lloyd George is not an engineer or an agronomist, but a politician. Poincaré, the leader of French politics, is not a county medical officer or an electrician, but a politician. These men have around them people who carry through the programme of their class—the bourgeoisie—on the fields of electrification, public health, agriculture, etc. If that is so how can the revolted proletariat, which, after decades of oppression has achieved its first victory, which is now surrounded by enemies on all sides (speaking internationally, we are surrounded by enemies on all sides), be now deprived of its General Staff of its political leaders capable of guiding their class in the same way as the Lloyd Georges and Poincarés are leading the bourgeoisie?" It seems to me that in this dispute right was entirely on the side of Martinov and not on that of Krassin.

All honour to all business administrators of whom we stand in great need. We are ready to admit that the party as a whole has entered upon the economic phase. However, those who wanted to deprive the party of influence on the economy of the country with their formula: "Let the party govern, but not rule," were entirely in the wrong. Our answer to this is: "The party rules and will go on ruling. It will grow as the economy of the country grows. The economic experience of the party will grow with the growth of our factories and works and with the reconstruction of the Donetz Basin, etc. Perhaps the party has not as yet sufficient economic experience,

but this can be remedied. After all, who has more experience than the party on this field? We have in our ranks hundreds of thousands of workers with enormous practical experience. The party will not budge an inch from the economic tasks. It will concern itself with all the economic details, and it will produce a whole phalange of rank and file and leading business administrators. The party will not relinquish for a minute its connection with our industries, for we know full well that at present the fate of revolution is bound up with the fate of our economic system. This is an incontrovertible fact. Moreover, our party must resolutely resist any attempt to supersede politics by economics. Here again we have the fine formula which Com. Lenin brought forward at the XI Congress of our party in combating the vacillations of intellectuals like Ossinsky and Larin. He said: "Politics are concentrated economics." Vladimir Ilvitch solved the question in a few words. Politics are concentrated, condensed economics. In our proletarian country, a good economic system requires a political leading organ, a general staff, a party which, in a condensed form, will direct and reflect a healthy economic process.

After the Congress, several business administrators told me that the decisions of the Congress would cause certain amount of friction between the economists and the politicians, in fact that two castes would be formed. This was emphasised by one of the economists who, it is true, is also a "diplomat." To my emphatic denials of such a prospect he looked at me as if I were a great sinner and said: "Of course, how could you understand it? Being to a certain extent the author of these frictions, you cannot see facts." This statement worried me considerably. Our party would, indeed, be in a perilous position if this was a beginning of an era of persecutions of our economists or frictions between the politicians and the economists. Of course, nothing of the kind was contemplated, or could have been contemplated by the XII Congress. We shall declare a relentless war on anyone who makes the least attempt to create dissensions between the economic and the political workers. We Communists know quite well that we need all kinds of weapons. As Com. Lenin wrote in his famous "What is to be done?"—"We must be a model orchestra, which needs the 'cello as well as the violin and the bass. If in such an orchestra attempts were made to use the violin against the bass, etc., the result would be—a discordant noise instead of a concert." This applies also to the tasks which are before us now. We cannot allow any division. If any of the economists have conceived some such notion, we beg them in a most considerate fashion to get rid of it as quickly as possible. It is preposterous to say that the party has any ill-feeling towards its members who are managing our industries. The party itself is giving them prominence. Everything depends on the party. To-day, you may be the secretary of a gubcom (gubernia committee), and to-morrow you are the manager of a factory. It is the party which assigns us our posts, and there is every justification for the saying: "That we are all at the disposal of the Central Committee." If the party, having assigned us our posts, were to say to us subsequently: "Why are you an economist and not a politician?" we would reply: "The party assigned us to this post." What is needed is a correct distribution of labour under the general guidance of our mother—the party. I will deal now with the paragraph of the resolution on the report of the Central Committee, which,

perhaps, is the cause of the misunderstanding. You all know that the report of the Central Committee and the discussions on it lasted through half of the Congress, i.e., three days, as all the main questions were touched upon in connection with the report. This resolution contains the following statement: "The party must reckon with the fact that its economic wing (its business administrators), which is an important factor in the development of the revolution, is exposed to-day, owing to the nature of its work, to the peril of bourgeois-N.E.P. influence. The party gives its best members to the economic activities of our country. In appointing any member for such work, it must not only take account of the party standing of that member, but also of his practical knowledge and capacity for business. It is not always easy to find a person combining party standing with all these other qualities. One side must be frequently sacrificed for the other. In view of this, the formation of a cadre of business administrators has become an important and formidable task."

This paragraph might give rise to misunderstandings. In connection with this the opponents of the fundamental policy of the party—to be frank, the opponents of Leninism within the party—are endeavouring to win over a section of the business administrators to their side, and in this they lay emphasis on this part of the resolution, and point out that this paragraph refers to them. What does this paragraph actually say? It says that our business administrators are a phalanx upon which the fate of the revolution depends, but that this phalanx has some decidedly weak places. That this should be so is inevitable owing to the conditions created by N.E.P. This is the flank which is nearest to N.E.P.

But the simple business manager is told that the statement about "decidedly weak places," refers directly to him.

Of course, those who are easily taken in may think themselves deeply wronged by such a public exposure at the party Congress. Those who allow themselves to be led away by such arguments must be very green indeed. Serious workers will be the first to recognise the perils with which our business administrators, the "shock troops" of our party, are confronted owing to the re-birth of bourgeois psychology. The party would not do its duty if it did not in good time point out this sore place in our party life, and if it failed to apply antiseptics, or even more drastic remedies before it was too late. A serious party business administrator will have no fault to find with this paragraph of the resolution and will certainly not arrive at the conclusion that it is an attempt to cause friction between the politicians and the business men. He will, of course, say that he does not belong to a class, but to the party, and that "classes" did not exist as far as we are concerned. If in the present phase of the revolution this group of workers is really running the risk of demoralisation, it is the party's duty to say so.

There was a time during the period of military Communism when some military commissars made themselves obnoxious. The party then said openly and boldly: "As a body, the military commissars are our shock troops, but owing to the nature of their work, they here and there showed signs of demoralisation." Owing to the behaviour of this section, as you know, the word "commissar" became a bye-word. The party immediately called these "commissars" to order. It would be absurd to say that by doing

this the party disavowed military commissars in general. Without them there would be no Red Army, and the revolution would not have achieved victory. With certain modifications the same may be said now in connection with the business administrators. I believe that, as a whole, the members of the party entrusted with economic activities would laugh outright if they were told that the party Congress was against them. The party Congress supported the business men, it endeavoured to guard them against demoralisation and the bad company of those who had already gone that way. We would like to see our business administrators occupy a lofty position in the country and therefore we must eradicate the vices to which present conditions have given rise.

You have already read in the Press that our XII Congress decisively repelled every attempt to revise the question of the dictatorship of the party. Something rather interesting happened in connection with this. All the critics came to the Congress in a very militant mood, looked very important and vowed to teach us a lesson at this Congress. But at the very first skirmish of outposts, they turned tail and fled rather ignominiously. In replying to one of these, Comrade Bukharin, amidst the approval of the whole Congress, twitted them with this: "If you intend to attack the policy of the Central Committee," he said, "why did you funk it at the Congress? Your conduct was almost indecent. The main object of a Congress is to give Communists an opportunity to speak out freely what they think." The reason why the opposition fell flat was the fact that the Bolshevik irreconcilability of the Congress was so apparent that it was clear to everyone that any attempt to break through it was hopeless.

The Congress was wonderfully strong and united. All the party organisations fully recognised the responsibilities of the Congress; everyone knew that Vladimir Ilvitch would not be present and that a great collective effort would have to be made to solve those questions which were so easily solved when he was present. The delegates had been very carefully selected. The report of the credentials commission will show you that most of the delegates were experienced old Bolsheviks, who had spent years in building up the party and who fought with the Mensheviks over every comma. In fact, they were Bolsheviks who were disdainfully referred to as hair-splitters. In this lies the strength of Bolshevism. On a question of principle and of the fundamentals of Bolshevism, a Bolshevik is ready to quarrel even with his own father until he gains his point. From the first days of the Congress the formidable "critics" decided to adopt a conciliatory attitude. They said that in spite of disagreements on small matters, we were all jolly good fellows, that they stood for unity and therefore accepted the decisions of the Congress, etc. This being so, we, representatives of the majority said: Well and good, there is more joy in Heaven over one repentant sinner than over ten righteous people. But who knows whether they have really repented, and if the question of the dictatorship of the party will not be bound to crop up again at the XIII Congress? However, we told them to go and sin no more—obey the party and to bear in mind what the party Congress told them. Finally, the resolution on the report of the Central Committee, which summed up this controversy, was adopted unanimously by the Congress. (Applause.) No one had the courage to vote against it.

We say: We are not "innovators," we do not hunt after new fashions; on this fundamental question we remain on our old Bolshevik positions. The party is the vanguard of the proletariat exercising direct governing powers. Here we stand, and we do not intend to budge an inch. It is the party which carries out the dictatorship of the proletariat. This is fully understood not only by the rank and file of the party, but also by the non-party workers. Let us now consider the present attitude of the non-party workers towards us. This attitude is not at all accidental. You have witnessed throughout the last twelve months the ever-growing sympathy of the non-party working masses towards us. They come to our party meetings. As far as I can remember for the first time in our history, non-party workers attended our party Congress. The Congress was also attended by a number of delegations from non-party peasants who listened to the discussions. In their presence we without the least reserve discussed the sore points of our party life. These questions are no secrets, for they concern the fate of all the workers of Russia and of a considerable part of the peasantry. Moreover, they are of the greatest interest to every class-conscious non-party worker. All the workers are now coming over to our side, even those who for a considerable period stood aside and remained sceptical of the revolution. A certain section of our non-party workers is now going through its October revolution. For a long time they were unbelievers, but now they are able to see and they have become believers. Hence they reveal the enthusiasm of a new faith, as shown, for instance, by yesterday's demonstration of teachers and intellectuals. What has brought about this change of attitude among the non-party masses and the workers in general? It is the fact that they begin to see that the Communists were able to save the situation because they were organised, because they acted as a party and exercised a definite dictatorship. Look back two years. If there had been the least vacillation in the party ranks, and the least misconception on the question of party dictatorship in the spring of 1921 everything would have been lost. By refusing to relinquish its dictatorship, the party helped the working class to retain all its gains. At present we have a basis for the development of the industry of our country. The non-party workers realise this and vote for the dictatorship of the party. When the Petrograd factory workers vote for Communist candidates they do not vote for certain individuals. By this vote he expresses his conviction, arrived at owing to the experiences of the greatest of revolutions, that the revolution cannot live without the dictatorship of an organised vanguard, without the united iron will of the foremost ranks of the working class. It is for this reason that we thought it strange for individual Communists to call for a revision of the question of party dictatorship at a moment when the wide masses of non-party workers are backing the party dictatorship. Considering that we refused to make the least concession on this point at the critical period in the spring of 1921, we are certainly not going to give in now when we have behind us the ever-growing sympathy of the non-party masses which urge us to continue our dictatorship.

We have been asked if this party dictatorship is to go on for all eternity. Of course not. The party itself is not eternal, and neither is the State. Complete victory in all countries will do away with the State as an apparatus of coercion. A time will come when the question of food, clothes and education will be solved without

any difficulty. When that time comes, we shall not require a Red Army, because there will be no bourgeoisie. The party is not an end in itself, but a means for the emancipation of the working class. The party is a lever with which to overturn the world and to build it anew. The time will come when the party will have fulfilled its task, and then we shall lay the dictatorship at the feet of Communist society. Such a time will come, but we cannot say when. When "Smena Vekhovists" question us on this matter, I generally tell them that they will have to put up with the present iron proletarian Communist dictatorship for another ten years. If victory comes sooner, all the better, but it will not be so very dreadful after all if the present iron dictatorship were to last even a little longer. In the history of humanity ten years is but a trifling period.

We say that we cannot even dream of making any concession on this point. However, I am perfectly certain that, in spite of the unanimous vote at the XII Congress, the question is bound to crop up again and again in a new form, and under different circumstances. Some will raise this question from the economic standpoint, others from the constitutional standpoint (alleging that the constitution is being violated with respect to the relations between the party and the Soviet organs), and others again from some other standpoint, but all of them will urge that the party dictatorship must be relaxed and that the relations between party and State must be revised. I am sure, no matter from what standpoint it will be urged, any such suggestions will meet with an unmistakable proletarian "No!" from both the old Lenin Bolsheviks and from all the working class. (Applause.) This is a rather sore and ticklish question. Perhaps it should not be discussed so openly. The foreign bourgeois Press is eager to pick up anything that would appear to support their claim that the Soviets do not rule. Nevertheless, we had to bring it up, and deal with it very fully, because it is one upon which the fate of the revolution rests. It is not true that the whole controversy was one of doing one thing instead of another. We are certainly in favour of an improved plan, of perfecting our party and Soviet apparatus. We favour a division of labour; overlapping must be avoided, and it must be borne in mind that Soviets, Trade Unions and Co-operatives all have their separate functions. But the keystone of all these forms of working class and peasant organisations is the one organisation which has combined all the thinking elements of the working class, all the experience of all the preceding proletarian and semi-proletarian revolutions. This experience has shown that victory over the bourgeoisie cannot be achieved without an iron Communist Party capable of establishing a proletarian dictatorship by deeds and not by words. If we can achieve this, we will be able to do the rest, and if we fail, it will be the end of us sooner or later. As Marxist-Bolsheviks we must be able to judge phenomena regardless of their label, regardless of who is laying down the law, be he the most respected and popular personality in the world. We say that to allow freedom of action to the Mensheviks and S.R.'s in Moscow and Petrograd under the present social conditions would be tantamount to re-opening the floodgates of discussion on the question of the revision of party dictatorship. We can understand that some comrades, who have not gone through the old Bolshevik school and who do not know the party, are unable to see the danger. I believe that the rank and file workers will understand, by instinct, by sheer proletarian

commonsense, if not by theoretical reasoning, that herein lies our greatest danger, that it is playing with fire. Anyone bringing up this question under any pretext is endangering the position of the Workers' Party and of the revolution. I said in the Press and I repeat it now: The XII Congress occupies an important and honourable place in the history of the revolution. Above all, the XII Congress will loom in history as the Congress which, in the absence of our revered leader and teacher, was able to say: Hands off the party dictatorship! It is sacred, not in the religious sense, but in the Bolshevik and revolutionary sense. There is nothing to revise on this point. Party dictatorship is a lever we cannot do without. It may be only a matter of "perfecting our constitution," of "elaborating a better plan," but such innocent beginnings might lead to the downfall of the revolution. It is for this reason that the XII Party Congress was more unanimous than ever. When some wise people, diplomats and "strategists," put off the battle and said to themselves that what they had been unable to do at the XII Congress they will probably achieve at the XIII or XIV, we said to ourselves that we have nothing against this "Kuropatkin" strategy: let these would-be warriors put off the decisive battle. All we can tell them is that no putting off on their part will protect them from an onslaught by the party whenever they reopen this question. (Applause.) While you are postponing, the party will know how to spoil your little game.

You will probably want to know if such tendencies found any practical expression, or resolved themselves into mere talk. I am sorry to say that they found practical expression in various branches of our work. For instance, in our Soviet work some comrades endeavoured to popularise the idea that the presidium of the All Russian Central Executive Committee must be for the Soviets what the Central Committee is for our party. I need not tell you that this is tantamount to introducing topsyturvydom in the interrelations of party and Soviets. The A.C.E.C. is, of course, the supreme organ of the Soviets. But it must be borne in mind that the party would not be a party if its Central Committee did not superintend all the forms of work, including Soviet work.

Attempts were made at emancipation from "too much" interference by the party in the matter of appointments and distribution of workers in the economic organs. Needless to say, the party cannot give way an inch in this matter.

It has been frequently stated in uyezd and gubernia towns, as well as in the capitals, that the party is "not competent" in economic questions, and must therefore "interfere" as little as possible.

Departmentalism began to assume quite extraordinary proportions: Some departments attempted to sever all connection with the party, and to create a little world of their own. Of course, one must not exaggerate these phenomena. The overwhelming majority of the party is not and never has been effected by them. Such things, however, must be crushed in the beginning, and must on no account be allowed to develop.

Comrades, I am coming now to the second important question before our Party Congress—the question of relations between the working class and the peasantry

THE WORKING CLASS AND THE PEASANTS.

This question has come before the Congress no less than four times. The first time, on the political report of the Central Committee; the second, when the question of taxation in the villages was discussed; the third, in the discussion on the improvement of the State machine; and the fourth, in the discussion of the national question. In my opinion, comrades, there was no harm done in this repeated consideration of this one question. It is the central problem of our revolution—that and the dictatorship of the party. I have said—and it is for a Bolshevik an elementary truth—that two classes will determine the fate of our revolution: the working class and the peasantry. We must preserve the union of these two classes like the apple of our eye. The merest speck falling on this union should immediately arouse general alarm in the party; the smallest rift—and the enemy will seek the opportunity of slipping in and threatening the whole cause of the revolution.

I stated at the Congress in my political report of the Central Committee, although the question of the relations between the working class and the peasantry may appear an old one, it always presents itself in a new aspect. I think that we, our party, is town-bred, born in the working class quarters, and only in recent years are we penetrating into the countryside. We understand the life of the workers far better, we know far better how to approach them and deal with them. But the problems of peasant life, of peasant politics in the wide sense of the word, are more difficult for us, more novel. For that reason it is not a bad thing that we return to this question at every Congress.

Prior to the Congress a "new tendency" arose, headed by Comrade Larin, which accused the Central Committee of veering towards the peasantry—the so-called "peasant deviation." This deviation consists in our desire to raise grain prices, and for that purpose to organise the export of grain, in the fact that we are not raising workers' wages sufficiently rapidly, and that, in general, we talk far too much about the peasants. It appeared that since we are proletarian Marxists we must concern ourselves only with the proletariat. What have we to do with the peasants? This, in Comrade Larin's opinion, is a very "Left," radical point of view. He said: Why speculate and concern yourselves with the unfortunate peasants, when everybody knows that our ideal is not the peasant, but the proletariat—the industrial proletariat in the blue blouse, who constructs huge works and factories and buildings, who is building up Socialism? Some petty muzhik grubbing in his field with a trowel—is that going to make Communism? No, it is clear that the Central Committee is guilty of a "peasant deviation."

To Comrade Larin, we repeat, this appears to be a very radical "Left" statement of the question. He was prepared to drub us thoroughly for our peasant deviation. In my character as reporter for the Central Committee, I purposely adopted a provocative form of speech. I said: The serious proletarian revolutionary is not the man who every time he gets up in the morning before washing himself and after washing himself goes through the whole declination of the word "proletariat," the man who is continually grumbling at the peasants. The serious proletarian revolutionary is the man who knew how to build the party thirty years ago, and twenty-five years later knew how to rally to its colours, the revolutionary

peasantry. I told Comrade Larin that it was no sin to deviate towards the peasants, that we ought even to bow to the economic needs of the peasant who marches by the side of the proletariat and thereby makes the revolutionary victory possible. That may have sounded deliberately provocative. Of course, we must not bow to everybody, but we must drive that proud spirit out of some of our comrades that Comrade Lenin called "Communist arrogance." I think if anybody is guilty of the so-called "peasant deviation," it is Comrade Lenin. It was he, indeed, who taught us to deviate in that direction—and he did well. The hegemony of the proletariat does not consist in forming close trade union co-operations and fighting for a reduction in the working day. The rôle of the proletariat, as leader, having formed its party—the basis of power—consists in drawing the peasantry into the fight against the bourgeoisie. That is what the hegemony of the proletariat means. Who fails to understand that, understands nothing. We should have been in a fine strait in October, 1917, if we forgot the trifling fact that our army then contained ten million peasants, and that it was they who determined the fate of the revolution. Everything hung upon them. Who, if not the peasants, determined the issue of the struggle against Denikin and Koltchak? Of course, the commanding, initiatory, leading rôle belonged to the worker Communist. He was the organiser of the Red Army. He was the leader. He consolidated around himself the formerly yielding peasant masses. But without these masses he himself would have been nothing. In a revolution like ours the worker without the peasant is nothing—and vice versa. That is why we took the liberty of telling Comrade Larin that on this question he dropped somewhat into old Menshevism. It seems to him that his statement of the case is very "Left," whereas it is only Menshevik. The Mensheviks always looked askance at the peasantry. What have we to do with the peasant? they asked. We are men of the town, educated folk, why should we trouble about the peasants? At the beginning of the revolution they even divided the Soviets into two parts—one Soviet for the peasants, another for the workers. Divide and conquer. They considered allying themselves with Miliukov—but not with the peasants. Miliukov was also a man of the town, an educated person; with such "living forces of the country" one could ally oneself; but with the peasants!—the peasants were backward and mediæval. So it is with Comrade Larin; he is lapsing into the old Menshevism. We can observe the same lapse in some of the young Communist Parties of Western Europe. We must remember that we have not now to deal with mere trade unionist demands of the workers; we must now beat the bourgeoisie in open fight, overthrow its power and consolidate the victory. We have been victorious, yet it will be impossible to consolidate the victory without the peasants. Since the imperialist war, the peasant everywhere is no longer what he once was, for it was he that bore the brunt of the fight, he was the backbone of the armies. And although a few of the rich peasant "kulaks" feathered their nests during the war, the great majority of the peasants since the first imperialist war have become a new people. Their attitude towards the worker-Communist has changed—they are potential allies. And if we are not entirely fools, we shall everywhere win over a larger section of the peasantry to our side—and thereby we shall beat the bourgeoisie. We have been trying for a number of years, as Comrade

Lenin taught, to show the peasant by example the superiority of the Communist economic order over the capitalist, individualist economic order. Then, gradually, not by force, but by example, we shall bring him round to Communism.

Comrades, it is this cardinal principle of Bolshevism that Comrade Larin, and some others beside him, attempted to "revise" at this Congress. At every Congress, Comrade Larin comes forward with some more or less extravagant proposition. As everybody knows, he has a great imagination. Comrade Lenin said at the last Congress that if you took Comrade Larin's imagination and divided it up among the members of the party, everybody would get a good share. His imagination does not decrease, but alas! his understanding of Bolshevism does not increase. On this question we must firmly reject all attempts at up-to-date innovations.

TAXATION POLICY IN THE VILLAGES.

On the question of taxation we adopted a decision the significance of which is tremendous. I said in the political report of the Central Committee: If we examine the relation of classes in our country, we may say that as far as internal policy is concerned, the situation is everywhere satisfactory, except that in the far distance a cloud is gathering due to the dissatisfaction of the peasants in certain localities with the method of levying taxes. In some places the burden of taxation is unbearable. At the present time the peasants are particularly exasperated by the multiplicity of taxes. One day he has to pay one tax, the next another. Hardly has he paid one tax than the collector appears for another—not to speak of fines and penalties for non-payment of taxes. The peasant demands that the State should say at the commencement of the year how much it will require of him in taxation for that year. The Congress went out to meet the peasant on that point. Of course, that alone will not settle the problem, it is important to settle next what the amount of the tax shall be. In this connection the Congress decided to make taxation as light as possible for the poor peasant. Of course, we cannot promise complete exemption from taxation, or even considerable amelioration, for the simple reason that the present position of the State and of its economic life demands the peasants to contribute their share of taxation. Otherwise it would be impossible to maintain the State, or revive the country which has suffered so badly from many years of war. The State must exact a certain amount of taxes, but it must take care that these taxes are not excessive. Last year we expected to get 240 million poods of grain from the food tax, but we got much more. This year, taking all taxes, in money and in kind, into consideration, we estimate that they will not weigh exceptionally severely on the peasants. They will amount to a little more than 400 million gold roubles for the whole Republic. If we remember that these are money, grain and other taxes, it is not very much. If agriculture had not suffered so much by the years of war and revolution, this amount of taxation, if rationally levied, would pass almost unnoticed. But the fact is that agriculture has suffered, and therefore taxation weighs heavily on the peasants. We must carefully preserve the relations between the workers and the peasants. The chief task of the party in this sphere is to introduce the greatest possible amelioration.

THE STATE APPARATUS.

For the third time we have approached the peasant in connection with the State apparatus. You are, of course, acquainted with Comrade Lenin's article on this very subject. Comrade Lenin took the bull by the horns, and postulated our aims in such a simple manner that we are now astonished that we did not see them before. The aims are as follows: Now that the war is over, we must make our administration simpler and cheaper, and more accessible to the people; we must rid it of bureaucracy, of the old Tsarist lumber, of the Tsarist and bourgeois spirit that still encumbers it. Comrade Lenin declared frankly to the whole of Russia, to the whole world: "We have had five years of Soviet Government, and our State machine, the devil take it! is still the old Tsarist one; superficially it is a Soviet machine, but beneath the Soviet gilding we see the Tsarist and bourgeois machinery." That is not surprising. During five years of fighting we had no time for the State apparatus. At first the "superior" gentlemen sabotaged, and we, instead of rejoicing at the fact and taking the opportunity of driving them out, we began to implore them: Please come to us! They waited a little, but when they began to feel a craving in the stomach they flocked to us. We are now keeping the breed, and they, instead of helping us, are simply spoiling the business. The machinery of State in the hands of the victorious working class is a powerful and influential instrument. But when the State machine is infested by a Tsarist tchinovniki, who are out to hamper business, that machine becomes in part the very reverse. The party has taken this problem into consideration. It said frankly: to solve this problem in the course of a few months is impossible; it requires a number of years. The party has now declared firmly: This question shall not be taken off the agenda until we have settled it. For this purpose we are re-organising the Workers' and Peasants' Inspectorate. For this purpose we have introduced a new body, the Central Control Committee, a body with considerable authority, constructed on a different plan than formerly, whose function will be to administrate the country and its economic activities, and to improve the administrative machine. We are taking this task upon ourselves, and in a few years, with the help of the workers and peasants, including non-party workers and peasants, we shall have no reason to blush for our administrative machine. We shall create a machine that will be simple and inexpensive, without ostentation and luxury, without a large staff of bureaucrats, with no brilliant signboards, superfluous questionnaires, and so forth; but a simple workers' and peasants' machine, accessible to every worker and non-party peasant; an inexpensive machine that does not aim at effect, but "cuts its coat according to its cloth," that does not eat up money, compelling us to resort to taxation. Nobody but our party can take up this task and fulfil it. I am convinced that every success we achieve in this sphere, however small, will be welcomed by the wide masses of workers. Everyone of us, whether in a high Government post or a small one, must perform his part of the general task we have assumed.

The peasant question arose for the fourth time in connection with the national problem.

THE NATIONAL PROBLEM.

Comrades, for the peasants and workers of Great Russia the national problem practically does not exist. The workers of Kostroma, Tula, Ivanovo-Voznesensk, know of no national problem. We in Petrograd are not affected by it. Occasionally when we hear a Finnish or Estonian orator, we feel that he is not speaking Russian quite correctly and that is all. But besides Petrograd, Moscow, Tula, Penza, we have Georgia, Azerbaijan, Ukraine, Kirghizia, Turkestan, and so on. We have a number of fraternal Republics. And there, remember, not all speak Russian; there you have a national problem, and more. There the majority of the population are peasants, and in Tsarist days they were forced to speak Russian; their children were taught, if they were taught at all, in a foreign tongue; their hatred and mistrust of every Russian was forced inwards for years, decades, and even centuries. Naturally they regarded every Russian as an enemy. We must not forget that. The party must frankly face this heritage of the past. It is perfectly clear that, especially at the present moment, when we are creating a union of Socialist Republics and when tens of millions of peasants in the outlying States are uniting with us, we must so arrange matters that every one of them will understand that the old accursed Tsarist tradition has gone. If we are unable to create real national peace, a fraternal confidence towards us, we shall not be able to solve any problem. Remember that all these border States are growing, are beginning to stand upon their own feet. To-day the Tartar peasant is asking for his own Council of People's Commissaries, his own Central Executive Committee, and will not be content with less. A native intelligentsia and native schools are growing up. These people have seen how a revolution is made; they have grown up; they demand not an apparent, but a real equality. They wish to be equals in our Soviet Republic. And they are right—a thousand times right. Comrade Lenin said: We must go even farther and give more than equal rights to the former oppressed nationalities—and then perhaps we shall get equality; for with us, in the old tradition of a privileged nation, we imbibed with our mothers' milk an attitude of superiority towards the peasant who did not speak the Russian tongue. We must reverse this so that everybody feels that this is a new **Soviet Russia**. We cannot be neutral on this question. For example, in the Ukraine (there are many Ukrainian comrades here) in the villages the peasants for the most part speak Ukrainian, and in the towns there is a large immigrant element that speak Russian. Amongst the town workers the following attitude sometimes exists: it is all the same to us whether they have schools and newspapers in their own tongue or not. We will be neutral. Let the Ukrainian language fight the Russian. Comrade Lenin and the Congress after him said that this attitude is wrong, we cannot be neutral. We workers of Great Russia must take the initiative in helping the workers, and especially the peasants, of the hitherto oppressed countries, the Ukrainian peasants, or the Georgian, or the Burryat, or the Tartars, or the Kirghiz; we must help them actively, and not stand on one side. We must help them to build schools where their own tongue is spoken, so that they may see the real dawn of a new day. If they have their own schools conducted in their mother tongue they will see that they have got them, not in spite of the Communists, but thanks to the Communists and their active help.

With us in Russia the national problem is part of the peasant problem. Not in the centre, but on the borders, where also tens of millions of peasants are living. When some wiseacre says "The peasant does not care a rap about the language, he is interested in the price of makhorka,* not in language," this seems to some people the height of "Marxist" wisdom; they think it is an "economic" interpretation of history. The Congress replied: this is false. True, the price of makhorka interests the Georgian peasant, the Russian peasant, and the German peasant. It is time they demanded that their smokes be cheaper. But apart from that they are concerned whether their own tongue will be used in Government institutions, whether their children will be taught in the schools in the mother tongue, or whether they will be obliged to give up their own tongue—whether they will, in fact, be equal citizens in the Soviet Republic.

The Congress adopted a clear-cut resolution, condemning Great Russian Chauvinism—the nationalism of a dominant nation—in the frankest terms. But, of course, if the Russian workers in this national question continue in the old Tsarist and bourgeois tradition, if they say: "We Russians are the centre of the universe, the rest don't matter"—then the Georgian peasant will say: "No, we Georgians are the centre of the universe." The small peoples are also imbued with a sense of their own importance. Therefore if we make the slightest false step, we shall have, not one, but ten nationalisms.

Comrade Lenin demanded, and rightly demanded, that the Russian Communist who failed to understand the importance of the national problem, and who called non-Russians "foreigners," should be regarded as a member of the Black Hundreds, as an anti-Semite. A "Communist" who said even in a joke "We don't give a damn for the other nations—Russia for the Russians," should be treated with contempt. You all know that there are unfortunately still many in our party, and in our administration there are many more officials, who take up this attitude.

We say that we do not wish to be the old Tsarist Russia, but a Russia that will unite the peasants and workers of all nationalities. The Russian proletariat is in no danger. Nobody wished to deprive him of his culture, or his language, or his importance in the history of the revolution or in the State administration. But he must not only unite the peasants of Tula and Penza, but all the peasants entering into our union of Republics.

Moreover, Comrade Lenin in his letter invited us to glance at the East, at China and India, where hundreds of millions of people are rising up to fight. They have already risen and are beginning to straighten their backs. Comrade Lenin wrote this with such vividness that you could almost see the uprising masses of the East. You, Communists, he said, who are sometimes inclined to fall into a spirit of boasting with regard to the national question, do not forget the East. It is the East that will decide the fate of mankind. If you in your own country insult the Pole and the Georgian, rest assured the whole East will hear of it. Nowadays, walls have ears. The whole world is listening to our revolution. The slightest brusqueness in our relations with other peoples will at

(*) Tobacco made from tobacco leaf stalk, smoked by peasants.

once re-echo throughout the East, where hundreds of millions of people are rising up and are desirous of following in our path.

Therefore a correct solution of the national problem in our Republic would mean that the problem of the tactics of the whole Communist International with regard to the national problem and the rallying of oppressed peoples around the red flag would be nine-tenths solved. The solution of this problem is of tremendous significance. In this we must eradicate the survivals of Great Russian Chauvinism with rods of steel. We must remember that if Russia in Tsarist days was a prison for the nations, to-day it must be a family of nations. We have to prove this in action, and not merely in resolutions which may remain mere scraps of paper. The national problem is part of the peasant problem, part of the problem of dictatorship, part of the problem of Soviet power—and a large part at that. We must not forget this for a minute. We shall have to pay very, very dearly for mistakes in this matter. Such mistakes the Bolshevik Party, the true school of Lenin, will never permit.

INDUSTRY.

At the Congress the question of industry came to the fore. This is a very important current problem. In this connection I earnestly advise you to read carefully the resolutions of the Congress itself, in which you will find very valuable matter. At the Tenth and Eleventh Congresses, Comrade Lenin could say: Let us begin with the small industries and extend them; let us begin with the peasants, the home industries; let us get nearer to agriculture. The present Congress was justified in saying: In the smaller industries we have all but put matters right, let us now deal with large industries. Hitherto we have only said it—now we propose to act. In 1922 we reached 25 per cent. of pre-war output; in 1923 we shall reach 35 per cent. and more. We shall take the matter of the large industries into our hands. The Congress inserted the wedge into such questions as uneconomic expenditure, the productivity of labour, bureaucratic methods in economic bodies, bookkeeping, correct balance sheets, the selection of managers. But the important point is that the question was discussed from the practical standpoint. Formerly, we could only talk, now we can proceed to tackle the problem of the revival of our economic life in actual fact. There is no need, and there will be no need, for pessimism. Everybody can see that Russia is recovering, that our economic life is reviving. We had to deal with the price of grain. Prices have fallen to 40 kopecks a pood, and in some localities even lower. The peasants have no stimulus to increase the sowing area. The case is the same as it was in 1919-1920 with the productivity of labour. At that time we had reached such an absurd position that the worker, no matter how much he worked, received the same pay, and therefore the output of labour declined. So it is now with the prices of grain. Prices fell so drastically, that the peasant is deprived of impulse to sow. We must organise the export of grain abroad. For ten years before the war, Russia exported nearly 800 million poods of grain annually. This year we exported only 25 millions. We have concluded a contract with Germany whereby she will take one-third of the 1923 harvest export. We are beginning the conquest of the world grain market. It will not be an easy matter: we shall have to fight America and gain over a hostile bourgeoisie; but we

shall gain the market. If we succeed this year in exporting 200 million poods of grain, prices will be firmer, the peasant will have a reason for sowing, and in exchange for that grain we shall be able to import what the peasant needs for agriculture, and what we need for our industries. In that way we shall improve the general economic state of our country.

The question of electrification also came up. We must spend eighty millions a year to get everything done in time, and this year we gave 25 millions. Next year we shall give 40 millions, that is 50 per cent. The Volkhovskiy electric station will be finished in time in spite of the difficulties.

We have awakened great sections of the people, we have got over our worst difficulties and are beginning to expect the first victories in the sphere of economics. The position of the workers is beginning to improve; it is not all that can be desired, but it is better than it was two years ago. The workers have complete confidence in their Government. We are now tackling not only small industry, but also large industry, not for mere verbal display, but that real progress should be made.

There you have the work of the Congress. There is still the report on the Comintern and some questions of organisation, but I will confine myself to what I have said and remark only in conclusion the following.

CONCLUSION.

You know, comrades, that the Congress did its work without Vladimir Iliitch. We all began the first session of the Congress with certain feelings of anxiety. For the first time in the history of our party, for the first time since the revolution, we met without our tried guide and leader. But when we looked each other in the eyes, when we tested each other and saw how each tackled the job in hand, we were convinced that in spite of the great misfortune the illness of Vladimir Iliitch has been for our party and the whole working class, the party is nevertheless following in the path of Comrade Lenin and is equal to its tasks. Our party is the most astonishing organisation the world has ever known. We were a compact body; collective experience and collective will dictated our decisions. The delegates to the Congress, tried warriors who have trodden the thorny path of revolution, were convinced that however difficult it is for us at the present without the directing hand of Vladimir Iliitch at the wheel, we shall not make any serious errors, and shall conduct our party and the Government along its right path. The Congress imposed great obligations not only on the delegates, but upon every member of the party. I said in my concluding speech to the Congress that the important thing is not what happened in the Congress hall, but what happened beyond the Congress; how the rank and file members of the party would regard the fundamental decision of the Congress regarding the dictatorship; would they understand that at the present anxious moment they must come to the aid of the Central Committee with all their hearts and souls, to the aid of the core of the working class—the Bolshevik-Leninists, who have led the party for 25 years and who must be able to defend the party in its difficult moments. If you understand this, and, as I do not doubt, the rank and file of the party with you, then we may be assured that we shall firmly follow in

the path along which Comrade Lenin has led us. We shall then not be afraid of any difficulties. We know, we saw it in the work that was accomplished in a little over five years (which were worth 50 years), that if our party wished, if the electric spark passes through our ranks and arouses the enthusiasm which is especially needed in this difficult moment when our teacher Vladimir Iliitch is not at the helm, if that spark passes through the ranks of the Moscow and Petrograd workers (and in parenthesis let me say that the Petrograd delegates played a considerable part at the Congress) then our party will be consolidated, and every member will be shown his place. We shall be able to raise our party to a higher level than ever before; we shall make use of our Communist universities. We have a fine youth movement, which makes excellent human material. But it is still poor in the knowledge of party tradition. If you can give it party traditions, if we can satisfy its thirst for knowledge, and if at the same time we can closer consolidate ourselves into a single driving force, firmly carrying out the tactics indicated by the XII Congress, then the XII Congress will go down as one of its most glorious pages in the history of the party and our party will certainly fulfil the world historical task that lies before it. (Applause.)

Party and Class--The Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the R.C.P.

BY E. YAROSLAVSKY

We have more than once heard the accusation from our opponents that the dictatorship of the proletariat in Russia is nothing more than the dictatorship of the Russian Communist Party over the proletariat. We have been frequently told that the Russian Communist Party is only an insignificant minority of the working class, that the large mass of the Russian proletariat is hostilely disposed towards the Communist Party, and that only by the exercise of naked force does the party retain power in its hands.

Events have occurred during the last few weeks which give the lie to all these assertions. These events are of sufficient significance to permit us to draw wider conclusions than are necessary to repudiate the wildest assertions of our enemies. They permit us to assert that in fundamentals the Russian Communist Party and the Russian working class are united.

The events that occurred on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the party, not only in the large towns, but everywhere in which the smallest Communist organisation exists, speak eloquently of the great attraction exercised by the party over the non-party working masses. At the XI Party Congress we adopted a special resolution limiting the possibility of entry to the party not only to persons of bourgeois origin, but even to members of the working class. This alone proves that the party is not weak in working-class members, and that it is not aiming for large membership, but for quality of membership, for endurance, fighting quality, and Communist conviction. The decision of the XI Congress was to save the party from

weak, wavering elements, who have not sufficiently proved their devotion to the proletarian revolution. The Russian Communist Party has still an important international rôle to play, and its ranks must therefore be firm and homogeneous. To secure homogeneity, this resolution was accordingly adopted at the XI Congress.

Practical experience has, however, shown that a large mass of workers, especially in the provinces, are anxious to enter the party, but are hindered by the extremely severe demands exacted of them, and it is the duty of the XII Congress to re-open the door of the party to these sections of the proletariat. How great this movement towards the party is is best demonstrated by the Party Jubilee. Take, for instance, the meeting of non-party men in the Moscow Grand Theatre. One after another, representatives from the various districts and the large works and factories came forward, and in all their speeches was heard the ring of true devotion to the Russian Communist Party, and the evidence of the close bond between the non-party workers and their advance guard. The Zamoskvoretsky district on the occasion of the Jubilee gave 503 new working-class members to the party, the Krasno-Prezensk district gave 725, the Rogozhko Simonovsky 90, the Sokolnik 150, and the Khamovnik 75. These figures are not complete, but, nevertheless, such as they are, they speak for themselves.

Before proceeding to a review of the incidents that took place all over the country, we must first recount two important events that coincided with the jubilee of the Russian Communist Party, namely, the congress of working-class members of the Socialist-Revolutionary Party, and the mass exodus of working-class members from the former Menshevik Party in Georgia and their entrance into the Communist Party. It must not be forgotten that apart from the handful of bewildered, feeble-hearted adventurers who lead the Socialist-Revolutionary organisations abroad, and the auxiliaries of the White Guards who a year ago stood accused before the Revolutionary Tribunal, there remain barely a hundred rank and file members of the Socialist-Revolutionary Party, and these are far from sharing the policy of their leaders. Even in October, 1917, when the party leaders, in conjunction with the Junkers and the White Guard officers, organised an attack upon the workers, the working-class Socialist-Revolutionaries refused to advance upon the Bolsheviks, and whole divisions came over to our side, to fight against the Socialist-Revolutionaries. But a section of the workers still hoped that the fight of the Socialist-Revolutionaries against the proletarian revolution was an abnormal symptom, and that the party would one day recover and return to the true revolutionary path. This consideration kept these comrades in the ranks of the party. At the time of the trial of the S.R.'s a group of S.R. working-class members of the Zlatoustovsky works declared publicly that they did not share the policy of the Central Committee and the foreign delegation of the S.R. Party. They summoned a congress of members of the party who were of their point of view. This congress met in Moscow and unanimously resolved to break with the S.R. Party, which they declared had openly adopted the path of counter-revolution. Furthermore, they decided to join with the Russian Communist Party as the sole representative of the interests of the working class. The Russian Communist Party, therefore, is authorised to speak not only in the name of its present members, but also of the hundreds

of thousands of workers who sympathise with its programme and tactics, but who have not yet joined it.

In the Menshevik Party we find a repetition of what occurred in the S.R. Party. The resignation of prominent members of the party is symptomatic. Take, for example, the declaration made by Rozhkov, former member of the Central Committee of the Mensheviks, when announcing his break with the policy of the party. There is also the noteworthy public statements of Comrade Martynov, who was also a member of the Central Committee of the Mensheviks, and who at one time carried on an obstinate and even skilful fight against us, but whom the experiences of the revolution convinced that the Menshevik Party was in fact counter-revolutionary, and that the place of all convinced Socialists was in the ranks of the Russian Communist Party. He has, therefore, a full right to say that he was an old Revolutionary and Social-Democrat, but still a young Communist. We, however, refer particularly to the rank and file workers in the party who are now realising their error.

Just before the news was received of the death of the leader and inspirer of the Mensheviks, Martov, Comrade Sergo-Ordjonikidze, member of the Executive Committee of the Russian Communist Party, wrote an article in "Pravda," in which he gave a list of several hundred workers who had been in the party in 1900 and 1905, old members accustomed to illegal activities, and bound by years of common struggle with the Menshevik organisations. For these workers it was particularly hard to break with their party, but the proletarian revolution was for them a great experience which taught them that the Menshevik Party was in fact the confederate of the counter-revolutionaries, and that the place for every true Socialist was in the Communist Party. This article read like a funeral oration over the grave of the Menshevik Party. More, it showed that the dictatorship of the proletariat in Russia was truly the dictatorship of the working class, and that the Russian Communist Party was the clearest and most consistent expression of that dictatorship. It showed that the R.C.P. was the vanguard of the army entrusted by the proletariat with the task of effecting and conducting the dictatorship, and that behind it stood the masses ready to come to the aid at any moment of need.

The 25th anniversary of the Russian Communist Party marked the crowning of a long-protracted labour conducted among the masses. There is not a town or village where the working people have not responded, and how they responded can be shown by the following few instances:—

At a meeting held in Zamoskvoretsky district, the non-party workers declared: "We are drawn to the Communist Party as towards the light and the warmth . . . the veterans depart in glory, but the fight brings forth new heroes, marching to join the ranks of the warriors . . ."

The "Krasnaia Oborona" works sent to the Executive of the Party on the occasion of its anniversary the following greetings: "We, non-party working men and women, understand and approve the significance of the Communist Party for the working class. A mere handful at its inception, your party, which is also our party, the party of the non-party working men and working women, during the course of twenty-five years has developed into a powerful,

well-consolidated army, leading the proletariat and labouring peasantry, and capable of conducting the oppressed classes to victory over the bourgeoisie and landowners. We know the tremendous sacrifices the party has made in the struggle; we know the great difficulties the party had to overcome, and we watch with pride the skill and confidence with which the Central Committee guides the first ruling proletarian party in the world, and unites the whole of the working class and the greater part of the peasantry. On this 25th anniversary we say, with all sincerity, that we, non-party working men and women, regard the Communist Party as our party; side by side with it we will work for the complete victory of the working class, overcoming all difficulties and filling the gaps in its ranks. Long live the Russian Communist Party, its general staff—the Executive Committee—and its leaders!

Almost every factory strove to make some outward expression of their attitude to the party. Some subscribed for the purchase of banners, adorned them and presented them to the party with addresses. This is the speech made by Comrade Veleshenkov when presenting a red banner to the Zamoskvoretsky district on behalf of the “Bromley” works:—

“The non-party masses entrust this banner to the faithful hands of the Russian Communist Party. It shall be held aloft until the reign of Communism has been established over the earth.”

Another banner was presented jointly by the non-party workers of the Danilov Motor, and other works, with the words: “We workers hope that the red flag will be unfurled over the whole world.” The presentation speeches were greeted with storms of applause, following which there appeared on the platform representatives from the Scientific Research Institute, with a portrait of Lenin which they presented to the district party organisation: “We workers and students desire on this 25th anniversary to present the Russian Communist Party the portrait of our dear Iliitch, the first organiser of the party.” Upon which came the reply from all present: “Long live Comrade Lenin!”

At a meeting of the Krasno-Prezensk district Rogozhnikova, a non-party working woman, said: “This 25th anniversary is a happy day, since the doors of the party have been opened wide to working women.”

Another non-party worker, Burmistrov, said: “For three years, ever since I came out of prison, I have stood close to the party, but I have only just understood that we must all enter it and strengthen it.”

He was followed by a Young Communist: “We filled the ranks of the Red Army. The Red Army will fill the ranks of the Communist Party.”

Workers in the Trekhgornoi textile mills, participants of the 1905 revolution, but at present non-party men, presented a banner with the words: “Comrades Communists, if ever you are disheartened look upon this banner and remember that all the workers are behind you.”

These words, so simply spoken, are imbued with the conviction of might and power.

“Together with the workers, the party will bring the proletarian revolution to its completion.”

In many places the anniversary was celebrated by joint meetings of workers, Red Army soldiers and peasants. Thus at the experimental technical clothing factory in Moscow a meeting was held at which attended representatives from the rural district and the Red Army division of which the factor is the "patron." The meeting was thus a demonstration of that unity of the three sections of the population of which so much is being heard of late.

An old peasant woman appeared on the platform clad in a grey cloak and a red band across her breast; instantly the building rang with the outburst of applause which greeted her. The workers felt that there was something particularly near and dear to them about this grey-clad, grey-haired peasant woman.

The old woman was overcome by the warmth of the greeting. Through her tears she said:—

" You have the power. You overthrew the Tzar, you overthrew the landlords, you remained firm against the whole world. Life is hard with us peasants. No one comes to us from the towns. We have no literature, we have no teachers; there is no spiritual force in the village, there is no culture. You have the power. Come to us in the village and help us."

So spoke the representative of the rural district, the care of whose educational need had been assumed by the factory.

The non-party workers in the factory presented the Communist group with a banner. The following are extracts from the address that accompanied the presentation:—

" Throughout the twenty-five years of determined and heroic struggle for the liberation of the workers from the yoke of capitalism you were led by a great leader and guide. You spared neither your strength nor your lives, you were always in the forefront. Much labour and effort was spent in this difficult struggle. But in the end you triumphed, and opened the way for the rule of Labour and of justice for the millions of labouring and oppressed."

More striking were the demonstrations of unity between the workers and peasants in the provinces. If one were to reckon the number of workers' meetings, meetings of non-party workers and meetings in honour of the party, if one were to reckon the number of banners presented and congratulatory speeches made, it would appear that nowhere was there a group of workers, however small, which did not during the anniversary express its solidarity with the party. In the provinces the honours paid to the party were of a particularly warm and intimate nature. There, people are closely acquainted with each other, and any defect in the social or personal character of a Communist cannot be easily concealed. Yet it was in the provinces that the most marked demonstration was given of the fact that the Russian Communist Party and the working masses are indissolubly united, that they are in fact one force.

The honours paid to the party in Petrograd deserve special mention. The émigré Press is fond of saying that in Petrograd particularly the Communist Party maintains its power by naked force, and that in composition it is not a working-class party at all. As to composition: the Petrograd party organisation contains 21,000 members, and counting candidates, 25,000. This was the figure up to the time of the anniversary, when the ranks of the party were considerably

swelled. In the counties of the Petrograd province there are 30,000 members. The social composition of the party is best illustrated by the 18th Petrograd Province Conference, the delegates to which consisted of 197 workers, 32 peasants, 36 intellectuals, 27 clerical and administrative workers, and 7 others. In other words, 66 per cent. of the delegates to the provincial conference were workers, and if we add the 11 per cent. of peasants, we see that three-quarters of the organisation was represented by workers from the town and village. These figures alone show what direction the development of the party is taking.

Petrograd at that period had passed through very hard times. The blockade had stricken the town with special severity. The transfer of the capital city to Moscow, which meant the transfer of all the Government institutions, resulted in a large reduction of the population. Its remoteness from the food-producing and raw material areas of the country, the disorganisation of the railways and other means of communication, its immediate proximity to the fighting front, and the perpetual menace of attack, all these factors operating together for several years, served to shatter the economic organism of this huge city to a very serious extent. Industry declined; the working class became disintegrated, a large number of workers returning to the villages.

But during the last year or two a revival of industry took place. The effects of the blockade were repaired. Red Petrograd, the capital of the proletarian revolution, was able to maintain its independence and beat off all the attacks of the White Guards and the Imperialists. The collective will of the workers, led by the Communist Party, was able to revive heavy industry. Life in Petrograd revived, the works and factories again began to produce, and the working class to feel an access of force and energy. We have already seen how the attraction exercised by the Communist Party over the Petrograd workers is also growing.

Before us are scores of reports of congratulatory addresses delivered on the 25th anniversary. Hundreds of factory meetings were held, and at all of them resolutions were adopted unanimously expressing complete confidence in the Russian Communist Party. Some of these addresses, which are covered by hundreds of signatures, are particularly moving. The address, for instance, delivered by the non-party workers of the "Red Putilov" locomotive and engineering works runs:—

"We workers in the locomotive shops greet our party, the defender of our working-class interests. In token of fraternal affection we present this banner to the party which, in the future as in the past, will defend the interests of our Petrograd workers."

The former Geisler works sent its greetings to the leader of the Petrograd proletariat, Comrade Zinoviev:—

"At the request of the non-party workers of the Petrograd telephone and telegraph works (formerly Geisler), the factory committee conveys its warm fraternal greetings to you and begs you to devote this 25th anniversary of the Russian Communist Party to our factory. Your presence amidst us will be a pledge of the united front between us, non-party workers, and the Russian Communist Party, for achieving the final triumph of the working class."

A general meeting of the former Alexandrovsky works resolved to send an address, which ran:—

" We, delegates to the general factory conference, consider that the Communist Party is the party of the workers and poorest peasantry, the first in the world to light the flame of revolution, to declare war upon war, and to make its aim the emancipation of humanity from the yoke of capitalism. We are convinced that these aims will be achieved, whatever may be the cost. In token of complete solidarity with the Russian Communist Party in its fight against its enemies, and in token of our belief that it is the one party that stands for the defence of the poorest sections of the population, we resolve to present it with a banner in the name of all the workers of our factory."

We have taken these extracts at random from amongst hundreds that are in our possession, enough to make a book which would be the best refutation of our enemies. But the refutation is being compiled, not from resolutions and congratulatory addresses, but from the great effort of collective labour throughout all the Soviet Republics which is triumphing over all difficulties.

When, on the occasion of the Seventh Ukrainian Party Conference at Kharkov, Trotsky appeared on the platform to present a report of the activities of the Russian Communist Party, the conference hall was invaded by a large number of non-party delegates. The non-party worker, Filatov, declared that he was charged by the non-party workers to shake the hand of the beloved leader of the Red Army, Comrade Trotsky. The two shook hands and Trotsky embraced Filatov. This incident is significant of the bond between the workers and their party. In his reply Trotsky made it perfectly clear what the rôle of the party was in the struggle of the workers:—

" The conference decided to devote to-day to practical business and to hear my report. Suddenly the doors are flung open and in march the working class, calling itself non-party and bearing red banners. When we from the platform saw the narrow path open up, the banners unfurling and moving towards us, we became suddenly conscious of the bond between the party and the working class . . .

" What is the Communist Party? Let us look back and remember the hopes, the groans, the tears and the spilt blood of hundreds of generations of slaves and serfs. Unite all the experience of the past struggle of suppressed mankind against a parasitic world, and this united experience is the Communist Party . . .

" To-day Kharkov is en fete; we are joyfully pressing each other's hands. But in Essen French machine-guns, manufactured by French workmen, and set up by French peasants, are shooting down the German proletariat. Chapter by chapter the book of sufferings of the working class unfolds itself. From the experience of the bloody struggle we learn step by step . . . Capital is still powerful. Our Union of Republics was the first to emancipate itself. In Germany the anarchy of capitalism still reigns. England oppresses her colonial peoples. Wealthy American capitalism is still powerful. The sword that was unsheathed against us is still unbroken. It may be that in a year or two we shall again be obliged to defend our frontiers, to make sacrifices, to forsake the path of peace. I am convinced that the non-party workers will repeat then what they said to-day . . .

" Let us make a solemn covenant of fraternity: The Communist Party will do all in its power, and you—you will again fling open

the gates and march forward, but not with only flags in your hands, but rifles. To-day you non-party workers are not within the party, but when the time comes, when it will not be the party alone that will be at stake, but the life of the whole working class, I am convinced that then the demarcation line between the party and the non-party workers will disappear! ”

For twenty-five years we have done our work creditably. The chief service of the party has been, and is, in spite of all difficulties, in the days of iron reaction, when work had to be conducted illegally, and when the workers were defeated, and during the uprising of the working class, when the struggle was carried into the open, and in the days of victory, the Communist Party was, and is, indissolubly bound up with the non-party masses. The chief merit of the Russian Communist Party is that it is an inseparable part of the working class—that it is in fact the party of the working class.

RUHR AND HAMBURG

BY KARL RADEK

By the time these lines reach the reader, four months will have passed since the opening of the war in the Ruhr. These four months of war between a great army of occupation and a half million of unarmed proletarians provide the representatives of capital with material for expansive arguments, which contain elements of truth according to the camp from which they come. The German bourgeoisie in their speeches exalt the moral force of the resistance which the German working class are putting up against armed French Imperialism. The French bourgeoisie sneer at the German workers for defending their own slavery, and see in the events in the Ruhr confirmation of the extent to which the German workers are still under the spell of nationalism. The Communists too must admit that the struggle taking place on the Ruhr gives them also matter for serious thought.

It is not true that this struggle led to the discovery of a new weapon which, as the “New Leader,” the organ of the British Independent Labour Party, asserts, is proving victorious over bayonets and machine guns. The “New Leader” makes a virtue of necessity because it will not confess that the working class in Germany is incapable itself of undertaking the defence of its country. Because they will not confess that the workers in the Entente countries, with the exception of the Communists, have left the German workers in the lurch, the British I.L.P. and Mr. Brailsford in his “New Leader,” must sing the praises of the new weapon. Is it really a new weapon? Mr. Brailsford knows better than we do that his assertion is untrue.

In India, the land which Mr. Brailsford's country is oppressing, we have seen during the course of many years, wave after wave of passive resistance pass over the country. At one moment a boycott of goods is declared, at another, factories are closed down as a mark of protest. The enslaved Indians, who have not the power to rise against British domination, which they hate with all their hearts,

declare war against it by means of passive boycott. They say to the British rulers: "You cannot compel us to buy your goods by force of arms."

By their passive resistance the German workers demonstrate that coal cannot be dug with bayonets. The German petty bourgeoisie, by refusing to sell to the French, demonstrate to the latter that they are hated in the land. Germany, reduced from the lofty position of an Imperialist nation to that of a Capitalist colony; Germany at one time bristling with arms and now disarmed and handed over to an Imperialist rival armed to the teeth, now proclaims a "revolution with folded arms." The passive resistance on the Ruhr is not an advance in the proletarian struggle. It is merely an incident in the fact that Germany has been reduced to a colony.

Passive resistance cannot be an all-conquering weapon. The German workers are fighting, supported by the German Capitalists, at the expense of the State. That is to say, that the millions which the German Capitalists are able to distribute to the workers in the form of unemployment grants, in spite of the fact that the factories and mines are working only to half the capacity, are provided by the vast mass of taxpayers. The German bourgeoisie who advanced to the State from their own pockets a paltry 12½ million dollars do not spare the pence of the proletariat and petty bourgeoisie when it is a question of defraying the expenditure incurred in defending their 10 per cent. share in the Franco-German Coal Syndicate, which is contested by the French Capitalists. The passive resistance of the German workers can be continued as long as the bourgeoisie continues to pay wages in the Ruhr at the price of the future deterioration of the conditions of the workers. When the reformists declare that a new weapon of victory has been discovered on the Ruhr, they are merely lauding the aristocracy of Sparta, who, in the moment of danger, armed their helots to fight for them.

The passive resistance of the masses in India is a revolutionary factor. It leads the Indian masses to the consciousness of the community of their interests. It mobilises them for the highest form of struggle, for the future revolt.

Can we say this of the position in the Ruhr? If things depended entirely upon the Social-Democrats, passive resistance would be the only weapon of the proletariat of the Ruhr. Cowards in the face of their own bourgeoisie, they are also opposed to a resolute struggle against foreign Imperialism. When the great prophet of International Menshevism, Herr Kautsky, wished to put the Communists of Germany to the supreme test, he asked them with wrinkled brow: "Do you prepare to solve the Ruhr question in a peaceful manner or by resorting to arms?" In the toothless mouth of Kautsky this does not mean that to-day—April, 1923—a revolutionary war against world capital is impossible, but for all that we shall untiringly prepare for it, but means down with those who employ any other weapons except the invincible arguments of Herr Kautsky! The passive resistance in the Ruhr bears extremely contradictory features even in the camp of the proletariat. Side by side with the rebels who say: "We have not capitulated to the German militarists, we fought against German Imperialism, we therefore refuse to capitulate to French bayonets"—side by side with the revolutionary spirit which, to-day resisting the French bayonets, intends to-morrow to insist that the mines

shall belong neither to the French nor the German Capitalists, but to the proletariat—side by side with them there is also the German slave who dare not throw off the German yoke for fear of exchanging it for the French yoke. For that reason the question as to whether passive resistance against French Imperialism in the Ruhr is destined to develop into an active proletarian struggle not only against the alien invaders, but also for the capture of the factories by the proletariat, will be decided by history. The leader in the Menshevist asses' choir, Abramovitch, in the "Sozialisticheski Vestnik" sneeringly asks the Comintern: "In what way does your practical activity differ from that of the representatives of the Second and Two-and-a-half Internationals whom you despise so much?" We do not know what Mr. Abramovitch calls PRACTICAL activity. Perhaps this typical hater of violence, in this instance, regards as PRACTICAL only the kind of fighting in which ribs are broken. Without evading the issue, however, we say frankly: If we are asked whether the Comintern by its own efforts can bring about a revolution, and defeat the enemy, we say, unfortunately, no. The forces of the isolated Communist International are inadequate for that. It cannot fight for the proletariat, it can only fight with the proletariat. The fact that the majority of the proletariat are still in the camp of the pacifists, i.e., in the camp of the Mensheviks, hangs like a millstone round the necks of the revolutionary section of the International proletariat, and this drag cannot be immediately overcome.

That is why the Comintern alone cannot conduct a revolutionary struggle in the Ruhr. It can only make preparations for the fight; and when International Menshevism asks sneeringly in what way we differ from them, we say: We differ from you in that you make preparations for and organise the capitulation of the proletariat to the bourgeoisie, while we make preparations for the impending battle. It is true that our successes in this direction as yet are inconsiderable. The French proletariat, thanks to your policy of civil peace during the war, has been bled white, and although it has attempted economic strikes in connection with the struggle in the Ruhr, it is not strong enough to link up the strikes with the political struggle against Poincaré and his predatory attack on the Ruhr. The Second and Two-and-a-Half Internationals are engaged in the noble task of devising reasonable platforms upon which Monsieur Poincaré may unite with the bourgeoisie. They sabotage the first attempts made by the Comintern and Profintern at fraternisation between the French and German proletariat. History will record the fact that while the agents of the Second and Two-and-a-Half Internationals journey from country to country in the endeavour to find a basis upon which Monsieur Poincaré and Herr Cuno may become reconciled, the German and French Social-Democrats exert all their efforts to prevent the arrangement of a joint revolutionary demonstration of the German and French proletariat in Essen.

The Social-Democrats arranged a Unity Conference for Easter. On the day commemorating the resurrection of the legendary revolutionary, they gathered together to celebrate the resurrection of the International. This arrangement was made at the Hague Congress at which the new International was buried before it managed to be born. But, thanks to their policy, war was revived.

Monsieur Poincaré sent his Zouaves to the Ruhr. While the French machine guns were merrily ticking out Monsieur Poincaré's opinion of the Second International for the benefit of the Essen workers, while Herr Severing's Zouaves in Mühlheim were piercing the bodies of the proletarians there in order to convince them of the significance of the democracy advocated by the Social-Democratic, people's and Centre Parties, it is somewhat of an anomaly to play wedding marches in Hamburg. Nevertheless, the marriage of the Second and Two-and-a-half Internationals has been fixed for Whitsun. But "Whitsun has gone and Marlborough does not return." Herr Friedrich Adler makes this melancholy admission in his gloomy speech on the occupation of the Ruhr and the International. This hero, whose whole reputation rests on a revolver shot, this founder of the Two-and-a-Half International, which was to serve as the bridge between the Second and Third Internationals, this man who formerly was almost a supporter of the Soviet Dictatorship of the Proletariat, declares in the name of his bankrupt firm: "If things develop into unity between the Second and the Two-and-a-Half Internationals, as far as we are concerned it is not a marriage of love, but a marriage of reason." Of course, there is nothing in the marriage that has any appearance to love; but even as far as reason is concerned, poor henpecked Adler has little to boast about. He was obliged to confess that the French and Belgian Socialists had not yet cast off their skin of social patriotism and still cling to the legend that annexationist madness is a specifically German disease. This came out in striking relief at the Amsterdam Conference on the 26th January, convened by the Profintern and in which representatives of the Second and Two-and-a-Half Internationals participated. The latter wished to add to the resolution the words: "The French metal industrialists, in striving to make the Ruhr an object of their exploitation, are committing the same outrage as that committed by the German metal industrialists when they prolonged the war in order to obtain possession of Briey and Longwy." This addition, which even so was extremely modified as compared with the original draft, was hotly resisted by the Belgian representative, who under no circumstances would admit of any parallel between the German annexationists and the French rulers.

In reporting on the Belgian Party Conference this representative stated that the national point of view was most clearly expressed in the speeches of Boulange, Destrée, Hubin, and Pierard, and with regard to Vandervelde's resolution, he said that it "showed the extent to which he still reckoned with the needs of opportunism in that he placed the problem of Belgian Reparations above that of the occupation of the Ruhr, and was unable to rise to the heights of genuine Internationalism." Speaking of the Manifesto addressed by the Amsterdam Conference of the Second and Two-and-a-Half Internationals to the League of Nations, Adler said: "The reason why the Socialists in the victorious countries ascribe such importance to the Manifesto addressed to the Capitalist Imperialist International, which the League of Nations is, is the weakness of the proletarian International."

This speech of our hero can and must be supplemented by the speech of Fimmen, who felt it his duty to tell the German trade Unions that they must fight German Capitalism; and for this bold

declaration he was laughed to scorn by the official organ of the German Federation of Trade Unions. The amalgamation of the Second and Two-and-a-Half Internationals at The Hague will still further weaken the latter and subordinate the anæmic internationalism of the Adlers to the full-blooded social-patriotism of the Renaudels, Vanderveldes, Hendersons and Wels. The gentlemen of the Second and Two-and-a-Half Internationals are not innocent maidens wedded by avaricious parents to wealthy senile old men. They are selling themselves, and the senile old men to whom they are selling themselves are a firm slowly but surely moving towards bankruptcy. In their defence the bad business men of the Second and Two-and-a-Half Internationals at best can only say that they risk nothing, as they have already lost first their virginity and then their capital in the war.

The International working class is sinking into the trough of the wave of revolution and counter-revolution. Soon the tenth year of its bankruptcy will have been completed. That day does not coincide with the resurrection of the proletariat. But at least it gives us the right to say that the front ranks of the international proletariat have learnt the lesson of the bankruptcy of the 4th of August.

Working - Class Education in Great Britain



BY ARTHUR MACMANUS

The origin of working-class education as a definite process in Great Britain dates back to the year 1899, when RUSKIN COLLEGE was founded, and named after John Ruskin.

Previous to this, the bourgeois educational authorities, conscious of the significance of the rapidly growing Trade Union and Labour Movement, had instituted a series of special extension and continuation classes, with facilities suited to the workers. The more Radical University heads had also initiated the formation of an organisation specially devoted to the education of workers, called the WORKERS' EDUCATIONAL ASSOCIATION. The character of the education inculcated by these bodies was purely bourgeois, and had not the slightest relation to the growing situation in the Trade Union and Labour Movement, and consequently Labour was compelled to attend to the question of the training of workers for its own purpose.

The general position of the movement at that time was briefly this: In the year 1890 the affiliated membership to the Trades Union Congress had grown to 1,470,000, a jump in five years of almost a MILLION.

In 1892 the first Independent Labour Representatives were returned to Parliament, including Keir Hardie and John Burns.

The Labour Representation Committee had been formed to establish a political Labour Party independent of the Liberals, and a few years later the Labour Party itself was formed.

The rapid progress and development of the Trade Union Movement during these years had created a very serious problem indeed, in the general lack of efficient and trained workers to fill the rapidly accumulating posts of leadership. It was out of this situation that the idea of an independent college for the education of the workers was conceived, and the college itself finally established. Some of the leading unions assisted the college by subsidies, in return for which they were entitled to a proportionate amount of scholarships. A number of the most promising workers were enabled to attend the college as resident students, while later a system of correspondence training was instituted to cater for those unable to qualify for residential tuition. The result was that in a few years the various positions in the Branches and Councils of the Unions became occupied by Ruskin-trained workers.

The essence of the training received soon made itself manifest. Instead of producing skilled and trained revolutionary leaders of the workers in their struggles, a plethora of pedantic administrators was distributed throughout the movement, skilled in the technique of Conciliation and Arbitration, and concerned more with displaying superior skill in the art of book-keeping, etc., before those workers at whose expense their knowledge had been garnered.

This crew constituted the basis of what is our modern Trade Union Bureaucracy.

ADVENT OF MARXISM.

Round about the same period Marx became more popular in Great Britain. The struggles going on within the SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC FEDERATION brought Marxism more into prominence, and the splits which occurred in that body in 1903 and 1905, leading to the formation of the SOCIALIST LABOUR PARTY and the SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN were responsible for Marxism becoming an issue in the political parties themselves. The influence of Daniel de Leon began to be felt, and his pamphlets began to be circulated widely. Naturally the Ruskin College students did not escape from the effects of this literature and soon a struggle began inside the college to have the teaching of Marx inserted in the curriculum. The college authorities opposed this vigorously, and a split took place in 1909, when the dissentient Marxians founded the Central Labour College. The struggle was now transferred to the unions, where efforts were made to transfer the subsidies to the new college.

CENTRAL LABOUR COLLEGE.

The students, who with DENNIS HIRD the leading tutor, had now definitely left Ruskin, managed to secure the assistance of subsidies from the National Union of Railwaymen and the South Wales Miners' Federation, and definite scholarships were established. The College, now removed from Oxford to London, had found a basis for existence, and with the aid of a little magazine called the "Plebs" it commenced its work. Its period of existence has been rather a precarious one. At all times its income has been barely sufficient to make ends meet; yet it managed to struggle on until the outbreak of war in 1914, when it was compelled to close down for a period.

The Editorship of its magazine passed into the hands of an able writer, J. F. Horrabin, whose breezy commentaries, interesting reviews (particularly when the W.E.A. was on the carpet) and general defence of the College, attracted a loyal body of readers who kept the magazine going during the dark days of the war.

The magazine maintained the existence of the college, nominally at least, when otherwise it might have been closed altogether by the Trade Union Officials who had little love for it and its work. When, after the Armistice, it was reopened and taken over finally by the Executives of the Unions concerned (chiefly the N.U.R. and South Wales Miners) its name changed to the LABOUR COLLEGE. It was controlled by Governors elected from the E.C.'s and from the staff of teachers.

The Plebs League became the propagandist of the extension of such Labour Colleges and with the magazine as its central organ, it has been responsible for the stimulating into existence of innumerable provincial classes and as a League has practically all the various classes and Marxian circles associated to it.

The name was recently changed to that of the National Council of Labour Colleges. *

The result of this work of the Plebs and the College is revealed in the number of former students who occupy prominent positions in the Unions. Particularly in the South Wales coalfield, the majority of the Officials are either former resident students or have passed through the Plebs classes in the districts.

As an indication of the general type produced by the various colleges and classes, the following are worth mention:—

Frank Hodges, Sec. of the Miners' Federation—Ruskin College.

Robert Young, Gen. Sec. of Amalgamated Engineers until elected to Parliament in 1918—Ruskin College.

C. P. Cramp, Gen. Industrial Sec. of the Nat. Union of Railwaymen—Product of the classes of the Central Labour College.

J. Marchbank, President of the Nat. Union of Railwaymen—Product of the Scottish Labour College classes under John MacLean.

Noah Ablett, Executive member and leading Official of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain—One of the founders of Central Labour College in split from Ruskin.

A. J. Cook, E.C. Member and leading Official of Miners' Federation—Central Labour College.

Curiously enough, both Hodges and Ablett were students in Ruskin College at the period just prior to the split, and while I am not sure whether Hodges was actually there during the split, I feel certain, from what I can remember, that he did not join the Central Labour College.

These are three of the strongest single Unions in the country and the haul of Three Secretaryships and one Presidentship is by no means a small one. It should also be remembered that besides these a big number of the district and local official positions in the Miners' Union are held by former students, particularly of C.I.C., and that in the engineers Ruskin has a fair representation in this direction.

It would be extremely interesting to know exactly how many former Ruskin students found their resting place in the innumerable Government positions rendered available by the establishment of Labour Exchanges, Industrial Conciliation Boards, Ministry of Labour, etc., etc.; certain it is that a good number, disappointed at having been anticipated and outdistanced by the volume of candidates for positions in the growing Labour Party, vomited forth from the Universities, found consolation in the quiet and secure haunts of the various Government departments.

PLEBS AND THE C.P.

The formation of the Communist Party and its later adoption of the Theses on organisation and education quite naturally brought a clash between the Party and the Plebs.

Party members, on a considerable number of whom the Plebs relied for the carrying on of their class work, were now instructed to turn their attention to the question of the Party training, and the training of education department at once set about organising groups for this work. Further, the tightening up of the relationship of the Party membership to the decisions and discipline of the Party involved some members who were active in the work of the Plebs.

At one time it looked as if a somewhat serious struggle was imminent, but as a result of a conference between the two, the following has been arrived at:—

“COMMUNIST PARTY AND WORKING-CLASS EDUCATION.”

1. The Communist Party puts in the forefront the importance of working-class education in the revolutionary struggle.

2. For this purpose the Communist Party makes every effort to promote working-class education, both by developing classes itself and encouraging every development of independent working-class education under working-class control. The Communist Party recognises the importance of helping forward such efforts as against all forms of subsidised and bourgeois education for the workers, and, in particular, in the struggle between the existing I.W.C.E. movement and the Workers' Educational Association, throws its influence on the side of the I.W.C.E. movement.

3. At the same time, the Communist Party proclaims that there can be no true independent education of the working-class which is neutral in the actual struggle of the workers, and therefore insists that the working-class education can only achieve its object under the leadership of the Party. The Communist Party accordingly openly declares that, while playing its part in and assisting the work of non-party working-class educational organisations, it consistently works for and instructs its members to work for the Communist education of the workers under the guidance and inspiration of the Party, and to fight in these bodies against any tendencies in opposition to the Communist aim.

This statement governs the principles at issue. To meet the practical difficulties arising, the Executive Committee has met the Plebs League Executive, and a working arrangement has been drawn up on the following lines:—

AGREED STATEMENT BETWEEN THE NATIONAL PARTY
TRAINING DEPARTMENT AND THE EXECUTIVE
OF THE PLEBS LEAGUE.**1. Objects of the Plebs League.**

The Plebs League has for its object the training of workers into class-conscious revolutionaries with the definite aim of the abolition of wage-slavery. The Communist Party takes note of this their declaration.

2. Object of the Party Education Department.

The object of the Party Training department is (i) the training of Party candidates and members in the principles and policy of the party and the methods of its work and organisation. (This can only be done by the Party itself.) (ii) To promote the spread among the workers of such education as will create and intensify revolutionary class consciousness.

3. These activities are complementary and not antagonistic.

4. Whilst reserving at all times the right to criticise the Plebs League and the N.C.L.C., the Communist Party recognises the usefulness of the class work of these bodies and will generally assist it.

The clause which vitally strikes at the centre is clause 3. It is here that principle is involved, as this clause constitutes a challenge to the old former interpretation of Marxism. The reference here to remaining "neutral" would at first sight appear to be covered by clause 1 of the Objects of the Plebs League.

This declaration makes the League definitely proletarian and revolutionary aiming at the abolition of wage slavery. But what the Party has in mind is not only that neutrality is impossible between the working-class and Capitalism, but that such neutrality is also impossible within the Labour Movement itself.

The contention of the Party is that the success of the revolution is dependent upon the single political leadership of the masses. This leadership is and can only be the Communist Party. It is, therefore, absolutely essential that in the struggle towards the revolution, the ideas, policy, authority, discipline, and leadership of the Party should be ever more and more strengthened and developed.

The claim that it is impossible to remain neutral means that any education claiming to be revolutionary must train the workers for active participation in the class struggle. To make this training effective these workers must also be taught how Marx understood the realities of the class struggle. The mass character of the ultimate struggle and dire necessity for the establishment of the Proletarian Dictatorship render imperative the building of a Party solidly cemented together and capable of imposing its decisions with iron discipline. Such a Party cannot be built in a day, nor can it be constructed in a year simply from any grandiose mechanical scheme cleverly drawn on paper. It can be built only from the actual struggle itself, and involves a relentless process of the blending of temperaments; the shaping and hammering out by the vicious intensity of the succeeding struggles of what Comrade Bucharin calls a "choice of leaders ensuring a combination of competence, cohesion, and absolute unity of will"; the training of every Party member in the programme of the Party; the harnessing of their activities in every

direction to extend the ideas and influence of the Party; the capacity and willingness of its members, individually and collectively, to continually assume the leadership of the masses in each and every succeeding phase of the class struggle; the conducting of these struggles in such a way as will reveal to the masses the true character of capitalism and its total inability to offer any real or lasting solution to the accumulating problems of proletarian life; the involving of ever more and more of the masses in the struggle and the gradual development of the faith of the workers in the leadership of the Party as the sole director of the revolution. Thus and thus alone can a real Party of the Revolution be built, and those comrades who are active in the work of the Plebs League, if they understand this, will also understand how correct the Party is when it says that "working-class education can only achieve its object under the leadership of the Party."

The great and real difficulty lies in the youth and immaturity of the Party. If such a Party as described could be fashioned in some laboratory and handed out complete and ready made, it would inspire the confidence of all sincere revolutionaries, and thus 99 per cent. of the difficulties and obstacles encountered would be dissipated. Unfortunately, this is not possible and we must, therefore, get to the task of building it. At least this is in the favour of the Party, that whatever revolutionaries there are in Great Britain, who have been tossed and battered by the struggles of the past, these are at least in the Party, and it was this very tossing, comparatively moderate though it be, with the sufferings and persecution endured in other lands, which made possible the coming together of so many hitherto antagonistic elements, and led to the formation of the Party.

The declaration of the Party on education and the basis of its working with the Plebs League is absolutely correct, just as its willingness to appreciate the fact that such organisations are capable of much that is good in the building of influence of the Party, is commendable. Proletarian education based upon training of revolutionaries out for the annihilation of the bourgeoisie must mean the training of minds conscious of the imperativeness of this singleness in the political leadership of the revolution. Such leadership must be built up, and it is part of their training to help its building. What Party is capable of this leadership? It is part of their revolutionary training to ever point out that the Labour Party, with its Social Democratic programme and its Pacifist policy, is incapable of leading the masses into revolutionary struggle or of wielding the Proletarian Dictatorship; that these organisations will become the final obstacles of the revolution and will resist the march of the workers to triumph.

The only Party which will not only be capable of it, but which has this as its supreme task, is the Communist Party.

Is neutrality, therefore, possible even within the movement itself? Those Communists and sympathisers who, in the past, have devoted so much time, energy and attention to this work of securing independent working-class education, will realise that if such efforts must not prove in vain, then the object of this education can only be realised under the control of the Party.

The Development of the Capitalist Offensive By Z. Leder

Continued from previous issue

GREAT BRITAIN.

During the last two years of the World War there was considerable unrest within the ranks of British labour. The workers made repeated attacks against the fortress of capital in order to improve their economic conditions and their place in industry. The British Government and the British capitalists calculated on the possibility of revolution at the end of the war, and in order to avoid this made various political and economic concessions to the workers.

A Dutch journalist in an article entitled "The Labour Movement in Great Britain and America and its Relation to the World Situation," which appeared in the *Berliner Tageblatt*, on January 30th, 1919, described the temper of the British workers as follows:—

"During the last few months the British workers have brought about a change in the wages system of their country which is almost tantamount to an industrial revolution. The hitherto reasonable British workers have taken leave of their senses. They abandoned every motive which, before the war, induced them to confine their demands within the limits of economic necessity, and are determined at all costs to secure their demands. Evidently it is impossible to replace the waning influence of the war by some other authority. The British trade union leaders only follow in the wake of the movement, not being able to guide it. They realise that its present development is unhealthy and fraught with great danger, but they are not strong enough to make the workers see this. After the sacrifices at the front and at home, the workers are determined to obtain the reward which they think is their due. The reaction which has set in after the four years of sacrifice for the common cause, in Great Britain finds its expression in manifestations of extreme egoism. Many labour leaders take a very serious view of the situation. Even such a sane and theoretically educated trade union leader as J. H. Thomas, the head of the Railwaymen's Union, in one of his speeches said: "The industrial and economic situation of the country is alarming. I must speak quite frankly and I am compelled to say that all and sundry are affected by the prevailing revolutionary spirit. All the symptoms are that the trend of world history is towards world revolution. A very serious cataclysm may be upon us at any moment."

Owing to the temper prevailing among the British workers, the class struggle during the years immediately succeeding the war assumed the same proportions as during the stormy period preceding the war. In 1918 there were 1,252 labour conflicts affecting 1,100,000 workers and which led to the loss of 6,730,000 working days; in 1919 the number of labour conflicts went up to 1,413, affecting 2,581,000 workers, causing the loss of 34,483,000 working days. The struggle was as intensive in 1920, when 1,715 conflicts took place, affecting 1,932,000 and causing the loss of 27,011,000 working

days. As a result of this struggle six to seven and a half million British workers in 1919 and 1920 obtained a rise in their weekly wages, amounting to over £7,000,000, approximately £1 per week per head. Although this rise was partly nominal owing to the continuous rise in the cost of living, nevertheless, it was much higher than the rise in wages during the four years of war, which amounted to only £6,500,000, on an average about 7s. per week per head. These figures are a convincing proof of the difficulties which the British working class has to overcome in order to obtain pre-war conditions of life. Calculating the basis of the cost of living at their pre-war rates, the general wages increase during the 1915—1920 period did not really amount to £13,700,000 (nominal value), but to about £5,000,000, which constitutes not an average of £2 6s. per head per week, but only an average of 16s. 11d.

Thus the big strikes of the railwaymen, the miners, the textile workers and others were not in the nature of an offensive. These struggles aimed not only at the re-establishment of the pre-war real wage (and in some cases an increase) but also at a shorter working day, and the extension of workers' rights in industry.

These struggles had the following results: in 1919 approximately 6,500,000 workers obtained a reduction of the working week by 6 to 4 hours; in 1920 another half million workers obtained an average reduction of 3½ hours per week. According to an official statement by the British Government in August, 1922, the 48-hour (or less) working week was established by means of a collective agreement for 10 to 12 million workers. This figure represents 60 to 80 per cent. of the total number of workers, and comprises all those working in factories, shipbuilding yards, in the mines, on the railways, in the docks, and in the textile and building industries.

The year 1919 was the turning point. We have seen that already in 1920 about seven-and-a-half-million workers succeeded in raising their real wage.

According to statistics, only a small number of workers was able to obtain an increase of wages in 1921. The majority of the workers were compelled to accept decreases during eleven months of 1921 (there are as yet no statistics for the full year). Only 118,000 workers obtained an increase, while 7,973,000 workers were compelled to accept a decrease. The wages increase was very small and amounted to £20,000 Sterling per week, while the decrease was very considerable and amounted to £11,563,000 Sterling per week. The decrease in the cost of living served as an excuse for lowering wages. Statistics, as well as discussions in the Press and at various conferences, prove that this excuse was only a pretext for lowering not only the nominal, but also the real wage of the British workers. The employers were by no means aiming at the re-establishment of the pre-war level, but at the establishment of rates of wages paid in Germany, Austria, and other conquered countries. Already in the beginning of 1921, the *Westminster Gazette* stated in a leading article that no power in the world could protect the working class from a lower standard of living as long as there were hungry people fighting among themselves for the right to live. "Owing to the existence of such a category of people, conditions are created which make it impossible to take any standards of life into consideration." The *Economist* in a series of articles showed that, owing to trade

depression, only one way was left open for British industry: viz., regardless of the demands of the working to re-establish the pre-war existence level, British employers must consistently strive to lower wages in this country, in order that our industries may be able to compete in the world market with the countries where production is cheaper.

In the beginning of 1922 the Federation of British Industries officially declared in favour of the adoption of such a policy. In a memorandum, published in February, explaining the difficult position of British industries, the workers were advised to make sacrifices, to consent to considerable wage reductions and to longer working hours in their own interests. These attempts to lower the standards of wages have had the following results: According to the returns of the Ministry of Labour, the wage reductions during 1922 (from January to August inclusive), affected 7,495,000 workers and amounted to £3,627,000 per week. During this same period only 18,500 workers obtained a rise, which amounted to £3,425 per week. The statistics published in the March number of the official organ of the British Ministry of Labour, show the effect of these reductions on the real wage of the British workers. (I have not the number at hand, but quote extracts from it contained in *Korrespondenzblatt*, No. 38, September 30th.) For the lower paid workers in the various branches of industry the rise from July, 1920 to February, 1922 amounted to 150 per cent., and in exceptional cases to 200 per cent. and more. To simplify the calculations it may be stated that the wages in February in 1922 were approximately doubled, as compared with the period preceding the war. During the same period the cost of living was 87 per cent. higher than in July, 1914. One would appear to be justified therefore in assuming that in February, 1922, the real wage had reached pre-war level, bearing in mind that this level was lower than that at the beginning of the twentieth century (see on this question the exhaustive investigations by Tisk). Nevertheless, the deductions of the Ministry of Labour are too optimistic. Even they show that the movements of wages in the post-war period must be divided into two parts: from 1914 to the end of 1920, wages increased 170 per cent. to 180 per cent., after this date there was a decrease, officially estimated at 25 per cent. to 30 per cent., up to February, 1922. One should bear in mind that the average figures do not give an idea of the position in particular branches of industry, as for instance in the mining industry. In February, 1922, wages in some districts were only 20 per cent. higher than in July, 1914, while (as shown above) the cost of living had increased 80 to 90 per cent. Moreover, more wage reductions took place after February. It must be borne in mind that the primary cause of the big capitalist offensive in Great Britain was the defeat of the British miners in April—June, 1921. Since then hardly a week passed without the capitalists announcing wages reductions in some branch of industry. The next important phase of the British capitalist offensive was the lock-out in the engineering and ship-building industries in March—May, 1922. The British Press was quite right in identifying this struggle with that of the miners in 1921. The memorandum of the Federation of British Industries already referred to in connection with the relation between the cost of production and wages declared that "In the event of the market not improving, the only salvation will be—lower wages. . . ."

"It is quite possible that more stringent measures will have to be taken. The workers will have to be satisfied with wages which will give them (until trade improves) a lower standard of living than that existing before the trade depression or even before the war;" and adds that it would be desirable for this "movement to be wide spread and uniform." (Quoted from the *Economist* of February 11th and March 11th, 1922.) Although the employers in the struggle against the engineers made the question of overtime the main point at issue, *The Daily Herald* was able already in the beginning of May to publish a secret circular of the Federation of British Industries, proving that big wages reductions were contemplated. It is a well-known fact that since then the workers have suffered defeat and were compelled to accept the proposed reductions. In September, 1922, the opposition in the Amalgamated Engineers' Union (A.E.U.) pointed out that the wages of this, presumably best paid category of British workers, were only 47 per cent. higher than before the war, viz., that their real wage was lower than the pre-war level. (*All Power*, October, 1922).

Since then wages reductions on a general scale were introduced wherever possible, in accordance with the February memorandum of the Federation of British Industries. We have already shown above the effect of these reductions in figures. The significance of these results is shown in the case of the engineers and miners. In many districts of New South Wales the miners are reduced to a miserable existence, as their pay is 60 per cent. lower than the subsistence level of 1914. In some localities 102 inhabitants out of 1,000 receive out-door relief. Even Frank Hodges, the reformist leader of the miners, was compelled to admit that in some mining districts the workers were on the brink of starvation.

The campaign to increase the working day has not assumed the dimensions as the campaign to reduce wages. Nevertheless, the attack is being conducted systematically. Thus in 1919, 461,000 workers were in a position to secure a reduction of their working week on an average, by 6.4 hours. In 1920, only 560,000 workers succeeded in shortening the working week by 3.7 hours. According to information received since 1921, the working week has been lengthened from 1 to 5 hours. This process continued throughout 1922. For instance, in July the working week of the Scotch bakers was raised from 44 and 45 hours to 47 hours, and in some municipal undertakings from 44 to 48 hours. The British industrialists regard the imposition of longer working hours as the task to be undertaken immediately after wages have been reduced.

It is clear that an energetic campaign in this direction on the part of the industrialists is to be expected in the near future. Already we find that the liberal *Manchester Guardian*, in an article on the British coal mining industry in the last number of Keynes' "Reconstruction of Europe," of September 28th, is conducting a propaganda for the eight hour day. The exact text is as follows:—

"There is no doubt whatever that the law on the seven hour day has lowered the output of the individual worker and has considerably raised the cost of production owing to the fact that rates of pay are firmly fixed. However, such a serious question as the return to the eight hour day cannot be treated as a personal dispute between the employers and workers. This

question must be decided by society as a whole and once such a decision has been arrived at it must be accepted by all as a burden to be borne equally by the whole nation."

These words clearly indicate that the British mine workers must expect an attack on the seven hour day in the very near future. It is significant that the British Government heads the movement directed against the Washington International Agreement concerning the eight hour day. The refusal of the British Government to ratify an agreement which was adopted unanimously in 1919 gives a welcome pretext to all other industrial Powers also to refuse ratification. Already in the autumn of 1921 the British Government informed the International Labour Bureau that the ratification of the eight hour day agreement was encountering great difficulties in Great Britain, especially in connection with the railwaymen. The British Government proposed, therefore, to discuss this question at another conference. This was tantamount to reducing the Washington agreement as a scrap of paper. (See debates at the Session of the Presidium of the International Labour Bureau, October, 19th—21st, 1921.)

Trade depression was the alleged reason for the attack on wages and on the eight hour day. It must be admitted that there are more unemployed in Great Britain than in any other big industrial country. The number of unemployed, which in the middle of October was officially stated to be 380,000, reached 750,000 towards the end of December of the same year. To this must be added 446,000 part time workers. Towards the end of January, 1921, the number of unemployed was over 1,000,000, and of workers on part time work, 600,000. There was a steady increase of unemployment up to the middle of July, 1921, and on June 24th of that year it was officially stated that there were 2,177,899, unemployed and 838,000 part time workers. Even in the best organised branches of industry, the engineering industry for instance, the number of unemployed reached 33 per cent. of the total number of workers. After this there was a slight improvement, allowing for fluctuations, the number of unemployed decreased. During the last quarter of the year the number fluctuated between, 1,400,000 unemployed and 75,000 part time workers in August, and 1,700,000 unemployed and 198,000 part time workers in April. However unpleasant and fraught with financial dangers and political complications widespread unemployment must be for the Government, for the employers it affords a welcome opportunity for forcing down wages and compelling the workers to accept worse conditions of labour. We have already quoted to this effect a statement made by the *Westminster Gazette* in the beginning of 1921. Moreover, the leading employers in the metal industry declared quite openly at the time of the lock-out in the engineering industry, that the exhaustion of trade union funds caused by unemployment offers an excellent opportunity for compelling the worker to accept less favourable conditions of labour.

Another point of the British capitalist offensive is against the so-called right of the workers to participate in the management of the undertaking. It was on this issue that the struggle in the engineering industries was fought. According to the official statements of the "Engineering National Employers' Federation," it was a question of deciding whether the employers should have the

sole control of industry or whether the latter should be under double control, viz., whether the management of the factory was subject to the "veto" of the trade unions. The industrialists declared that this question "affected not only the engineering industry, but all the industries of our own country as well as those of other countries." The leader of the engineering employers, Sir Allan Smith, who before the war was described by social-reformists (for instance by Rae) as a "model employer," excelled even exploiters of the type of Stumm, by making the following statement:—

"The issue at stake is no less than this: Is industry in this country to be carried on on a Soviet basis, or on the basis of private enterprise?"

According to the opinion of the most moderate representative of the British trade union movement, and a contributor to the *Economist*, the issue at stake was:—

"Can industry be carried on without the consent, and even against the will of the employers? A British monarch—the labour contributor to the *Economist* pointed out—was executed for insisting on the principle which the employers in the engineering industry wished to force on the workers."

However, this struggle, which might have turned out so badly for the employers, was lost not by them, but by the workers. At least, the workers lost it for the time being. Everybody and everything combined against them: the capitalists, the Government, their own leaders, and prevailing conditions, viz., trade depression with its concomitant—widespread unemployment and the exhaustion of trade union funds. The betrayal of the workers by the leaders of 47 trade unions is ascribed to Lloyd George's influence over them. The Lloyd George Government kept aloof for a long time instead of attempting to bring about reconciliation. Such an attitude was equivalent to tacit support of the employers. When the Government at last stepped in, it instituted (according to the *Economist* of May 13th), an inquiry which was so futile and formal that it left no doubt about the intention of the Government to leave the workers to the tender mercies of the employers. The agreement which was come to at the end of the struggle was of such a nature that the A.E.U. resolved to take a ballot of its members on it, but without giving any lead to the workers. The chairman of the union, alone, Brownlie, recommended an acceptance of the agreement, since, he said, "the conditions were the best that could be obtained, and were, in any case, better than those accepted at the end of the 1897—1898 struggle."

At the time of the struggles of the engineers it became evident that the employers intended to disarm the trade unions as organisations directed against capitalist exploitation. The engineers' leaders had already expressed themselves to this effect at the beginning of the struggle. As already previously stated, the *Daily Herald* published in May the "Secret" circular of the Federation of British Industries which expressed such intentions quite openly. It goes without saying that Sir Allan Smith at the joint conferences with the workers denied this, but it was pointed out to him that the workers could put no other interpretation upon the tactics and the demands of the employers.

“The workers can on no account resume work on the conditions dictated by the employers, and at the same time remain members of their trade unions.”

Simultaneously an attack of a different character was commenced. The *Economist* quite rightly stated that this attack was only a continuation of the concealed flank attack which was tried during the struggle in the engineering industry and recalls the famous Osborn judgment. Colonel Massey Thompson introduced a Bill in the House of Commons to amend the Trade Union Act. This Bill aimed at making it difficult or even impossible for the trade unions to spend their funds for political purposes, including the support of Labour candidates for Parliament. During the debates on this Bill it became evident that the initiative of this attack on the trade unions emanated from the same industrial and financial circles which are busily engaged in re-establishing a yellow organisation—“The Independent Unionist Labour Party.” In violation of the “most sacred” Parliamentary traditions, the House of Commons on May 20th passed the second reading of the Bill without waiting for the Government to express its attitude towards it.

This Bill roused a storm of indignation among the workers and particularly among the labour workers, who after their recent defeats in the industrial struggles, are putting all their hopes on the elections.

Another feature of the British capitalist offensive is worth mentioning, viz., the unprecedented growth of the employers' organisations, which (according to the *Economist*) synchronised with the beginning of the World War and to which an impetus was given by the class struggles of that period. According to the *Economist*, “the employers cannot again expose themselves to Lloyd George's pinpricks for the sake of the Labour movement. The industrial revolution of the nineteenth century, added the journal, constituted the turning point in production, while the revolution of the twentieth century will be the turning point in organisation.”*

FRANCE.

France, perhaps even more than Great Britain, is destined to play a leading rôle in Europe and in half of the world. But even in France the capitalist economic system has received such a shock from the World War that capitalism does not seem to be able to “reconstruct” itself except by lowering the standard of living of the proletariat and condemning it to impoverishment and degeneration. But by such methods capitalism is not even able to accumulate reserve funds, and is only guaranteeing its own existence as a class. For this reason the capitalist offensive in France is assuming the same proportions and forms as in America and in Great Britain, and one is perhaps justified in saying that in some respects France will even take the lead.

In 1919 and 1920 the capitalist repulsed the attack of the proletariat on the old “order”; but its success was due to the fact that this attack was not delivered directly against the system, and also to the fact that the capitalists made some timely concessions to the proletariat. The latter were, of course, not very considerable: legal

* (No. 4,108, May 20th, 1922, page 947.)

security for the eight hour day, which Clemenceau forced on a reluctant Chamber, and increased rates of wages. It goes without saying, that every concession, was wrenched from the employers as the result of a stubborn struggle. For instance, the introduction of the eight hour day compelled the working class to declare a series of strikes in order to prevent a reduction of earnings as a result of a shorter working day. During the second half of 1920 the bourgeoisie assumed the offensive in all labour conflicts, compelling the proletariat to take up defensive positions. This exchange of rôles has taken place although the pre-war level has hardly been reached, as the scanty data available concerning the real wages shows. Thus, the Official Commission appointed in March, 1920. in the Nilles—Roubaix—Tourcoing district during the textile workers strike which was instructed to draw up the budget of a working class family “on scientific principles,” came to the conclusion (in accordance with the instructions of the Ministry of Labour which had appointed it) “that the needs of the workers must not be put at too high a figure, as this would encourage the workers continually to increase their demands.” The Ministerial circular went on to say, “that it is impossible to better the position of the workers by continuous increases of wages, as the rise in the cost of living is due to the fact that production is lower than consumption. As long as production cannot be expanded, the only way of coping with the situation is—to restrict demands. It becomes the duty of every citizen to limit his consumption.” (Quoted from *La Vie Ouvrière* of September 9th, 1921.)

It is evident that in a country where the Government imposed on the workers the limitation of consumption and moderation of demands as a supreme national duty, the latter could not achieve brilliant results even in periods of trade boom. As stated above, conditions grew worse even in 1921, as is shown by the statistics of Labour disputes. In the second half of 1920 the number of workers on strike for higher pay fell to 57,000, in comparison with 628,000 in the first half year. During the second half of 1921 this number fell even as low as 9,000. While in 1919 the number of workers who were compelled to down tools owing to wages reduction was very small. In 1920 and 1921 it grew continuously till in the first months of last year it was as high as 116,000. (These figures are taken from an article by Comrade Paul Louis in the *Humanité*. I am not for the moment in possession of more recent data.) Only comparatively small number of strikes were successful. Reductions of wages were imposed in all branches of industry, allegedly in correspondence with the fall in prices. In reality, the reduction in wage exceeded and frequently even preceded the fall in prices, which circumstance was justified by the deductions from the “theory” mentioned above. In France, as in Great Britain, the pretext of foreign competition was exploited for the purpose of reducing wages. For instance, the French mine-owners asserted in March, 1922, that the wages of the British miners were only 40 per cent., and in some districts only 20 per cent., higher than in 1914, while the cost of living had risen 100 per cent. (as we have seen, these figures are on the whole correct). At all meetings of employers’ organisations high wages were alleged to be the cause of the industrial crisis through which the French industries were passing and that, conse-

quently, a reduction of wages was the best method of securing a reduction of prices.

The data at our disposal is not sufficient to illustrate the full magnitude of the reductions of wages secured. We shall confine ourselves to the sole example of the recent struggle in the Havre metal and heavy industries which lasted 110 days. This was a case in which the employers (by a general decision of their organisation) introduced a 10 per cent. reduction of wages to begin from June 15th, having previously lowered the war bonus twice. In the Press the employers excused these reductions by the general trade depression. Moreover, they pointed out that it had become impossible to cope with the "foreign competition," especially with British competition, owing to the wages reductions which had taken place there in June and July. The budget of a working class family tells a different tale. According to the calculations of the *Ouvrière* of August 11th, the metal workers (who are better paid than any other workers) earned 5,125 francs, plus a bonus for the family, by working 2,500 hours a year, assuming that they were not affected either by unemployment or illness. Since then the bonuses for the family have been cut down considerably. Such an income was considered sufficient to keep a working class family, while an official estimate of the expenditure of a family of three was 7,000 francs, exclusive of any expenditure for educational purposes, not to mention tobacco.

The struggle in Havre, which was conducted by the capitalists with all the coercive means at their disposal (the sanguinary events of August 26th!) ended in a victory for them, as previously they were victorious in Tourcoing and Roubaix (in the textile industry) and in Lille (in the metal industry). It is not for nothing that the section of the Press headed by the *Temps*, which is devoted to interests of the *Comité des Forges*, made the following statement:—

"The fact that the employers rejected the establishment of a Conciliation Board and the offers of arbitration proposed from various sides, shows that they deem it impossible to give way to revolutionary pressure." (*Temps*, August 26th.)

Simultaneously with their campaign for wages reductions, French capitalists, with an energy probably unequalled in any other country, are striving to secure the abolition of the eight hour day. The general secretary of the Confederation of French Industries stated in his report at the General Meeting that as far back as December, 1921, the Confederation had demanded that all the employers' federations affiliated to it should demand a temporary repeal of the eight hour day law, pending the re-establishment of normal economic conditions. Not a single week passes without the Government and the Chamber receiving petitions for the repeal of the eight hour day, which is alleged to be one of the greatest obstacles to industry. The Chamber is inundated with proposals of this kind, and the bourgeois Press teems with articles on the necessity of the repeal of the eight hour day. This attack is carried on systematically: this demand is brought forward not only on a general scale, but for every separate branch of industry—the railways, shipping, the metal, the mining industries, etc. On March 15th, Poincaré, stated to a delegation of representatives of industry, that the eight hour day law cannot on any account be repealed, but

that it must be adapted to the present needs of trade and industry. The capitalist pressure, on the Government, however, did not diminish. On July 5th, the Paris Chamber of Commerce passed a resolution demanding "that in the event of the Chamber being unable to repeal the law of April 25th," it should temporarily suspend it, pending the introduction of a new law that would be more suitable to present day needs, or at least until the general economic situation will permit of the eight hour day being restored. A number of demands were formulated which clearly showed the desire of the employers to reduce the eight hour day to nought without formally abolishing it. A special resolution was passed expressing the desire that "as a transition measure" 300 hours should be added to the working year, for seven years; in other words that the eight hour day should be converted into a nine hour day.

At that time (June 30 to July 7th), the employers were attacking the eight hour day in the Chamber. Their speakers asserted that "the economic construction of the country" necessitates a wide application of emergency legislation, which would make it possible "to take into consideration the needs of the country." They even tried to persuade the trade union organisations that the emergency legislation, far from being a negation of the eight hour day law, was commensurate with its spirit, and that "it alone could facilitate the adequate application of the law." The bourgeoisie succeeded in achieving its aims, at first, in the shipping industry and on the railways. The shipowners alleged that their profits had diminished to such an extent owing to the world economic crisis (which set in in 1920) and the ensuing fall in freights, that the way out of this critical situation was the abolition of the eight hour day. (Report of the Ministry of Shipping, September, 1922.) The introduction of the eight hour day in the French mercantile fleet imposed on the shipowners an added burden, as compared with the merchant fleets of competing States, of a yearly amount of 177 million francs. Regardless of the seamen's protests, the eight hour day was repealed in September and the working day was extended to 12 hours. Practically the same thing happened on the railways. After the temporary agreement had been in force three years (which is a proof of the comparative strength of the Workers' Organisation) the Government proceeded with the final regulation of the working hours on the railways by means of its September decree which practically substitutes the nine hour day for the eight hour day. The radical *Lanterne*, commenting on this, said:—

"When the temporary agreement was signed, the Powers that be feared May Day as they feared the Day of Judgment. Now, however, they consider themselves strong enough to take away what they had formerly conceded."

In the mining industry the attack on wages is also accompanied by an attack on the eight hour day. During the negotiations instituted some time ago, the employers demanded (among other things) that the miners should agree to a 10 per cent. wages' reduction. The loss accruing to the workers from such an agreement was to be made good by adding eight hours to the working week. As usual, the alleged reason for lowering wages and extending the working day was the impossibility to compete with the other industrial countries. One coal magnate voiced the general opinion of his class

when he said: "Until the eight hour law is amended, drastic wages reductions are the only means for averting unemployment." The Parliamentary lackeys of the industrial magnates even prepared the second part of the programme. Speaking on the debates in the Chamber on the eight hour law, the Minister for Public Works said: "We do not intend to cripple the law of 1919, but in the event of the economic situation becoming still more serious, we propose to do in connection with the mines what we have already done in connection with other industries." After what has taken place in the merchant fleet and on the railways, there can be no doubt whatever that an attack on the eight hour day in the mining industry is intended in the very near future.

At this juncture we should also like to deal with a form of attack adopted by the capitalists and the capitalist State on the economic position of the working class which is typical of France and of its spiritual and social adjunct—Belgium. We have in mind the tax on wages.

The entire cose of the imperialist war must, of course, be borne by the defeated "boche," but as the latter is almost bankrupt, it is the British, French and Belgian workers (and the German proletarians) who are now making amends for their "policy of acquiescence," who are bearing the burden of the "reparation policy." Before the war the French bourgeoisie regarded the indirect method of taxation, particularly taxes on the consumers, as the best method of taxation under the sun. In 1919, being hard pressed for money, it came to the conclusion that the Government could increase its revenue by making direct deductions from the incomes of its citizens. True to the democratic principle of all being equal before law, and believing in the obligation of all to pay taxes, the French Republic imposed a tax on that form of "income" which we, proletarians call—wages. The French workers immediately rebelled against this attack on their earnings which (according to every theory of working class, as well as of bourgeois political economy) are so low under the capitalist system that the workers and their families can only eke out a miserable existence. The Revenue Department did not enforce the new taxation law until 1921. Only when the workers' organisations had been split up and weakened by the criminal conduct of the reformist leaders, and when the latter had made it clear by their attitude to the proposed tax on wages that it need not fear any opposition from their quarter did the Government resort to drastic methods to exact the tax from the reluctant tax payers; the reply to this attack was an energetic resistance of the workers organised by the revolutionary Confederation of Labour. The capitalist State, however, does not readily forego any share of the surplus value which can be wrung out of the working class; hence the struggle continues.

If we turn our attention from the economic to the social field, where the struggle between capital and labour bears a definite character, we observe another important phase of the capitalist offensive, viz., the armed resistance of the bourgeoisie, the formation of strike breaking organisations, to be used against the workers in the event of labour disputes.

These organisations which were initiated on the eve of May 1st, 1920 (consequently during the period of the workers offensive) are

still being maintained in order to be used against the working class in times of crisis. The "Confédération Nationale des Unions Civiques de France" in its first manifesto of April 5th, 1920, notified the whole world that it is the duty of all "right minded citizens" to organise to resist any "revolutionary attempts," before a "general strike has opened the flood-gates of revolution. Revolution must be crushed." "Right-minded citizens were invited to support the Government at the right moment, in order to guarantee the proper functioning of all the public services. It is the sacred duty of all right-minded citizens, who are determined "to frustrate anarchist machinations" and to resist the agitators (who are in league with the foreigners) to be prepared for a "voluntary mobilisation which must put an end to any attempts at a general strike and at a dislocation of the public services." Hitherto only a small part of this programme has been carried out, but this is due to the prevailing circumstances rather than to any desire on the part of the above-mentioned organisation. At all events, the latter can boast of its "glorious" activity in Lyons during the Paris—Lyons—Mediterranean Railway strike when it placed its automobiles at the disposal of the Government for strike breaking purposes. It also acted in a strike breaking capacity during the Paris motor buses strike on May Day. It is a well-known fact that the Confederation is working in close contact with the Ministry of Public Works. It obtains the assistance of the students of the "Grandes Ecoles," and it is in fact the vanguard of the bourgeois counter-revolution: an effective weapon of the capitalist offensive in the economic struggle against the working class.

BELGIUM.

Belgium is in many respects allied to France, and the forms assumed by the Capitalist offensive in both countries were very similar. Industrial depression began to make itself felt in Belgium at the beginning of June, 1920, but the Belgian working class did not experience the full effects of the Capitalist offensive until 1921. In June, 1920, the Trade Union Congress could still affirm that the crisis was of an artificial nature. It placed on record that "the cultivators were lacking in the most elementary means of existence," and demanded that the Capitalists and the Government adopt measures to ameliorate the hard lot of the workers. During this period, indeed, wages on the whole had not risen to the same extent as the cost of living. (According to Massart, "La Belgique Socialiste et Communiste," wages at the most had risen in the proportion 1 : 3, whereas the cost of living had risen in the proportion 1 : 5.)

The workers were soon convinced of the reality of the crisis by the phenomena that inevitably accompany crises, viz., "a superfluity of labour power." The number of unemployed rose from 49,000 in the last quarter of 1920, to 211,000 in March, 1921, and the percentage of workers covered by the Unemployment Insurance Fund who were receiving unemployment benefit rose correspondingly from 12.3 to 31.5 in March and 32.3 in May. (Figures quoted from the Genoa Memorandum of the German Labour Statistical Department, "The Decline of the World's Earning Capacity.")

Reformist Trade Union leaders denounced the Capitalists "for bringing industry to a standstill and throwing tens of thousands

of workers out of employment, although considerable reserves were available, and although the workers had done nothing to bring about the crisis" (cf. resolution of the Comité National de la Commission Syndicale). As we have already stated, these protests were powerless to check Capitalism in its course. In May, 1921, the Reformist Trade Union leaders were obliged to confess that in spite of the professed class truce and the "bond of brotherhood" between employers and employed which was alleged to have been consecrated in the trenches, the Capitalists "were taking advantage of the crisis to attack and destroy all the gains that had been won during recent years."

The aims of the Capitalist offensive in Belgium are similar to those in all the countries we have already passed in review. First, reduction in wages. This began during the year 1921. The Government, in which the Labour Party and its affiliated trade unions were at this time still represented, wished, by an interpellation of their "Socialist" friends in Parliament, to oppose the "will of the Capitalists" by the just arbitration of an equally representative commission, which would establish wages "sufficient to permit the workers to live respectably, and which at the same time would encourage prosperity." But the "Socialist" Minister for Labour, however, made provision for such an overwhelming representation on the Wages Commissions of the Christian slaves of Capitalism, that even the Reformist Trade Union leaders were obliged to admit that the "just" establishment of wages would merely end in the legalisation of low wages and perpetual further reductions.

The fall in wages went on apace—not impeded by the fact that the "Socialist" Minister for Labour himself expressed the viewpoint that in order to overcome the economic crisis it was essential that the expenditure on labour should be reduced. ("In general it was necessary to provoke or accelerate the fall in the cost of the elements of production—raw materials, coal and labour."—From a speech made in February and quoted in the daily Press.) In March, 1922, the Central Committee of the Federation of Industry—Comité Central Industriel—decided to recommend the mining and metal industries further reductions of wages—10 per cent. for miners and as much as 20 per cent. for metal workers. The reductions were justified by the plea of German competition; German coal was alleged to be driving out Belgian coal, owing to the depreciation of the mark. In fact, the miners' leaders accepted a reduction of 5 per cent. from March 12th and the metal workers' leaders—with the exception of the Flemish—a reduction of 10 per cent. from May 8th. The magnates of the metal industry declared that the "situation was so serious that they were not in a position to raise wages in correspondence with the rise in the cost of living." One of their organs ventured the assurance that it was only necessary to reduce wages "ever so little" and the industrialists would consolidate themselves and become invincible on the world market. ("Le Soir," March 18th, 1922.) Another journal, representing the Free Trade group of Capitalists, declared that the means of salvation lay not in protective tariffs, but in reductions of wages, the abolition of unemployment allowances, and the restriction of the powers of the trade unions. ("dans la réduction des salaires, la suppression des fonds de chômage et la mise la raison des syndicats."—"La Gazette," April 3rd, 1922.)

The coal magnates have since been compelled to withdraw part of the wages reductions, since the coal markets proved to be more favourable than they had made out. But in general the forcing down of wages is proceeding throughout industry.

The attack upon the eight-hour day was perhaps still more serious. In Belgium, the country in which a Socialist Minister for Labour sat in the Government, the eight-hour day was not introduced until October 1st, 1921. But the campaign against this "economic Utopia" had then already begun in the Capitalist organisations and in the Capitalist Press. On May 3rd, 1922, the Supreme Council for Industry and Commerce (Conseil Supérieur de l'Industrie et du Commerce)—which in the democratic land of Vandervelde and Brouckeres contains no working class representative—unanimously adopted a resolution, which had been prepared by the Vice-President of the Central Committee for Industry, declaring in favour of a lengthening of the eight-hour day. Following on the French example "a credit of not less than 300 additional hours per annum should be placed at the disposal of the industrialists to which the law as to the increase of pay shall not apply." (*Crédit d'heures supplémentaires a mettre a libre disposition des industriels, ce crédit ne pouvant pas, d'ailleurs être inférieur a 300 heures par an et pouvant être utilisésans application des clauses de l'article 13 relative aux majorations de salaires.*—"l'Indépendance Belge," July 7th, 1922—quoted from "Informations Sociales" of the Geneva International Labour Bureau of July 28th, page 33.)

It was with justification that the Belgian Communist organ announced on July 15th: "The turn of the eight-hour day has come!" We can now see that the attack of the Capitalists had been delivered at the point of least resistance. On October 2nd the Belgian correspondent of "l'Humanité" reported that the Belgian Government was on the point of robbing the railwaymen of the eight-hour day—again following the French example. And the chairman of the Federation of Railway, Marine, and Postal Telegraphic Workers was obliged to admit that "The French seamen and railwaymen are on the verge of a strike in defence of the eight-hour day. We shall have to support them, for our own fate hangs on their victory or defeat."

The Capitalist offensive strikes the Belgian proletariat in its most sensitive point when directed against the unemployment allowances. We have already given one example of this attack. The campaign was conducted with all the more bitterness since the allowances also applied to workers who were engaged in a dispute arising from an employer's refusal to carry out the decision of an arbitration court. The Capitalists scored an important victory in this respect in June and July; the allowances were reduced, and even withdrawn entirely from workers over 65 years of age, who retained only their old age pensions—a mere pittance. The Reformist Trade Union leaders were compelled to admit in their appeal that the Government "had consciously placed itself in the service of the Capitalists. They were unable to withstand the demands of the Central Industrial Committee." They further stated that the new rates would barely suffice for a working class family to pay its rent and purchase the barest necessities of life. The purpose of the reductions of unemployed allowances is to compel the workers to accept employment at any price. It coincides with

the attempt of the employers to reduce wages and—although the law would thereby be trampled undertoot—to lengthen the working day.

ITALY.

In Italy the offensive of the proletariat reached its maximum intensity in the year 1920. It was at the beginning of this year that the railway workers, after a prolonged strike, won the right of trade union organisation and the eight-hour day. An extensive movement of agricultural workers began in the spring in the Valley of Po and lasted until June. It led to a general strike especially of the industrial workers of Verona, at which time it affected over half-a-million workers—according to some estimates the figure was as high as 750,000. In July new railway strikes broke out. In July-October agrarian movements continued in various parts of the country, and in September these led to seizures of estates. In the textile industry also something in the nature of direct action against the Capitalist system took place. In August, however, the movement began in the metal, engineering and shipbuilding industry throughout the whole country. From September onwards several hundreds—and according to Ciolliti 600—factories were seized in Milan, Rome, Turin, Naples and Liguria. Owing to the treacherous tactics of the Reformist leaders this movement collapsed towards the end of September and the beginning of October. The workers allowed themselves to be deceived by the promise of the Government to introduce legislation establishing the control of industry.

The September conflicts mark the turning point in the development of the post-war labour movement in Italy. From that time forward the field was cleared for the Capitalist offensive. In 1921 we already observe a marked falling off in labour struggles generally. The Department for Labour reported a total number of 1,945 industrial disputes for this year, affecting 634,546 workers and involving a loss of 772,870 working days. Compared with 1920, this implies a reduction in the number of disputes of 44.44 per cent., in the number of workers affected of 49.16 per cent., and 52.6 per cent. in the number of working days lost. These figures show conclusively that in 1921 the offensive had passed. The official statistics confirmed the fact that most of the disputes that arose in 1921 as a consequence of the industrial crisis bore a defensive character (prevention of dismissals rendered necessary by the industrial depression, and reductions in wages). In the first half of 1921 alone 392 strikes are recorded in support of demands for increases of wages and bonuses to meet the rise in the cost of living. Of these, only 22.7 per cent. were successful, while 49.57 per cent. ended in compromises. Finally, the figures relating to agricultural strike movements show to what extent the fighting spirit of the workers had declined during this period. In 1920 there were 16 national strikes, involving 409,820 workers and a loss of 6,582,000 working days. In 1921, however, there were only six such strikes, involving 55,305 workers and a loss of 1,431,255 working days. (The figures are taken from "Information Sociales" of July 14th, 1922.)

The Capitalist campaign for reduction of wages was conducted with particular energy in the autumn of 1921. For over three months 50,000 workers in the woollen industry defended themselves against proposed reductions of wages from 20 per cent. to 40 per cent. The

metal workers in Liguria and in Venezia Giulia, and then the workers in all other districts, frequently after severe conflicts were obliged to submit to extensive wage reductions. Then came the turn of the workers in the chemical and textile industries. Like their colleagues in other countries, the Italian industrialists exploited the pretext of the industrial crisis, which the workers accepted, to fling thousands of wage earners on to the streets. Towards the end of August, 1921, according to official returns, there were 435,194 unemployed, and in addition 10,000 working part time. By January, 1922, the number of unemployed had increased to 607,000. The reductions of wages were to have saved the situation; as a matter of fact, as everywhere, they resulted merely in the impoverishment of the proletariat. According to an official investigation undertaken by the municipal authorities of Turin (which I take from an Italian daily paper) a working class family required for its maintenance 212 lire weekly, or 880 lire monthly. According to the estimates of the Labour Press, even highly skilled workers in the metal industry were able to earn (barely) 100—120 lire per week. It is true, the cost of living fell during the period April-June, 1921 (the official index figures on these two dates were 617.57 and 481.79, taking the cost of living for 1914 at 100), but it soon began to rise again—the October index figure was 578.05, after which a fall was again registered—so that the workers were obliged to oppose the attempts of the employers to reduce wages by demands for increases. So moderate a Reformist Trade Union leader as Baldesi wrote in "Battaglie Sindicali" of September 4th, 1921: "A continuous struggle is taking place between wages and prices. Every increase of wages is immediately nullified by an increase in the cost of living. It is true that, owing to the stubborn resistance of the working class, the offensive of the employers in autumn, 1921, did not achieve quite the success they anticipated and they were obliged to agree to certain compromises, but at the present moment a new Capitalist offensive is beginning, which to all appearances will be more ruthless than any which preceded it." Thus, for instance, the employers in the metal industry in Liguria have given notice of the termination of the contracts drawn up in November of last year, and have declared they intend to have no more dealings with the trade unions, but to enter into direct contracts with "their" workmen.

The Capitalist offensive was directed also towards an increase of the working day. It should be mentioned that Italy is one of the countries in which no eight-hour day law exists. A proposal to this effect was introduced into Parliament only in the summer of this year, and it is noteworthy that the project was hedged round by all the qualifications which the Capitalists in less advanced countries had already succeeded in winning. In order to provide for "emergencies" power is given to extend the normal working day, with the consent of both parties, by **two hours** daily or twelve hours weekly. Overtime pay is fixed at 25 per cent. above ordinary pay. The eight-hour day on the railways has already become a point of attack by the Capitalists. After the Parliamentary debate of last May on the railway budget, the organ of the General Industrial Federation of Employers declared that the misunderstandings that had arisen out of the method and manner of applying the eight-hour day on the railways must be cleared up, namely, those arising out of regarding attendance time as working time, and out of the decreased produc-

tivity of labour. It is clear that the Italian Capitalists are making for the same port as the French. Attempts are being made concurrently in private industry to abolish the eight-hour day, especially is this so in the building industry. The Italian building employers are proving themselves loyal members of the Building Employers' International which has already taken a resolve to secure the abolition of the eight-hour day.

We shall not waste any more words on the subject of industrial control. There can be no talk here of "defeat" since this control was from the very beginning a mere trick of that old fox and faithful servant of the Capitalists, Giolitti, to avert the menace of the revolutionary movement for the seizure of the factories. We shall merely record that when in the autumn of 1921 the Reformist Trade Union leaders, the counter-revolutionary Socialists, and the Government brought forward the scheme of mixed commissions to "investigate the industrial situation," the whole plan immediately collapsed like a house of cards, one reason being that the industrialists bluntly declared that they would refuse to furnish the commissions with information, and so prevent the action contemplated by the decree.

We must, however, if only briefly, give some account of the economic side of that form of the Capitalist offensive which is known throughout the world under the name of "Fascism." We have already stated that after the greater offensive of the Fascisti against the workers in the summer of this year, the Italian industrialists declared they would no longer recognise the trade unions as empowered to make agreements. Even towards the end of the previous year the trade union leader, D'Aragnam, had declared that the conflicts then taking place were only ostensibly on behalf of wages, and that the real purpose was to defend the workers' right to organise, since the employers were minded to strangle the trade unions. As a preliminary the Fascisti organised a regular crusade with fire and sword against the trade unions which based their action on the recognition of the class war.

In 1919, when the Minister for War, Bonomi, issued instructions to the general staff to organise into fighting unions—*Fascii di combattimento*—a faithful colonel in the army replied: "The spirit of general unrest, coupled with industrial and commercial inability, may in the future prepare sudden surprises, especially where those who are not guided by the holy vision of the interest of the Fatherland will be unwilling to avert every storm and to ensure the future of the nation by an iron hand." (Cited, as are many of the facts subsequently quoted, from an interesting study on Fascism in "*La Vie Ouvrière*" of August of this year.) Since that period "Fascii" were formed in every part of Italy and acted in the service—of Capitalism. For some time they lent their hooligan activities for the service of the landowners against the organised agricultural labourers and small peasants. By the middle of 1921, the agrarians, who as late as 1920 were obliged to capitulate before the stormy strikes and the revolutionary seizures of estates, felt themselves already strong enough to annul the wages agreements and to refuse to recognise the workers' organisations as authorised to conclude agreements. Matteoti, the Socialist deputy, at this period described the Fascisti organisations in Parliament as the armed myrmidons of the agrarians ("*Communismo*," July). In the

offensive against the agricultural workers the Fascisti played so active a rôle that in the province of Ferrare alone during the period January 3rd to May 9th, 1921, there were recorded: 45 punitive expeditions, 48 burning, demolition and destruction of trade union and labour buildings, 70 attacks with cudgels, 9 cases of workers beaten to death, and 19 cases of workers severely wounded. In addition, hundreds of workers were driven from their homes, or, to employ the legal term, "banished." All this was carried out by the Fascist executioners of Capitalist "justice"—of dictatorship. According to another statement—it is true, unofficial, and therefore not entirely reliable—the Fascisti were responsible for 45 killed, 62 wounded, 125 cases of incendiarism, etc. The loss of property suffered by the workers is stated to have amounted to 50 million lire. Thanks to the heroic deeds of the armed police of the agrarians, who were fully protected by the "democratic" State of Italy, the landowners were in a position to inform the workers' organisation that they would henceforward negotiate on conditions of labour only with Fascist "labour unions." They soon went even further still. On July 3rd, at the Genoa Trade Union Congress, the representative of the Federation of Agricultural Workers, Altobelli, was obliged to report: "After the war the membership of the Federation of Agricultural Workers' reached the number of one million. To-day, after the war of reaction, our membership is no more than 800,000. The land workers are invalids of the war of reaction. It has mutilated them 'civily'. . . . they are wanderers in exile seeking a roof however humble, for their heads, driven from place to place, their one desire being to heal their wounds of body and spirit. . . . Twenty years of effort and sacrifice have to-day been reduced to naught."

Deeds as described above could be placed to the credit of the Fascisti already by the middle of 1921. But it was generally believed at this period that they would be brought to a standstill before the gates of the great Socialist cities. July and August proved the folly of this belief: they marched on Milan, Turin, Bologna and Rome. In three days in a single province they destroyed 81 Chambers of Labour, Trade Union halls, Socialist municipal buildings and Socialist and Communist houses, and burnt down the printing houses of two newspapers. After the campaign of July and August the Trade Unions were reduced to little more than a heap of ruins.

When Fascism had completed its all too thorough work in the interest of the capitalists, the latter began to consider whether the time had not come to dispense with the services of a slave who had now become too audacious and uncontrollable, and to give the preference to the more "cultured" but no less safer methods of the "Socialists." The general Confederation of Industry—Confederazione Generale dell'Industria—accordingly turned its face to the "collaborationists." ("Il Comunista" of September 12th.)

* * *

In Italy we see the country which, of the victorious Powers, was perhaps the most shattered by the world war. In Czecho-Slovakia and Poland we have countries which also belong to the victorious camp, but which came into existence upon the ruins of the defeated Central Powers. Regarded economically, these countries possess peculiarities which approximate them in many respects to the defeated Central Powers. These are best expressed in the shattered currency system.

From an economic and social point of view the cost of living is the best index of the condition of these countries. From a table compiled recently by the International Labour Bureau (*Informations Sociales* of August 4th, 1922) the following conclusions are to be drawn: Of the five countries, Bulgaria, Germany, Austria, Poland and Czecho-Slovakia, Poland on June 1st, 1920, takes first place as far as the rise in the cost of living is concerned. The index for Poland was 19,613, for Bulgaria 1,468, and for Germany 1,178—taking prices in July, 1914, at 100. One year later, on June 1st, 1921, Austria assumes the place of honour with an index of 57,900, Poland has an index of 32,640, Czecho-Slovakia 1,592, Bulgaria 1,570 and Germany 1,152. The last statistics furnished by the International Labour Bureau present the following picture: Austria first place with an index of 242,100 (July, 1922), Poland 91,865 (May, 1922), Germany third place with an index figure of 4,911 in June, 1922 (according to "Wirtschaft und statistik" the index was in June 5,119, in July 6,836, and in August 9,746); Bulgaria now follows Germany, but precedes Czecho-Slovakia with an index figure of 2,365 (in March, at which period the German index was 3,602). Czecho-Slovakia takes last place with an index figure of 1,414.

In spite of the sparsity of statistics as to the cost of living, the figures given above give a fair picture of the five States concerned, namely, the improvement in Czecho-Slovakia, the amazing deterioration of Germany and Austria, and the stagnation, or even progressive deterioration, of Poland. After this general review we can proceed to an examination of the forms assumed by the capitalist offensive in each of the countries in question.

CZECHO-SLOVAKIA.

In the spring of 1921 the Czecho-Slovakian labour Press reported the first attempts of the employers to bring about a reduction in wages. The great metal workers' lock-out was designed to impose lower wages and also to undermine the authority of the workers' representatives in the factories. A definite decision of the questions in dispute was, as a result of the compromise reached, postponed until September 30th. The employers had succeeded in putting a stop to the demands for increased wages, and this was the first stage in the campaign for wage reductions. The rise in the cost of living proceeded throughout the summer of 1921, but the employers, nevertheless, contemplated wages reductions in the building, mining and agricultural industries. During 1921 repeated onslaughts on the wages of the miners and the conquests made by them in better times were conducted. According to official statistics, no less than 95 strikes and three lock-outs took place in the mining industry in 1921. 97,896 miners were involved in these disputes. Forty-four of these disputes were fought on questions of wages. Twenty-seven on various questions of internal organisation and ten had their origin in political questions. The report published in "Glückauf" in June of this year by the Union of German Miners in Czecho-Slovakia stated that, thanks to the friendly co-operation of the three miners' federations (two Czecho-Slovakian and one German) the efforts of the employers to secure a reduction of wages had failed. This statement does not correspond with the facts. The reduction of wages was only postponed, and the defeat of the miners in the general strike of February, 1922, had already introduced wages cuts in the mining industry. In the agreement which was then signed provision was made for the

formation of a Commission, according to the advice of which the two sides would guide themselves in the regulation of wages, contract prices and bonuses, "regard being taken to the statements of the Commission on the condition of production in mining, market difficulties, and the reduction of wages which took place in 1921." The principle was supposed to be introduced of "wages reductions only in proportion to the reduction in the cost of living," for it was laid down in the agreement that the cuts in wages and bonuses should not be greater than the reduction in the cost of living. But the reference in the contract to output and market difficulties showed that the mining magnates were not prepared to confine themselves to wages cuts only in proportion to the fall in the cost of living.

The state of mind of the employers is revealed in a report of the Chief Employment Exchange of Teplitz, published by the Communist "Gewerkschaft" (Reichenberg) on September 20th, in which it was stated that the employers were not yet unanimous on the subject of a general reduction of wages. While one group of employers were still prepared to reckon with the needs of the workers and the cost of living, another group was of the opinion "that the rise in the cost of living cannot be regarded as the first consideration in the determination of wages, but first and foremost regard must be paid to the possibility of our products competing successfully on the foreign markets. . . . As it is extremely unlikely," continued this group of employers, "that the cost of the other factors of production—coal, iron and tariffs—will be reduced in the near future, there is nothing left but to reduce wages, whether the cost of living remains at its present level, or whether it even continues to rise." Here we have quite clearly expressed the point of view we have already met with as advanced by British capitalists, namely, the competitive capacity of industry—the determination to save the capitalist class, and perhaps even the capitalist system itself, at the expense of the working-class.

The cuts in wages that were partly postponed to 1922 were during the course of this year carried through almost generally throughout the whole of Czecho-Slovakia. Even before the February agreement it could not be said that in the mining industry there was any increase of real wages over the pre-war level. In 1914 the average wage of the miners in Northern Bohemia, where pay was best, was 25 kronen per week. At the beginning of 1922 it was 360 kronen. This increase of 14 times in wages hardly compensated for the increase in the cost of living, which had risen 15 times. In the Pilsener district, however, the wages of hewers in big mines were 56 kronen on an average per day, and in the smaller mines only 48 kronen, and thus fell far short of the above-mentioned average (the figures are taken from the "Südwestböhmischen Arbeiter Zeitung," quoted in the "Roten Gewerkschaften" of March 16th, 1922). In the middle of March these wages were still further cut and reduced to an average of 36.6 kronen. It is quite clear that a minimum existence even at the pre-war level was impossible.

The defeat of the workers in the February general strike was the signal for a general attack of the Czecho-Slovakian capitalists upon the workers' wages. After the miners came the turn of the glassworkers, the metalworkers, the textile workers and the workers in practically every other industry. According to the "International," in the chief Czecho-Slovakian industries wages even at this period

had already been reduced by from 5 per cent. to 30 per cent. The employers, however, were still not satisfied. At their assemblies it was stated—now without any difference of opinion—that if further cuts in wages were not to be carried through they would be obliged still further to restrict production and to dismiss workmen.

Professor Eisners, writing on the crisis in the textile industry in the "Ceske Slovo," pointed out that the industry was based to the extent of 75 per cent. on export trade, but that owing to the condition of the world markets these exports had ceased. On the other hand, the inland market could not be extended further because salaries and wages were far too low. Yet in spite of these unsolvable contradictions of the capitalist economic system, the capitalist class cling tenaciously to life and in the crisis they are determined to maintain their own existence and gains at the cost of the already low standard of life of the workers. On September 1st, the Federation of Textile Workers was given notice of the termination of three collective agreements, as far as the clauses affecting wages were concerned, in which 22,000 workers were involved. On the very same day the Teplitz Glassworkers' Federation was given notice of the termination of its agreement. The campaign against wages had been opened earlier in Ostrau and West Bohemia. A few days later some hundred thousand more textile workers were given notice of the termination of their agreements.

As in all other countries, the attack on the eight-hour day was also undertaken in Czecho-Slovakia. On April 28th, 1921, the Government, on occasion of the ratification of the Washington Agreement, introduced a proposal into Parliament which amounted to a clear abolition of the eight-hour day for landworkers. During 1921 and 1922 the employers sought to take advantage of the industrial crisis to abolish the eight-hour day for industrial workers also. They quietly induced workers to perform overtime without giving notice to the authorities. In the mining industry the employers demanded an extension of the working day on Saturday by two hours, which meant a corresponding increase of the working week. But they were not content even with this. They wanted to raise the already increased compulsory output of the miners: the former maximum of 7.77 was to be made a minimum.

Even more important is the capitalist attack upon the workshop rights won by the workers, especially upon the legal factory councils. In the interests of the bourgeoisie the law on the factory councils of August, 1921, had been drawn up in such vague terms that it gave rise to a series of disputes immediately it came into force in 1922. The employers in particular exploited the clauses in the act which stated that a member of a factory council was not protected from dismissal in the cases provided for in section 82 of the former Austrian Regulation for Industry. These cases include "leaving work without authority," which the employers interpreted as applying to strikes. How far they were prepared to go in this respect is seen from the fact that 600 textile workers in Cracow were locked out because they protested against the dismissal of the factory council for "leaving work without authority." The Reichenberger section of the Industrial Federation expressed its readiness to support the Cracow lock-out by locking out the textile workers of Grottau and Reichenberg. In September, having failed to break the resistance of the workers, the Industrial Federation decided that all employers

who were employing any of the workers locked out in Cracow were to dismiss them at once.

Let us mention in conclusion, that according to the new law the burden of unemployed insurance, which was borne by the State, from January 1st, 1923, falls to the extent of one-half upon the shoulders of the workers themselves. Here we have the final attempt of the capitalists of Czecho-Slovakia to place the whole burden of the industrial crisis upon the workers.

POLAND.

We have already pointed out that Poland belongs to those countries in which the cost of living is steadily mounting. The effect of this was that the real wages of the workers for a long period sank uninterruptedly. Only during the last two years do statistics show an increase in real wages. But it is almost generally admitted that even with this increase real wages still fall far short of the pre-war level. As to 1922, there can be no doubt that the increase of wages obtained by strike action have been unable to keep pace with the ever-mounting cost of the necessaries of life.

Let us examine the statistics a little more closely. According to information furnished by the Polish Statistical Department and published in its organ, "Statistics of Labour," Nos. 4 to 50, the wages of metal workers at present amount to only 75 per cent. of their pre-war earnings, weavers 54.8 per cent., tanners 85 per cent. and builders 92 per cent. Only for unqualified workers and for women is an increase of real wages recorded—except in the textile industry. In the textile industry the above-mentioned statistics record the wages of unskilled workers as 74 per cent. and of women workers as 92 per cent. of pre-war. From this it would appear that the wages of unskilled workers have increased, while those of skilled workers have decreased, and a process of levelling taken place. This conclusion is drawn from various investigations from different quarters. It is, however, not quite certain that an improvement of the condition of unskilled workers and women has taken place, since the methods of calculating real wages were not the same at all periods, information is incomplete, and the cost of living index is calculated in a manner extremely favourable to the exploiting class. On this latter point it should be stated that the reformist trade union leaders have repeatedly characterised the method of calculating the cost of living as "false and extremely detrimental to the interest of the workers" (see Report of the Trade Union Central Committee for 1921 and 1922). We have to observe that the supposed improvement in the condition of the unskilled workers and women was not sufficient to guarantee them the minimum standard of living even as fixed by the official index commission. Thus, the minimum cost of existence for a family of four in January, 1922, was set at about 1,500 marks daily, while unskilled metal workers at this period were earning 1,324 marks, women 1,161 marks, unskilled textile workers—weavers—1,289 marks, and textile workers generally 745-704 marks daily. Thus the supposed improvement in the conditions of the unskilled workers in the textile industry barely enabled them to purchase one-half of the necessaries of life for the support of their families.

We can see more clearly how the pressure of the capitalists affected wages from a statistical publication of a private institution for social research. From this it appears that real wages sank

steadily from 1914 to 1918—from 1.00 in the first half of 1914 to 0.122 in the first half of 1918. The strikes of 1916 and 1917—which, indeed, were very rare—were unable to give a check to this catastrophic fall in real wages. The Germans, who occupied the industrial part of Poland, Congress Poland, were, of course, not anxious to have “peace and order” disturbed by strikes. It was only in November, 1918, when the revolutionary movement in the Central Powers opened up the possibility for the Polish workers also to fight for an improvement of conditions, that an animated wages and strike movement began. In the last two months of 1918, 14 strikes were recorded, in 1919 67, in 1920 72 and during 11 months of 1921 59. Most of these strikes were for increases of wages. Thanks to this protracted strike movement the real wages of the Polish workers were raised from 0.122 in the first half of 1918 to 0.328 in the first half of 1919. In the following year—the year of imperialist reaction and war on Soviet Russia—a further fall in wages took place, and it was only in the second half of 1920 that an increase of real wages began, which brought them up to 0.523 in the second half of 1921. From this investigation we see that at the conclusion of the world war, the imperialist war on Soviet Russia and the capitalist reconstruction, the Polish workers were so far reduced that their wages barely amounted to one-half of the pre-war level.

It need hardly be said that the attempts of the workers to secure increases in wages by strike action were accompanied by corresponding attempts of the capitalists to obtain further cuts. Nowhere was the movement to meet the rising cost of living by strikes for wages increases fought against with such bitterness as in Poland, where the first manifestations were denounced as Bolshevism and high treason against the newly-created Fatherland. The social policy of Pilsudski's Government, which found approval even in the foreign capitalist Press as being the only one capable of warding off the menace of Bolshevism in Poland, was opposed bitterly by the Polish capitalists, who declared it would bring the country to economic ruin. Wages reduction, irrespective of the rising cost of living, was the solution proffered by the Polish capitalists and repeatedly given expression to in the meetings of the industrial federations. One of the grossest incidents in the monotonous attack of capital upon the working class took place in the late autumn of 1920, when the Federation of Agriculturists broke off the existing agreements and refused to negotiate with the Federation of Agricultural Workers, even through the intermediary of the Government, advancing the excuse that the members of the federation had repeatedly proved themselves confederates of the Bolsheviks during the latter's invasion and had shown themselves as traitors to the Fatherland.

The attack of the capitalists upon wages does not at first appear obvious, owing to the steady rise in the cost of living and the corresponding increases of national wages. It becomes quite patent in the second half of 1921, when the employers repeatedly refused to grant the cost of living bonuses, even to the extent indicated by the official statisticians.

In 1922 these cases became more frequent and provoked extensive strike movements. In September the reformist leaders of the metal workers characterised the position in the metal industry as follows: “The federated employers (since the annulment of the wages agreement in November, 1920) grant the cost of living bonuses from

time to time, and only as an act of grace when they are in the mood to do so." (The "Metalarbeiter," No. 12/13.)

The capitalist offensive in Poland adopted the other forms already so well known to us. The law for the eight-hour day, which was adopted by the Landtag in December, 1919, was a change for the worse from the provisional law of 1918, which had been secured by the revolutionary movement of the working class. The attack upon the conditions of the railwaymen, which we meet with in England and France only in 1922, had already taken place in Poland in June, 1920. A similar attempt to abolish the eight-hour day and to extend the working day to ten and twelve hours was made in commerce. In industry the law was sabotaged by the courts, who acquitted offenders against the legal eight-hour day.

We could quote much more evidence of the capitalist attacks in Poland—upon the workers' right to combine and to strike, upon the trade unions, upon the workers' rights in the factories, etc. The workers were obliged repeatedly to engage in severe conflicts in self-defence. From the time the armies of Soviet Russia were beaten off in August, 1920, the Government itself took the lead in these attacks. It persecuted the trade unions, not only when they accepted the principles of the class struggle and displayed Communist tendencies—which were punished by imprisonment—but every time the employers seemed to desire it. Through its courts it imposed sentences of several years' imprisonment for the offence of declaring a strike; it "militarised" the railwaymen who were guilty of striking—that is to say, it handed them over to the will of the sabre-rattling generals who do not hesitate to impose the death sentence; at the request of the capitalists, it declared whole provinces under a state of emergency, as in Upper Silesia in July, 1922, in order, among other reasons, to annihilate the workers' councils ("the heritage of the German revolutionary innovations, and, in reality, the true copy of the Soviet experiment") and to establish "order" in the mines.

The latest form of the capitalist offensive is the demand that Poland should follow in the footsteps of the Italian Fascisti. Such a demand was made in one of the leading newspapers of Posen under the influence of the late agricultural workers' strike. As an ideal the writer suggested the dissolution, if only temporarily, of the trade unions, and the assumption of dictatorship by a Korfanti or a Dmowski. But as this desirable ideal was still too remote, the writer advocated the formation by the bourgeoisie of Fascisti organisations, the first task of which should be "to render harmless those trade unions which had become nests of Communism and instruments of the international and the class war." This appeal met with an enthusiastic response, the results of which are still to be seen.



The Frankfurt Conference

BY A. LOZOVSKY

The Illusions of the Masses Disappearing.

The bankruptcy of the Amsterdam International after the Ruhr catastrophe has brought before the working class of Europe more sharply than ever the question: What is to be done? How can we extricate the working class of Europe out of the nationalist cul-de-sac into which it has again been driven? How can we tear the political and organisational web that binds the workers in their actions? Can the working-class organisations be satisfied with fruitless protests and appeals to the League of Nations? It should be stated that the inaction of the Amsterdam International has led to considerable dissatisfaction in the ranks of the organisations affiliated to it. The German workers are extremely indignant at the complete absence of solidarity. The speeches of the so-called Socialists have been reproduced in the German Press and have caused great disappointment among the Social Democratic workers. At first this disappointment was due to a feeling of national humiliation, but seeing the inaction of the Amsterdam International and the obvious treachery of the French and Belgian reformists, from indignation over the nationalism of the workers abroad, the German workers gradually began to lose confidence in their own Social Democrats. A desire began to awaken in them for some other method of applying their strength. Thus the inaction and treachery of the Amsterdam International, its avowed abandonment of all principle, has prepared the ground for a certain section of the workers leaving it and for the formation of a united front on the basis, not of inaction, but of action against the menace of war.

ACTIVITY OF THE COMINTERN AND PROFINTERN AFTER OCCUPATION OF THE RUHR.

These were the conditions in which the Comintern and the Profintern had to work after the occupation of the Ruhr. What did we do when this catastrophe occurred? We wired the Second and Amsterdam Internationals, offering to co-operate with them in organising at least a one day's strike on the basis of their own resolution. We received no answer. What answer could they give us when the Belgian Labour Party and the French and English Socialists are not only averse to combating the occupation, but wish to fight against the Germans, as such, under cover of utterly hollow and absurd phrases? Having had our proposal turned down by the leaders of the Reformist Labour movement, we could not let it go at that, because if the working-class in this highly responsible moment in Europe did not display its initiative by creating a fighting organisation, it would have meant the bankruptcy of the Labour movement as a whole, including the Russian revolution, which is organically related with the Labour movement in every country. Naturally, the Comintern and Profintern instantly set to work to collect all the revolutionary forces available in Europe for a united front. How, and on what platform, were they to be gathered? Such a platform had to be created as would ensure the greatest following of proletarians, and form a united front against the French and German capitalists. With this in view, a conference of representatives of factory committees in the Rhine-Westphalia province was convened.

HOW THE FRANKFURT CONFERENCE WAS CONVENED.

The Conference assembled in February and appointed a special committee of 23 persons to convene an International Conference. Not the Comintern or the Profintern, but a non-party organisation, which was formed in the occupied region, composed of the factory committees of the Rhine-Westphalian province, took upon itself the initiative of convening an International Conference. The Committee of 23 appealed to all Labour organisations, chiefly in the European countries, irrespective of their political tendency, to take part in the International Conference, the agenda for which was confined to practical questions bearing on the anti-war campaign. Already, while the Conference of Rhine-Westphalian factory committees was being convened, we clashed with the Social Democratic organisations and the representatives of the German unions. These two organisations carried on a campaign against the Rhine-Westphalian Conference of Factory Committees. They called upon the workers to boycott it, not to go with the Communists, not to join the united front with them; but their efforts were futile. The Conference was held in spite of the opposition of the reformist organisations.

The first steps of this Conference to create a united front and to internationalise the struggle were successful. It succeeded in rallying a number of organisations not belonging to the Comintern or Profintern, but purely Social Democratic and reformist elements, on the platform of united struggle against the danger of war.

THE REFORMISTS' ATTITUDE TO THE CONFERENCE.

The Conference was to have been called in Cologne, where the English occupation troops are stationed. It was thought that in view of the disagreement between the French and English Governments on the Ruhr question, it would be better to convene the Conference on the territory of the "free" English. But the solidarity between Governments always outweighs disagreement, when it is a question of a revolutionary conference. The authorities in Cologne prohibited the Conference, which was consequently held in Frankfurt. I have already said that the invitation appealed to all Labour organisations to take part in the Conference, that is to say, they sent invitations to the English Trade Unions and the Labour Party, to the Amsterdam, the Second and Two-and-a-Half Internationals, to the Socialist Party and Reformist Confederation of Labour in France, to the reformist, political and trade union organisations of Czecho-Slovakia, Poland, Yugo-Slavia, Italy, and to the Communist Parties and revolutionary unions of all countries.

None of the Reformist Internationals replied to the invitations. They did not see fit to attend the Conference on the pretext that it was a Communist plot, and they, as we know, do not want to take part in any Communist schemes. One of the Reformist leaders, Hodges, of the International Miners' Federation, replied that he appreciated the invitation, but that his organisation could not take part in the Conference because the Amsterdam International was not taking part. The officials and leaders of the reformist political and trade union organisations boycotted and ignored the Conference. But the Conference itself could not be ignored because it was the first International Conference held after the occupation of the Ruhr, and was called to discuss the practical measures to be adopted to combat the occupation. As the fear of new conflicts and war is very strong

among the masses of workers of Europe, the interest in this Conference could not be smothered or repressed, and considerable sympathy was shown towards it by the workers belonging to the reformist organisations.

THE COMPOSITION OF THE CONFERENCE.

The composition of the Conference was not that which its initiators had desired. There were no official representatives of the Reformist Internationals. In Germany particularly the Social Democratic Party and the trade unions publicly prohibited their adherents and members from taking part in the Conference. Nevertheless, in spite of the sabotage, boycott, and the vigorous campaign against it, groups of Social Democrats, representatives from various non-party organisations, such as factory committees, and delegates direct from the factories, were present. In addition, a number of factories, both German and English, where a number of Social Democrats and Reformists predominate, sent greetings and congratulations to the Conference which they regarded as a genuine attempt to combat the danger of war.

The Conference consisted of 250 delegates; the votes were allotted according to countries represented, and not according to the number of delegates. Consequently, the great number of delegates from Germany (there were about 200) did not give her the advantage.

There were three fractions at the Conference: the Social-Democratic, which had 10 members; the Independent Social-Democrats, 17; and a group of adherents to the Comintern and Profintern, who were included in the delegates from the various countries. I wish to point out that, on the very first day of the Conference we discovered a Left Socialist Revolutionary, Schreider, who started out by gathering the Social-Democrats and Independents, who elected him to the Presidium. Schreider stated in the Mandate Commission that he was delegated by the Two-and-a-half International. Upon the Commission examining his credentials, it turned out that he chiefly represented his Berlin organisation, consisting of his wife and children. Notwithstanding the family's revolutionary standing, this was not regarded as sufficient reason for participating in the Conference. The Mandate Commission expressed doubt as to the advisability of his presence at the Conference at all. Upon hearing of the nature of this peculiar Berlin party, the Social-Democratic workers, who had, on the spur of the moment, elected him to the Presidium, recalled him and elected real Social-Democratic and Independent workers to the Presidium. I have mentioned this incident *inter alia*, because I wanted to show that there is always a reserve of Russian Socialist delegates abroad who pop up like a jack-in-the-box at international conferences and raise a loud noise against the Bolsheviks. At the International Congress in The Hague we had the pleasure of exchanging opinions with Abramovitch, and Schreider endeavoured to afford us this pleasure here, but he failed.

The composition of the Conference testifies to the interest displayed in it not only by Communist organisations and revolutionary unions, but also by the masses. The latter circumstance was, in fact, the chief reason why the Conference was convened.

THE AGENDA OF THE CONFERENCE.

The agenda of the Conference was as follows: (1) Report on the Situation in France; (2) The Situation in Germany; (3) Predatory

Raid on the Ruhr by French Imperialism and the danger of a New War; (4) Struggle against International Fascist Reaction. The order of business was concrete and practical. It was not mere chance that the question of the Ruhr occupation was combined with the struggle against Fascism. The present international reaction is beginning more and more to adopt a Fascist shade; the fight against war is, therefore, inseparable from that against Fascism, which is the most extreme exhibition of nationalism automatically driving the nations to war. The main question with which the Conference was concerned was, what practical measures can be taken to combat the danger of war, and how to rally the forces of the workers for this fight?

THE WORK OF THE CONFERENCE.

The questions which we discussed at the Conference can be divided into two main groups: questions of tactics and questions of practical organisation. We shall begin with the question of general tactics. What was the most important question of tactics which we had to handle? It was that of co-ordinating action, organising simultaneous international campaigns, and carrying out what was laid down at the Essen Conference. Thus the central idea with which all our decisions were imbued was the striving for unity of action, and primarily the organisation of simultaneous campaigns on both sides of the frontiers of the states concerned in the conflict. The obstacle to the Labour Movement in Europe is the rivalry, distrust, and, I should say, mutual hatred which exists among the leaders of the German and French peoples. Also there is a mutual distrust between the masses of the French and German workers. More than that, there are the survivals of war Socialism, and the heritages of the war period. This cannot be extirpated by mere agitation and propaganda; there must be joint parallel action, which is the best school of international solidarity; for only in action can the working class drop its prejudices and free itself from everything that binds it in one way or another with the old society.

To the great satisfaction of the Comintern and Profintern, we were able to state that, after the occupation of the Ruhr basin, the only organisations which conducted a systematic struggle on uniform lines and under uniform watchwords were the organisations adhering to the Profintern and Comintern, viz., the Communist Parties and the revolutionary trade unions. These uniform actions, which took place immediately after the occupation of the Ruhr basin, and which led to the arrests of French Communists and trade unionists, were historic events and served as an incentive for further activities. They did not only prove that such actions were possible, but also have served as a guide to this Conference if it were really determined to achieve definite results. One must say that the German workers were greatly impressed by the arrests of the French Communists, for the rank and file German Social-Democrats realised that Communists stood up for the German workers in France and Belgium, and were prepared to suffer imprisonment, while Jounaux talked and Vandervelde fussed without doing anything. Under such circumstances those who go to prison give convincing proof of their sincerity, for one does not go to prison for mere trifles. The German workers became convinced that the real struggle is only carried on by Communists and revolutionary trade unions, while the opposition of the reformists is mere talk, which does not in the least endanger

the French Government. A good illustration of the popularity which French Communists and trade unionists have gained in Germany is the fact that the German miners, belonging to the Social-Democratic Party and Reformist Trade Unions, frequently greeted the French soldiers with "Long Live Cachin," whereupon both parties sang the "International" in German and French. Thus, these arrests, which were the result of the right line adopted by the Communists in France, and which were intended to cripple the Labour Movement in France, made it quite clear to the German proletariat who it was that carried on the struggle against the occupation of the Ruhr basin. Thus the question of parallel demonstrations, of continuous mutual support, or organic connection between the workers of the various countries, and of continuous joint struggle, were the most important questions underlying all the decisions and resolutions of the Frankfurt Conference.

THE UNITED FRONT TACTICS.

The other question which occupied the attention of the Conference was the question of forms and methods to be adopted for the establishment of the united front. The Frankfurt Conference itself was a part of the united front tactics. We, the Communists who attended the Frankfurt Conference, did not ask the Social-Democrats and Independents to adopt our programme. We did not propose to include in the resolution the dictatorship of the proletariat, neither did we ask them to adopt resolutions tying other organisations to the Comintern and Profintern. The resolutions and measure which we proposed were drawn up in such a manner as to enable any workers' organisations to join us in concerted actions. This practical application of united front tactics was intended to extend beyond the limits of the Conference. The Conference was only a beginning and an attempt (though not by any means the first) to establish a united front and to attract to it workers from other organisations. It is only natural that we, advisedly, limited our resolution to questions of a practical nature, such as the question of concrete struggle, in order to create a platform acceptable to the largest number of revolutionary workers, thus enabling them to join us in this struggle. The Frankfurt Conference was not only the result of our united front tactics, but also the starting point for further application of these tactics; for the resolutions which it elaborated are such as to allow joint action with workers of other tendencies. Although the Amsterdam and the II Internationals and all organisations adhering to them refused to be officially represented, nevertheless the Conference instructed the International Committee of Action, elected by it, to invite these organisations to take joint action in the struggle against the danger of war and Fascist reaction.

THE QUESTION OF THE WORKERS' GOVERNMENT.

The next tactical question before the Conference was that of the Workers' Government. This question, too, was brought forward in a concrete form. We had to tell the German workers clearly and concisely (1) What we expect from the Workers' Government, and (2) How it should act in the event of it being established. We could not rest content with mere watchwords, we had to give concrete answers to highly important questions. First of all I must state that there is friction within the Communist Party of Germany itself in connection with this question. The dispute centres mainly around

the meaning of Workers' Government—is it the last word of Democracy or the first word of proletarian dictatorship? Or, in other words, does a Workers' Government, established as a result of an agreement with the Social Democrats, and resting on the constitutional apparatus of the Republic, represent a new formula for the dictatorship of the proletariat? In the present period this question has more than a theoretic interest for the German workers. It is a concrete and practical question, for on its solution depends the direction which we will give to our work. If we examine the point of view of the Left Wing of the party—viz., that Workers' Government is a contradiction to dictatorship of the proletariat—in the concrete and not in the abstract, it will not stand criticism.

What does the watchword of the Workers' Government really mean at present in Germany? Acute class war is raging there. The reactionary forces are very well organised. Even the Cuno Government is too progressive for them, and the Fascist organisations are only waiting for the right moment to overthrow it. In Germany the Workers' Government is tantamount to the beginning of civil war, and civil war will compel the Workers' Government to assume the form of a proletarian dictatorship. Therefore, the danger that exists in theory does not exist in reality. If it is true that the establishment of a Workers' Government in Germany means the beginning of civil war (and this is beyond doubt), in the interests of self-preservation the working class will be compelled to adopt measures of class coercion. Thus the objective position in Germany is such that there can be no risk of a Workers' Government being converted into something like the Labour Government of Australia, which was the last word in bourgeois democracy.

However, the Workers' Government is, after all, a watchword, and the workers want to know what this Workers' Government is going to do. They say "French armies are in the heart of Germany, they occupy our industrial districts. What will a Government, consisting of Communists and Social-Democrats, be able to do compared with what the Cuno Government is doing?" Here evasions will not do—a concrete answer must be given.

What was the answer of the Frankfurt Conference? It dealt with the struggle of the German proletariat as a two-front struggle. The watchwords of the French proletariat, "Down with the Versailles Peace Treaty," "Get out of the Occupied Districts," etc., etc., will not do for the German proletariat, for the Nationalists and Fascists are also shouting "Down with the Versailles Peace Treaty." To shout "Down with the Versailles Peace Treaty" would be merely to flow with the tide now running in Germany. Thus the task of the German workers is more complicated than that of the French workers. Therefore we said: The workers of Germany must carry on a fight on two fronts—"Down with Poincaré" must go together with "Down with Cuno." It must be a struggle with their own as well as with the foreign bourgeoisie. "Down with Cuno"—that is easy enough, but what will the Workers' Government do with the problem of reparations and the possibility of a new war? "Vorwärts," in reply to Fimmen, wrote as follows: "If we listen to Fimmen and make a revolution, the result will be an immediate attack on us by the Entente on the pretext of fighting Bolshevism, and Germany will be crushed." There is a grain of truth in this: social revolution in Germany would mean the beginning of armed intervention on the part

of France, Great Britain, Poland, Roumania, Czecho-Slovakia, etc., against Germany, and this prospect must not be lost sight of. What is our way out of this dilemma? Our answer is: the main task of the Workers' Government in Germany is to work for peace at all costs. Even before the establishment of the Workers' Government, we declare that in the event of the French workers not being strong enough to prevent their Government from continuing the occupation policy with regard to Germany, the German Workers' Government will pay reparations. The difference between the Workers' Government and the present Government consists in the fact that the present Government is paying reparations at the expense of the workers, while the Workers' Government will pay them at the expense of the bourgeoisie.

However, this is only one point of the question. If the French Government consents to conclude something like the Brest-Litovsk peace with the German Workers' Government—well and good. Peculiar circumstances assisted the Bolsheviks to come out of this Brest-Litovsk peace, but this does not mean that Germany will be able to get out of its difficult position in the same way, for Germany is a much smaller country than Soviet Russia, and is surrounded on all sides. As soon as the German proletariat begins to move it will have against it the bayonets of Polish, Roumanian and Czecho-Slovakian armies.

Thus, whatever offers the Workers' Government might make, it is not out of the question that attempts will be made to overthrow it and to replace it by a bourgeois government, which for France is certainly a thousand times better than a Workers' Government, even if the latter promised to pay reparations. Then there is the question of revolutionary war. We raised this question in Frankfurt, regardless of the fact that war is very unpopular among German workers. We said quite openly: "Revolutionary war is the only solution if, regardless of the determination and the desire of the Workers' Government to preserve peace, French Imperialism will continue military operations against Germany." Is it, then, to be isolated revolutionary war? And here rises the next question—that of Soviet Russia. We, the Comintern and Profintern delegates, had no mandates either from the Council of People's Commissaries or from the Commissariat for Foreign Affairs, entitling us to express any opinion on what the attitude of Soviet Russia would be in the event of a revolution in Germany, or to promise the support of the Red Army. Nevertheless, in complete agreement with the other delegates, we said as much in our resolution; for it is clear to every Communist and to every sensible Russian worker that such action would be nothing but the logical outcome of our revolution. Granted the fact that the social revolution is victorious in Germany, and that the German revolutionary government is fighting for its existence against European Imperialism, there would be no other country but Soviet Russia which could come to the rescue. Therefore, in the resolution we expressed in an unmistakable voice, our opinion that the Russian workers would help in every possible way in the event of military operations against Germany on the part of French Imperialism. "The Russian workers," says this important paragraph of the Frankfurt resolution, "who during the Ruhr crisis rendered practical support and exhibited international solidarity by means of big demonstrations, collections of money, and deliveries of corn, will continue to support the German

and French workers in all their actions against their exploiters." The revolutionary Workers' Government can depend upon the whole-hearted support and the militant co-operation of the Russian workers in securing the supremacy of the working class and in retaining it with all the means at its command. An alliance between the Russian Soviet Power and the victorious Workers' Governments of Western Europe will render working class rule invincible.

QUESTIONS OF ORGANISATION—THE COMMITTEE OF ACTION.

Such are the general questions of tactics which we had to decide at the Conference. It is all very well to outline such bright prospects, saying "You make a revolution, Soviet Russia will join hands with you, the Red Army will help you," but all this is a matter of the future, nor do we know when this will happen. The task of the Frankfurt Conference did not consist merely in outlining these perspectives, but in creating the organisational facilities for the Labour movement of Western Europe to arrive at this goal. The most important part of our work, therefore, was to elaborate definite lines of action. These questions claimed the interest of every participant in the Conference. What are these lines of action? The first question to be solved was that of creating an **International Committee of Action**, which was to be comprised of all organisations participating in the Frankfurt Conference and such organisations as should desire to join it later. This International Committee of Action, at the head of which are Clara Zetkin and Henri Barbusse, consists not only of Communists and Syndicalists, but of Social-Democrats, Independents and non-party workers, delegates from various unions and shop committees. It is a Committee of Action which embodies the will of the working class to fight. The International Committee of Action will be in a position to do some useful work if it has supporting units in each country. The logical deduction, therefore, was to create International Committees of Action, which would muster all the available forces in their territory willing to fight against the menace of war and Fascism.

Further, we had to deal with the question of extending the units which we had created. The menace of war was imminent, and we had to decide how we were going to combat it. Some suggested strikes, but that is a matter for the future. What must we do now? We settled the question by creating special control commissions at the frontiers, principal junctions and ports, whose business it would be to observe the movement of troops, munitions, etc. These special commissions of inspection are what one might call the nerve centre of the entire system, which is destined at the necessary moment to hamper military operations. These inspection commissions will be of importance only if they manage to do something before war actually breaks out. If they will wait for the commencement of military operations, when the time comes for action they will be unprepared. They should start work right now in co-operation with the workers. The slightest clash between the different states should find these committees ready for action, and prepared to call on the workers of both sides to interfere.

We know that the only information concerning the state of affairs in the Ruhr was supplied by the people at the top in the trade unions. Representatives of the reformist parties visit the Ruhr and on their

return declare that the most expedient thing is to "internationalise" the Ruhr. We know what internationalisation means on the lips of diplomats. It signifies the turning over of this region to the supervision of the League of Nations, i.e., to the Franco-British Imperialists. The representatives of the Belgian Labour Party after their "investigation" declared that the Ruhr workers have lost nothing, and even express some satisfaction at what is taking place in the Ruhr. The working classes of the Allied countries are being hoodwinked, they are not allowed to know what is taking place in the Ruhr. We decided to conduct a campaign in France, Belgium and England to elect direct representatives of the workers to go and see on the spot what the German workers have to suffer under the double yoke of the Franco-German bourgeoisie.

It should be said that very curious things are happening in the Ruhr. When the French troops came in it was asserted that they were fighting Stinnes, that they were the avowed enemies of the German Capitalists. As to the workers, they were their best friends. I am in possession of a pile of proclamations of all kinds, issued by the French occupation authorities, in which it is stated: "Workers, why do you support Stinnes? Have you forgotten how Stinnes shot you down in 1919?" This is true, but who is saying it? The bandits who have come to the Ruhr to appropriate it to themselves. More than that, the French occupation authorities suggested the idea that the workers seize the factories and mines, reasoning with them as follows: "It is difficult to take the mines away from Stinnes, because one will have to pay according to bourgeois laws; if the workers do it there need be no scruples in taking the mines from them." Through their provocators and agents, therefore, they advance the idea of the workers seizing the factories and mines, to the accompaniment of other revolutionary slogans.

These leaflets, distributed in millions, are an excellent means of winning over the population of the occupied territory. This flood of literature is met by another flood from the German Nationalists, which urges that the worst enemy is French Imperialism. Thus a fight is going on in the Ruhr between the French and German Imperialists for possession of the soul of the worker. It is of great importance for the dissemination of our ideas among the broad masses outside the Ruhr to observe the conditions under which the Labour movement in the Ruhr exists and fights.

We further advanced the idea of creating a special Russo-Franco-German Brotherhood of Railwaymen, Metalists, Mine Workers, etc. By this we wanted to emphasise that the unity of the workers of these three countries is a safeguard against any military collisions. This Brotherhood must embrace the workers of all tendencies. We are taking action in this respect, but find ourselves up against the counter-action of the reformists and political opponents.

Furthermore, we put forward a concrete practical slogan of fraternisation between the French soldiers and the German workers. The Nationalist, Reformist and Social-Democratic newspapers refuse to listen to any such thing. To them the French soldier is an enemy. But fraternisation will demoralise the French Army, remove estrangement, and cut the ground from under the Nationalist persecution on which this Franco-German conflict rests. There is trouble already in the Army of Occupation, and it is the business of the Labour organisations to increase it. It will increase because of the under-

ground work which has been carried on up till now, and which will be intensified after the Frankfurt Conference. We advanced the watchword of legal and illegal activities among the occupation troops. These activities are growing every day, and the French Government is forced frequently to change and replace various regiments. On the streets of Ruhr cities one could meet scenes like this: a detachment of soldiers marches down a street in charge of an officer; the soldiers carry buckets and brushes; suddenly the officer commands: "Halt! Two paces forward. Commence!" And the soldiers start work with their brushes, smearing over posters and tearing down bills and proclamations. They then proceed further, and go through the same procedure a few times. This propaganda is carried on, not only among the white troops, but the coloured troops as well. There are about 20,000 troops from Algiers and Tunis in the Ruhr. The "Young International" publishes proclamations in three languages—German, French and Arabian; in the Arabian text there is a symbol of the crescent and the Red Star. These preliminary activities must be extended. In addition, the question was raised of increasing activities among the working class youth and women, and the necessity of uniting these sections of the proletariat, as being more affected in the event of the outbreak of fresh military operations.

In order to sum up and to concentrate the attention of the workers of all countries on the decisions adopted, the Frankfurt Conference advanced the idea of an "International Week," in which simultaneous protests, demonstrations, distribution of literature, speeches in Parliament and municipalities in all countries are to be arranged. In short, the slogans of the Frankfurt Conference are to be promulgated throughout Europe, wherever the masses of the working class live.

THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC FRACTION OF THE CONFERENCE.

As I have stated, there was a Social-Democratic fraction at the Conference. This fraction took part in the Conference, despite the commands of its leaders. What inspired this fraction? What did it want? What were its ideas and thoughts, its aspirations? This fraction does not share our standpoint, it is still alien to the Comintern and Profintern, but in its first declaration, which it entitled "War Against War," it stated: "We stand for a break with the bourgeois coalition; we demand from our leaders that they should break off coalition with the capitalists and come to an understanding with the revolutionary Communist workers, in order to wage the struggle together." These Social-Democratic workers want a Left bloc and not a Right one. These workers come from the very midst of the Social-Democratic organisations and the Amsterdam Unions, and are making, very slowly, perhaps anxiously, but nevertheless surely, for a united bloc. They are still scared at the dictatorship of the proletariat, but they no longer desire a bloc with the bourgeoisie, they no longer want a coalition. They oppose their leaders, not only inside their organisations, but also publicly put forward political slogans in opposition to them. The small Social-Democratic fraction at the Frankfurt Conference, therefore, was of considerable significance, for it was a symptom that inside the Amsterdam and II Internationals, inside the old reformist parties, despite their strong discipline, there is a tendency which no longer confines itself within the organisational framework, but is pushing its way to the surface,

violating discipline and asserting itself politically on an international scale. As to the Independents, they personify the vacillation in the German Labour Movement. There are two wings in the Independent Party itself; one which inclines more to the Social-Democrats, and the other to the Communists.

THE REFORMISTS AND THE FRANKFURT CONFERENCE.

The Social-Democrats not only ignored our Conference, but they tried to prove that the Social-Democrats who participated in it were not Social-Democrats at all. The whole of the Social-Democratic Press in Germany shunned the Conference, and only "Folkstimme" published an article, declaring that Friche, the chairman of the Conference, was not a Social-Democrat and carried a membership card of the Communist Party. This, of course, was nonsense, and when this was proved they wrote that the members of the Social-Democratic Party who venture to break party discipline should be expelled. In all probability the group of Social-Democrats will be expelled, as they committed the offence of not wanting a coalition with the bourgeoisie and wanting one with the Communists.

At the opening of the Congress I said in my message of greeting that we were not an International Peace Conference, but a World Congress of Class War. This to us seems natural, but not so to the Social-Democrats, and that is why even the "Folkstimme" called us "A War Conference." The fear of the class war and class antagonism in general is deeply rooted in the Social-Democratic Labour Party of Germany. It is a characteristic feature of Social Democracy the world over.

THE FRANKFURT CONFERENCE AND THE BOURGEOISIE.

Naturally the Conference did not gain the sympathy of the German bourgeoisie Press. This testifies to the high degree of class consciousness among the bourgeoisie, which is more developed than among the working class. The task of the Conference, it is true, was to oppose the occupation of the Ruhr; it was held under the auspices of the Communists, and the whole of the German Press, therefore, adopted an attitude of violent hostility. Only the "Frankfurter Zeitung" devoted a leading article, saying that our Conference was a propaganda conference, and not a business affair, as all the resolutions are futile in view of the fact that they were based on "the unfounded statements of the speakers." This was meant to apply to my report, in which I said that in order to defeat Poincaré, it was essential to defeat Cuno. In this connection the "Frankfurter Zeitung" avers that "such statements prove that Lozovsky has not the least idea of the state of affairs in Germany." The "Frankfurter Zeitung" was not particularly pleased with the Conference; as for that, the entire German bourgeoisie were displeased, as they wrote nothing whatever about it. They argued thus: "Of course the Communists are fighting against occupation, but if they win we shall be still worse off." We may state that this is absolutely correct.

THE FRANKFURT CONFERENCE AND THE REFORMIST PRESS.

The conspiracy of silence conducted by the bourgeois Press against the Conference was supported by the whole of the reformist Press. The Amsterdam and II Internationals, including all the

affiliated organisations, said very little or nothing about it, for it was difficult to say anything against our decisions, as they contained nothing that was formally unacceptable. None of the resolutions mentioned the words "Communism," "dictatorship of the proletariat" or "the Soviet system," and what they proposed could not very well be opposed. Nevertheless the reformists could not support them, because they were all based on the class struggle, and they do not want that. We advance the slogan of propaganda among the troops—they do not accept it. We propose the establishment of an International Committee of Action—they propose an International Committee of Words. In short, there are divergencies on each point, and it would be better tactics on their part not to speak of the Conference at all. The tactics of silence, however, are bad tactics. There was a time when people did not wish to speak of Soviet Russia, but she spoke up for herself—and rather loudly, too. The same applies to the Frankfurt Conference; the decisions which we adopted represent a concrete programme of action for the workers of the principal European countries. We ask, what are the objections of the reformists? Do they object to the slogan of driving Poincaré out of the Ruhr? The German reformists do not object to this slogan, but their French colleagues do. What about Cuno? Here the French reformists are for, while the Germans are against. Both of them are in a cul-de-sac. We alone solve the problem for the German workers. The reformists stand for the unity of the workers and the employers, instead of the class struggle, a Ruhr Relief Fund and appeals signed jointly by employers' associations and Labour organisations, a policy of class peace instead of class war.

The Frankfurt decisions stand for the practical realisation of the united front, and the Amsterdam and II Internationals find it the more hard to oppose them in that there are adherents to our tactics in their own ranks. The number of such adherents is growing more and more, because our slogan is a very simple one. We say to the workers of the reformist organisations: We do not demand recognition of our Communist programme, we do not want you to leave your party; retain your own programme, do not join the Comintern or Profintern, but let us together organise a body of defence to avoid being crushed by the Fascists; let us set up control commissions; and they agree to this. They agree because we offer them a true proletarian coalition.

CONFERENCE OF SOCIALISTS OF THE ENTENTE.

The Frankfurt Conference furnished a concrete plan of action for all who desire to combat war. What reply did the reformist internationals give to all this? The II International retorted by holding a conference of its own according to its own methods. Simultaneously with ours a conference of the Socialists of the Entente countries—England, France, Belgium and Italy—was called in Paris. They did not see fit to invite the Germans, because they assembled as Socialists of a distinct diplomatic coalition. After an exchange of opinions these gentlemen carried the following resolution: "Acknowledging the legitimacy and necessity for reparations, the present Conference decides to send a delegation to Berlin to discuss with the German Social-Democrats their views on the question of reparations." In other words, these gentlemen gathered together to send delegates to Berlin and there put the following concrete ques-

tions: "How much will you pay? When will you pay? and What guarantees can you give?" But if I am not mistaken, the questions as to how much, when, and what guarantees, were put to the Government of Cuno by Poincaré himself, and by Loucheur to Stinnes. What difference is there between the questions of Poincaré and those of the tame Socialists? Absolutely none. These "Socialists" knew that Cuno's Government would speak through the mouths of the German Social-Democrats. We do not know whether these gentlemen consulted their Governments, but that they are the carpet-baggers for their Governments there is not the slightest doubt. In their attempt to counteract our Conference they held a conference of victors. Members of both the Amsterdam and II Internationals, people who speak about international solidarity, speak to their fellow-members of the same Internationals as victors speak to the vanquished. The German Social-Democrats were well aware of the significance of the trip of those "dear comrades" to Berlin, and they spoke with them on behalf of their Government, knowing that their positions were identical with it. Such is the estimable International, such is the international solidarity as practised by Vandervelde and Co.

CONCLUSION.

I have described the conditions under which the Frankfurt Conference took place, I have spoken of its work, of the struggle in connection with the slogans proclaimed by us, and of the tasks which confront us. It will not be out of place here to mention one thing. When the Comintern and Profintern accused the Amsterdam and II Internationals of not having done anything, their leaders ironically replied: "Well, we have not organised strikes, but what have you done? Did you organise strikes?" The French and Belgian papers published long articles concerning "the bankruptcy of the Moscow Internationals." To my query to Vandervelde, the Hague peace-maker, "Where is your strike?" they replied "Where is yours?" At the Frankfurt Conference I answered this demagogy as follows: "Yes, we, the Communists and representatives of the revolutionary trade unions, could not call strikes in Europe, but it is because we are in the minority. We have sufficient material now to prove how we act and how you act. What the Communists do when they are in the majority you know from the experience of Soviet Russia: they make a revolution. And what you do when you are in the majority is demonstrated by Germany and Austria. When you Social-Democrats are in the majority you strive to give the power to the bourgeoisie and consolidate its domination. Our tactics are to capture power from the bourgeoisie and give it to the workers, and consolidate their domination. Does not the Russian revolution, with its five years' history, give an adequate reply to the question of what we do when we are in the majority? When we are in the majority we overthrow the bourgeoisie; when you are in the majority you strengthen it. We can boldly declare: the fruits of our policy—is Soviet Russia; the fruits of yours—the ever-growing enthralment of Austria and Germany and the ever-increasing enslavement of the German working class. The Imperialists dare not court us, because they are rebuffed, but they unceasingly court you. You are impotent, because of your coalition with the bourgeoisie. Under conditions of intense struggle a Government can only be strong when it has a homogeneous base. The strength of the Soviet Government

consists in the homogeneity of its composition, in its policy, which is a class policy. Your policy of conciliating the interests of the bourgeoisie with the interests of the proletariat, weakens your own countries. Social-Democracy, even from the purely national point of view, should pursue a different policy." In my report at Frankfurt I said: "Had the German Social-Democrats opposed war in August, 1914, there would have been sacrifices, but the aspect of the world would have been entirely different to what it is now. Germany would not have been in such a state of ruin as it is to-day. What was your position at the time of Brest-Litovsk? You supported your Government. Had you, instead, forced your Government to sign a decent peace, the collapse of the whole Allied front would have followed. Your tactics strengthened the hostile coalition. Your tactics, even from the national point of view, give negative results. Your non-class tactics have ruined Germany as a State, as a national entity."

In Germany to-day the situation is a peculiar one. In Russia the October Revolution was formally an anti-patriotic movement. We broke-up all the old associations. The bourgeoisie in Russia was patriotic, while the workers were anti-patriotic. In Germany the revolution is taking place under different circumstances—the bourgeoisie is selling Germany right and left. The only protection Germany has is in the working class. The social revolution there will take place on the ground of Germany's defence from its own and foreign capitalists, on the basis of patriotism. This is another circumstance which embarrasses the struggle, but it is necessary to weigh all the antagonistic forces which clash on the European social front to-day.

The deductions gathered from the Frankfurt Conference are as follows: We unfortunately could not decree what we should do on such and such a day. We made another step in the direction of organising our Labour army. We made another step towards building up a united front. We infused our ideas into the midst of the reformist Labour organisations, and our platform is beginning to win the support of these masses. If we regard the Frankfurt Conference, the ground for which was prepared by our policy of the united front, in this light, we shall agree that it marks a most important phase in the Labour Movement of Europe, as a stage enabling the workers to find the organisational form for rallying the forces in the gigantic struggle against capital which awaits it. This rallying of new sections of the working class to our slogans, our methods and our tactics, is what comprises the historical significance of the Frankfurt Conferences.



The Battle of the Ruhr and the Tasks of the German Proletariat

BY SOMMER*

Are the Actions of the Bourgeoisie " Objectively Revolutionary " ?

The attitude of the party towards the occupation of the Ruhr was fundamentally outlined in the Manifesto drawn up by the Leipsic Conference, and in all its official announcements the party did not depart from the clear-cut Communist line. It would have been superfluous to raise this issue once more, had not an article been published in a prominent place of the " International " of the 15th of February, which discusses the events from an entirely untenable view-point, and whose practical consequences would lead the party into grave mistakes. Most comrades will see the danger immediately and clearly, if I will quote the more striking utterances of the article in question:—

" The German bourgeoisie became enabled, notwithstanding its intrinsically counter-revolutionary nature, and thanks to the cowardliness of the petty-bourgeois democracy (i.e., above all, the Social-Democracy); **outwardly** to play an **objectively revolutionary** part. . . . The battle in the Ruhr, viewed from the German side and from the outside, is. . . . of a contradictory nature. On the one hand, it is the national defence of an oppressed, disarmed, exploited people, against the imperialist oppressor, and to that extent it is objectively revolutionary; on the other hand and simultaneously, it is the defence of the now dominant bourgeoisie for its share in the exploitation of the German proletariat, the struggle about the 'quota,' and to that extent it is reactionary."

An attempt to explain this strange conception is made by alluding to the " revolutionary rôle " of the Hohenzollern dynasty in the unification of Germany, after the collapse of the bourgeois revolution in Germany. Furthermore, a quotation is made from an article written by Lenin in 1916, which speaks of the revolutionary significance of nationalist insurrectionary movements in Europe, for instance, in Ireland. To be sure, the difference between imperialist Germany and colonial Ireland is admitted even by our theoretician, although he somewhat ineptly describes the position of Ireland as of " a small country with overwhelmingly bourgeois population, which has played no independent imperialist rôle." But he adds:—

" But vanquished and disarmed Germany, menaced by dismemberment and complete political and economic enslavement, is perhaps from the view-point of purely theoretical (!) possibilities, a potential Imperialist Power; at present at any rate, she is nothing of the kind. At present she is not the subject, but rather an object of imperialist politics."

So here we have it: " The theoretical possibility conceived by Lenin in 1916 has become reality in the case of Germany (although under somewhat different concrete circumstances)."

Let us examine more closely these " somewhat different concrete circumstances!" The Hohenzollern dynasty played a " revolutionary " part when it to a certain extent curbed the petty Statecraft of Germany—it failed to eliminate it entirely—so that Germany became a united industrial territory. To be sure, it did not remove completely the remnants of feudalism and their corresponding form of the State, but it created enough " bourgeois liberty " to enable the

* " The International," Vol. 6, No. 7.

unhindered development of capitalism. Where is the analogy in the "national defence" in the Ruhr? If the German heavy industries hinder the creation of a Franco-German mining trust under French leadership, does this in any way promote the development of German capitalism? Such a conception is just as perverted as the counsel of confusion given by James Broth, who in an article in "Aktion" recommends the fusion of French and German big capital by the occupation of the Ruhr as a step in advance of capitalism which is bound to accelerate the world-revolution, and he therefore calls the struggle of our French comrades "a useless sacrifice." In this manner this ultra-radical has followed the lead of Cuno, who in his time declared the opposition of the German Social-Democratic Party to Germany's colonial policy to be without sense because he considered that policy as a necessary link in the chain of development of imperialistic capitalism. We would sink to the level of the Social-Chauvinists of the Second International if we were to debate in all seriousness the question as to whose victory among the contending capitalist concerns would be "most progressive," and to shape our tactics accordingly. Our position on the Ruhr question must be the continuation of our fundamental position during the world-war, namely, that it does not make the slightest difference whichever side is victorious so long as the international proletariat is vanquished and has to pay the costs of the war and the peace, whether it be a "victorious peace" or a "peace without victory." This must be our position even now when the battle in the Ruhr is as yet waged by "peaceable means."

When Lenin, in 1916, wrote about the national struggle of oppressed European nations, it was not merely a question of theoretic possibilities, because such struggles of objective revolutionary importance were already in progress at that time, as for instance, the struggle of the oppressed Slavonic nations of the Hapsburg monarchy which led to the break up of one of the most reactionary imperial machines in Europe. But what has the struggle of the German industrial magnates for the priority right of exploiting the German workers, in common with such national struggles for liberation? In Ireland, Austria, Poland, etc., it was a question of peoples who were forced to shed their blood by alien oppressors who were equally detested by all classes of the people. Here it was a question of the most elementary rights of political self-determination of the rights to use the people's languages in the schools, in the courts and in commerce. These struggles were of revolutionary importance also for the reason that the political oppression was directly connected with economic exploitation, as for instance, the Irish farmers and petty peasants were systematically robbed by the English and compelled to emigrate from their native land to avoid starvation. Here a temporary junction of forces for the overthrow of alien domination was possible as well as necessary. It was a fight which merited the support of a truly proletarian international, just as is done now by the Third International in regard to the fight of the colonial peoples for their liberation.

But where do we find anything like that in Germany? Even to-day the right of the German bourgeoisie to the political domination and economic exploitation of the German proletariat remains unchallenged. If the German bourgeoisie cannot carry on an active

imperialist policy at the present moment,* it will be able to do so to-morrow, when the Anglo-American capital will deem it opportune to play off Germany against France. The struggle of the German bourgeoisie, by its very nature, cannot aim at any kind of "democratic self-determination" as a preliminary step; it is bound to be nothing else but a struggle for the restoration of its imperialist power. Along this path the German proletariat cannot make a single step in company with its "own" bourgeoisie. Yet such a marching together would be the logical outcome of the conception which we combat, a consequence which its author naturally dare not draw, although in the supposedly analogous case of the Bismarckian policy he speaks of a "temporary parallelism of the interests" between the working class and the ruling class. Had there been any sense in the talk about the "objectively revolutionary rôle of the German bourgeoisie," had there really been any question of a struggle of an "exploited people" against the "imperialist oppressor," and not a bargaining about conditions between two sets of imperialist oppressors, then the policy of the "united front against imperialism" recommended by the Communist International in regard to colonial insurrectionary movements would, indeed, be the only correct one to apply in this case.

Our theoretician does not venture to go so far, but the conclusions he draws from his conception of the duties of the German proletariat from the standpoint of the opposing theory cannot be judged as anything else than nationalism pure and simple. He has no other reproach to hurl at the German bourgeoisie except that "in the midst of the fight (the fight for national defence!) in broad day-light, so to speak, it makes preparation for the betrayal."

To quote again:—

"The revolutionary proletariat must fight with might and main against the imperialist penetration of the Ruhr, independently, but at the same time it must direct the struggle against its own bourgeoisie, with the purpose of imposing upon it the burden of the fight and overthrowing the bourgeoisie and conducting the fight by itself."

Thus the only trouble with the honest German bourgeoisie is that it does not show sufficient bravery in the fight for national defence, and our sole reason for ousting it from this joy is to obtain a free hand in the fight against "penetration into the Ruhr." This is indeed a pretty swamp-flower of national-Bolshevism! We have a different conception of Communist policy. We have to wage the fight not "at the same time against our own bourgeoisie," but first of all and with full force against the German bourgeoisie, even at the risk of thereby strengthening the French imperialists, and of having to go through the experiences of our Russian comrades at Brest-Litovsk by being compelled, after the overthrow of the German bourgeoisie, to make even greater concessions to foreign imperialism than are now made by the German bourgeoisie. The victory of the German proletariat will then unchain the force of the masses of the workers of France, who alone can deliver the death-

* That German big capital is not yet by any means compelled to play the part of the vanquished, and bow to the dictates of the victor, was clearly evidenced by the proposal made by Germany heavy industries to Poincaré offering in return for substantial compensation to make such coal deliveries as neither the German nor the French Governments could obtain by way of Reparations. Indeed, the fight in the Ruhr which makes it evident that the German bourgeoisie has not yet played out its rôle as an independent political power.

blow to French Imperialism. We cannot, of course, remain passive in face of the Ruhr occupation which has immediate deteriorating effect on the position of the proletariat, and which holds out the menace of a new war; nevertheless we should not cherish the illusion that any amelioration would be gained for the German proletariat from a victory of the German bourgeoisie in this conflict. If a case for attacking French Imperialism first of all were to be made out on the ground that France is to-day the strongest counter-revolutionary power on the Continent, it would mean nothing more or less than reverting to the position of the Social-Patriots in 1914, who used the very same arguments to justify the "fight against Czarism." It is for the very reason that the German bourgeoisie is the weakest in Europe, and just because the basis of its class rule has been shaken on the whole, that the proletarian revolution in Germany is now on the order of the day. It is the nearest step of the world-revolution, which is especially urgent just now in order to save the German proletariat in face of the Ruhr occupation. Consequently, our aim, to which we must devote all our strength, remains what it was: to overthrow the German bourgeoisie and to establish the Workers' Government.

At the same time the defensive struggle in the Ruhr ought to continue; but the decisive blow to French Imperialism will be delivered only after the overthrow of the German bourgeoisie by the German working class in league with the French and Russian proletariat.

This article was already written when I saw that the "International" in its issue of the 1st of March persists in advocating this wrong line of tactics. Again, it speaks of "energetic defence in the Ruhr" as the "fundamental line," and of "at the same time the bitterest fight to overthrow the Cuno Government which represents the heavy industries, as the obstacle to successful fighting against the external foe!" The theoretical basis of this nationalistic conception is stated tersely and clearly: "The defeat of French Imperialism in the world-war was not a Communist aim; its defeat in the Ruhr war is a Communist aim." But there is absolutely no difference between 1923 and 1914-1918. When the German troops were stationed in Belgium and France, in Russia and Roumania, the defeat of German Imperialism was a Communist aim, but equally so was the defeat of French, English and American Imperialism. The imperialism of all countries must be overthrown by the masses of the people in the respective countries. This is our Communist war aim now, as it was then. The defeat of French Imperialism in the Ruhr is a Communist aim, but on the sole condition that it be carried out by the united efforts of the French and German proletariat. Victory of a bourgeois-led Germany in the Ruhr struggle would be a heavy defeat for the German proletariat; for it would have to bear upon itself the bitter oppression of a strengthened German possessing class. To fight against the Government because it hindered the successful prosecution of the war against the "external foe" was the watchword of "Socialists" like Kerensky; but never and under no circumstances will it be the watchword of international Communists, even in regard to the weakest and most defenceless bourgeoisie (and the German bourgeoisie is by no means so weak and defenceless as it pleases our theoreticians to represent it). We may yet have to come to terms

under the force of circumstances, with the external foe, so that we may be left free to settle our accounts with the internal foe and to proceed with Socialist constructive work that is to follow the victory over the internal foe. With the internal foe there can be no understanding.

Some Tactical Problems of the War in the Ruhr



BY A. THALHEIMER

The war in the Ruhr has now been in progress for over a month, and is being conducted by both sides with ever-increasing obstinacy. The problems of Communist tactics arising therefrom are by no means simple. They cannot be simple because of the very nature of war, which once begun is for ever changing its aspect. During its progress new means of warfare are adopted, and new forces are continually drawn into the struggle. As new military, political and economic forces become involved, the early war aims change. Consequently revolutionary tactics must also change, readapting methods and objectives. The guiding principle of independent proletarian class policy must be clearly defined for every tactical step and for every temporary aim. But Communists are thereby not relieved of the necessity of re-examining every new turn in the situation, and of adapting every subsequent move to the change. Because of the highly developed state of world politics, the unstable balance of world power, and the no less fluctuating balance of class power, a daily re-examination of the situation must be made and revolutionary tactics appropriately modified. The longer the crisis produced by the war in the Ruhr is prolonged, the more profoundly does it react upon the relations between the classes, the more profoundly does society become disorganised, and the more extensive become the possibilities both of revolution and of counter-revolution.

The factor primarily determining revolutionary tactics is of an historical character. It concerns the historical rôles of the classes engaged on either side. Here it is important to bear clearly in mind that the rôles assumed by the French and the German bourgeoisie are not the same, although their class character is similar. The French bourgeoisie, headed by the iron magnates—Le Comité des Forges—are fighting for the dominating control of the giant trust which is to unite the ore of Lorraine with the coal of the Ruhr. The fight for the quota, i.e., whether they should hold 60 per cent. or 40 per cent. of the shares, is the fight for the controlling interest in the trust. This fight was for a long time conducted in secret by negotiations, but now the sword has become the instrument of negotiation. The struggle for industrial supremacy in the trust, which is the key to the whole economic structure of the Continent, already contained within itself the germ of conflict for military and political supremacy in Europe. Military and political aims are coming more and more to the fore, and are taking precedence over the economic aims, which predominated in the beginning. This process is becoming more apparent at every step. Firstly there was the attempt to seize the

industrial machine of the Ruhr under the pressure of a great military demonstration—40 engineers escorted by 40,000 men. When this attempt failed owing to the passive resistance of the industrial magnates, the administrative staffs and the workers, the customs line was established around the Ruhr Basin—already a move for political isolation. Then came the attempt of the French to organise the transport of coal by their own efforts, which was countered by the systematic sabotage of the German administration—a situation which can only lead to a French attempt to set up their own political machine. Finally, the occupation of Offenburg, and the beginning of the attempt to sever Northern from Southern Germany. This move is supported by the prohibition of the export of manufactured articles from the occupied area to the unoccupied, which increases the general economic pressure, but hits particularly the South German industries—the object being to give a stimulus to separatist tendencies. The political isolation of Rhenish Westphalia, the disintegration of the rest of Germany, with the complete economic, political and military decline which must result therefrom—these, as the struggle progresses, become more and more the predominating objectives.

One thing is clear: the greater the economic devastation which the struggle is occasioning in France itself, and the more elusive the immediate gains are, the more dominating will the political aims become. Political achievements must be made to compensate for economic failure.

We have heard our members speak much of the “colonisation” of Germany, meaning thereby industrial colonisation. In a strict economic sense the term is unsatisfactory and even misleading. The essential purpose of colonisation under modern capitalist conditions is to win non-capitalist markets, labour power and raw materials. But in this particular case—as in the case of Germany in Belgium—it is a question, economically, of broadening the capitalist basis; militarily and politically, of extending the Imperialist basis of power; financially, an attempt to reconstruct capitalism at the cost of the defeated Imperialist enemy, and socially an attempt to insure the domination of capitalism in the home country by blurring the class antagonisms in order to ward off the social revolution.

If the historical dialectic takes advantage of this tremendous effort on the part of the ruling classes in France to check the revolution, in order to make it the starting point of a still more powerful revolutionary movement, this is only one of its favourite ironies; it has just as little respect for the “fine” intentions of the French bourgeoisie as it had for the German bourgeoisie when it occupied the Ukraine in order to consolidate its military victory in the West.

England and the United States must be regarded as antagonists, and possibly as eventual confederates, who for the moment are confining themselves to the rôle of onlookers. The German workers should not be deceived as to the true part these countries are playing by the German bourgeoisie and their Social-Democratic hangers-on. Both these powers are following their own Imperialist aims in this game. They are the rivals of France for the economic and political domination of Germany, but in no sense are they the defenders of the latter's independence. When they come into the fight—as they certainly will—when both France and Germany are exhausted by the

struggle—to prevent France retaining sole control of Germany, they will not make the yoke any lighter for the German working class.

The German bourgeoisie regards the matter in another light. Its calculation clearly is that if it must scrap for the Ruhr treasure with other partners besides France, it will play these partners off against each other in order to improve its own situation.

But what is the rôle of the German bourgeoisie in the Ruhr war? Is it the same as that of the French bourgeoisie, only that the one is the attacker and the other the defender? Is it the same as during the years 1914-18?

If this were the case, then we have been mistaken in the whole policy we have been pursuing hitherto, the policy which was summed-up in the formula: Strike at Poincaré on the Ruhr, and at Cuno on the Spree.

The German bourgeoisie, however counter-revolutionary it may be internally, has, owing to the cowardice of the petty-bourgeois Democrats (above all the Social-Democrats) taken up a position which makes it appear externally revolutionary. Like Bismarck in 1864-70, and for similar historical reasons, it has assumed this external revolutionary character against its own will. The failure of the German bourgeois-democratic revolution in 1848 led to the Hohenzollern dynasty assuming a rôle which furthered the bourgeois revolution. The failure of the Socialist revolution of 1918-19 led Cuno, Stinnes and Co. to assume a rôle which must become that of the German Socialist revolution. Although Bismarck, in rôle character of the Junker-dynastic "revolutionary from above," only satisfied the national interests in a less troublesome and less objectionable manner (so far as these national interests coincided with the Junker-reactionary interests), the estimate of the objective revolutionary part he played up to 1870 is by no means altered thereby. But it was nevertheless important, as far as the attitude that the working class and the bourgeois democrats were to assume towards him was concerned. The position that Marx and Engels took up in this respect is well known. They recognised the temporary similarity of interest in the war conducted by Bismarck which arose out of the historical situation, but they laid emphasis upon the independent part the working class had to play in this war, and they exerted every effort to set the working class in motion against the Prussian Germany of Bismarck as soon as the objectively revolutionary rôle of Bismarck became transformed (after Sedan) into reaction.

The war on the Ruhr, for the time being led by Cuno, Stinnes, etc., i.e., the upper bourgeoisie, viewed externally from the German point of view, appears to be of a contradictory nature. On the one hand it is a defensive action of an oppressed, disarmed and exploited people, and to that extent objectively revolutionary. On the other hand it is the fight of the bourgeoisie for a share in the exploitation of the proletariat, and to that extent reactionary.

It speaks for the broad vision of Lenin that he foresaw this possibility even during the period of the Imperialist war.

In a long article entitled "The Outcome of the Discussion on the Right of Self-Determination," he says in criticism of the theses of the Polish and Lithuanian Social-Democrats on the right of self-determination, which stated that the Social-Democrats must take advantage of the struggle of the bourgeoisie of the young colonies

against European Imperialism in order to aggravate the revolutionary crisis in Europe:—

“Is it not clear that there is no advantage to be derived in this direction by creating antagonism between the colonies and Europe? A struggle of the oppressed nationalities of Europe which is carried to the extent of open street warfare and defiance of the iron discipline of the Army and the war emergency legislation will do considerably more to ‘aggravate the revolutionary crisis in Europe’ than a much greater uprising in some distant colony. Such a blow as would be delivered at English European Imperialism by an uprising in Ireland would be of a hundred times greater significance than a similar uprising in Asia or Africa.” (Written in October, 1916. N. Lenin and G. Zinoviev: “Gegen den Strom,” Articles written in 1914-16, Hoym Nachfolger, 1921, page 413.)

It might be objected that Germany is not Ireland. The former is a defeated Imperialist State, and the other a small country with a predominating peasant population that has never played an independent Imperialist part. But Germany is conquered and disarmed and menaced by complete political and economic enslavement. It is true that, regarded purely theoretically there is a possibility of her once again becoming an Imperialist power. But she is no such power to-day; she is not a subject, but an object of Imperialist policy.

Lenin has dealt with this question at length in his criticism of the Junius brochure; and the following extract in particular is of interest to us in this connection.

Lenin is here dealing with the assertion of Junius that in the epoch of Imperialism national wars are impossible. Lenin in reply argues that a national war may transform itself into an Imperialist war, and vice versa. As an example of the first instance he quotes the French revolutionary wars; as an example of the second he develops the following purely theoretical possibility:—

That the Imperialist war of 1914-16 will transform itself into a nationalist war is in the highest degree improbable, for the class representing the forward development is the proletariat, which is objectively striving to transform it into a civil war against the bourgeoisie, and also because there is very little difference in the strength of the opposed coalitions of States. Moreover, international capitalism has created a reactionary bourgeoisie everywhere. But one can by no means assert that such a transformation is impossible. If the European proletariat is rendered powerless for twenty years; if this war should end with such victories as the Napoleonic wars, and a number of vigorous nationalist States be reduced to complete enslavement; if the extra-European Imperialist States (particularly Japan and America) can maintain themselves for twenty years without going over to Socialism (as, for example, as the result of an American-Japanese war); then a great nationalist war in Europe would become highly probable. It would mean that Europe would be set back for several decades. This is not probable, but it is also not impossible. For it is incorrect, dialectically, economically and theoretically, to regard world history as being bound to progress steadily and smoothly, without occasional giant strides backwards. (Written in October, 1916; “Gegen den Strom,” pp. 419-20.)

The possibility conceived by Lenin in 1916 has, in the case of Germany, under somewhat different circumstances, become a fact. But it is already clear that the German bourgeoisie who externally appear to have taken up the cause of national defence, have in reality no intention of playing this part through, and are preparing for the act of treachery in the midst of the fight and, so to speak, in open daylight. This treachery began at the outset with the plundering of the working population by the industrial magnates, “the fighters for freedom in the Ruhr,” the stock-brokers, the bankers and the junkers. This plundering took the form of the support of the mark by the Imperial Bank, which developed into a gigantic swindle,

against which nobody from Helfferich to Hilferding raised a voice except the Communists. With the milliards plundered from the proletariat, the German bourgeoisie sought to corrupt and purchase both the workers and the official class. We know of nothing in history to compare with quite this degree of corruptness and class selfishness—unless it be that of the Social-Democratic leaders, who followed the bourgeoisie into the mire, even up to these depths.

At the same time the bourgeoisie is sending out feelers secretly towards French, English and American capitalism. For this purpose it is again making use of, amongst others, the Social-Democrats, in the person of Herr Breitscheid, whom it is secretly prompting for the task.

This examination of the situation shows clearly what is demanded of revolutionary tactics. The revolutionary proletariat must resist with all its strength, but with its own independent weapons, the Imperialist penetration of the Ruhr. At the same time it must fight against its own bourgeoisie, with the purpose of laying upon it the burden of the struggle, and of finally overthrowing it, and of itself bringing the struggle to a close.

The greatest obstacle is the conduct of the Social-Democrats and the trade unions, international and national. The Communists and the revolutionary trade unions alone have withstood the test of the war in the Ruhr. This is a great advance in comparison with 1914. In Germany, as in France, we no longer have only a few individuals standing alone on the revolutionary front, but firmly consolidated parties, who in the crisis are gaining in strength and authority over the masses.

How important the crisis is to the wide masses of the proletariat is attested by the fact that the Social-Democrats, while they are in practice doing the work of Cuno, Stinnes and Co., are compelled in words to declare the independence of the action of the proletariat, and in words to place the responsibility upon Cuno, Stinnes and Co. The fact that they have left the external conduct of the fight to the bourgeoisie and have refused to fight in opposition to the bourgeoisie means that the Social-Democrats are to be held entirely responsible for Cuno and Co.

To the extent that the Communist Party can succeed in inducing the proletarian masses to conduct an independent class policy, in spite of the Social-Democrats and the trade union leaders, to that extent will it succeed in mastering the oncoming wave of Fascism. The more acute the situation becomes the more imperatively will the alternatives present themselves; Communism or Fascism; revolutionary class action internally and externally, or the submergence of the class war under petty-bourgeois nationalism; the government of the workers, or a Bonaparte dictatorship.

1914 & 1923--Another Word on Ruhr Tactics*



BY A. THALHEIMER

The views expressed in a leading article in this journal on the tactics which the German Communist Party should adopt in the Ruhr war have aroused considerable opposition. This opposition is formulated in a very pointed and direct—if not thoroughly thought-out—manner in the article of Comrade Sommer printed in the last number of the "International," which was sent us by the Frankfurt District Party Committee, with the comment that its own point of view was expressed in the article. We appreciate the pointedness and directness of the article; it facilitates discussion. Very much the same line of thought is conveyed in an article by Comrade Neurath (Czecho-Slovakia), entitled "A Suspicious Argument," printed in No. 81 of the Reichenberg party organ, "Vorwärts," of April 7th.†

The German Communist Party and the Communist International have already expressed themselves practically in favour of the tactics, which were here outlined. Nevertheless, a theoretical examination of the question would be no mere hairsplitting. Unless we are perfectly clear on theory we shall certainly fail in practice. Indeed, scruples such as those entertained by Sommer have on former occasions led to serious tactical errors, an outstanding example of which is the blood bath of Essen.

The problem of tactics involved goes beyond the war in the Ruhr. It embraces the whole policy of the Communist Parties in the capitalist countries which were defeated in the fight against Imperialist oppression, in the last world war. It is one of the central problems of our international party in those countries. Whether it is approached in a right or wrong manner is going to decide the fate of the Communist Movement, and, therefore, of the proletarian revolution, in those countries. For it is a question of the fate of the great mass of the population, the working class in the towns and the small peasantry in the country.

Not to see this is sheer blindness.

As we have said, the policy adopted by the German Communist Party corresponds with this line of tactics here advocated. Nobody has been able to deny the necessity in practice for such tactics, not even the various opposition tendencies in the party. What is lacking is the courage to carry the question to its logical conclusion, to admit frankly that the situation existing in 1923 is not the situation which existed in 1914, and that, therefore, our tactics cannot be the same. Our critics might have, at least, refrained from judging the tactics of the year 1923 from the point of view of the situation in 1914-18. It is certainly not Marxian, for it is one of the first principles of Marxian politics to start on from the existing historical situation. This applies especially to wars of every kind. How often did Menring assert this against the false arguments of the social Chauvinists and the Social-Pacifists during the war of 1914-18. From sheer fear of

*Reported from "Die Internationale," Vol. 8, VI year.

†Owing to some error this article was not received by the Editor of the "International."

following in the footsteps of the Social-Chauvinists and Social-Pacifists, our critics are falling into the pit they are trying to avoid. It is not our principles which have changed since 1914, but the actual situation to which they are to be applied. The great error committed by our critics, inexcusable in Marxians, is that they fail to take into theoretical account the colossal change in the situation which has taken place between the years 1914-18 and the year 1923. No political thinker who wants to be taken seriously can do this.

Let us once again briefly survey the tactical consideration that underlie the action of the Communist Party in Germany. It is a two-sided tactic, directed at one and the same time against the French Imperialist invasion and against the German bourgeoisie. In both directions the Communist Party is seeking to secure the lead of the working class. The tactical point of departure is that the working class is conducting the fight against French Imperialism under the leadership of the bourgeoisie, through their intermediaries, the Social-Democrats and the trade unions. The leadership is to be snatched from the bourgeoisie by the working class under Communist leadership, defeating or exhausting the external enemy, which the bourgeoisie is either not able or not willing to defeat.

One of two things are possible: either the German working class must conduct a war of defence against French Imperialism, and this can only be if the defensive war is fought with a revolutionary aim. Or the aim is not revolutionary, in which case the working class must have nothing to do with the defensive war, and must either be indifferent to it, or even oppose it. This dilemma cannot be avoided. It must be faced courageously. When our critics say the war of defence occupies only a secondary place, or that they have no "illusious" about it, it is an unpardonable refusal to face the consequences.

What does this mean for the bourgeoisie, to the extent that it is conducting a war of defence? It means that to that extent it is playing an objectively revolutionary part. For in the present circumstances the fight against French Imperialism is objectively revolutionary. Does this mean a civil truce with the bourgeoisie? This is the prospect Comrade Neurath opens up. But that would be impossible, even if the German bourgeoisie seriously intended to carry on the fight against French Imperialism. In that case there would be a temporary parallel between the war of the working class and the war of the bourgeoisie, in which, however, the proletariat would have at all costs to carry on an independent class policy (as, for instance, on the German side up to Sedan during the Franco-German war of 1870-71).

But who is imposing this revolutionary task upon the bourgeoisie? Our critics pretend that it is we, the Communists, tinged with "National Bolshevism," who are attempting to do this. But not at all; it is being done in spite of us, owing to the mere fact that the German bourgeoisie is at the present in power, and the German workers who share our point of view are not.

But, and this is the keynote of our tactic, the bourgeoisie, as a reactionary class, must be traitors to the task placed upon them. As a reactionary class it is unable to use the revolutionary means by which alone that task can be performed. That can be done only by the revolutionary class, the proletariat. The fact that the bourgeoisie is confronted with a task it is unable to fulfil means the deathblow

of the bourgeoisie as leader of the other classes in the nation, the workers and the small peasantry; it is the springboard by the help of which the working class itself can leap to the place of leadership in the nation. But that, of course, can only happen if the German working class and its revolutionary party regards the fight against French Imperialism as their own revolutionary cause, and act accordingly.

It is possible that the war in the Ruhr will not end in the overthrow of French Imperialism, but even extend its power further, that is, will make the yoke still more oppressive. The problem will then remain, but in a more acute and urgent form.

The task of emancipating Germany from Imperialistic oppression is the special historical rôle of the German Communist Party. No power exists that can do this apart from the Communist Party. It must either perform it, or go down with all the other parties and classes. Therefore, a clear perception of the task it has to play is essential to the party, and therefore the scruples and uncertainties of our critics must be swept aside. On this question the party must act with absolute confidence.

Now, as to the arguments of our critics, they all come to the same thing in the end: a complete failure to comprehend that the situation in Germany has changed fundamentally since 1914.

Our critic deals with 1870-71. He declares that the German bourgeoisie had a timely revolutionary task to perform in 1870-71, viz., the creation of national unity and a form of state that would permit the development of capitalism. It has no such revolutionary task to-day. Our critic might have gone still further. He might have said that it is this very bourgeoisie which is unable to defend its great achievement of 1870-71, national unity, and is even helping to bring about the disintegration of Germany, and of Imperialist France with her. He is hammering at an open door, and meanwhile has overlooked the main fact, viz., the contradiction between the present task of Germany (the defence and restoration of national unity) and the impotence of the bourgeois class to perform that task.

A second argument of our critic is something as follows: in reference to Ireland, Poland and Austria, one could speak of oppressed nationalities—a combined political, national and economic oppression—but not in reference to Germany in 1923. Why? Because the German bourgeoisie is not fighting for “self-determination,” but for the recovery of its Imperialist power.

That is to say, 1914—but with the parts distributed in a different way. But our critic forgets one detail, which is, however, very important.

Nobody has any doubts as to the desire of the German bourgeoisie to recover their Imperialist power. But more than desire is necessary, for meanwhile a trifling factor has come into play, viz., its military power has been smashed to atoms. To overlook this fact—which is a decisive determinant of the foreign policy of the German bourgeoisie—and instead to regard the innocent wish of the German bourgeoisie to return to the Imperialist paradise of 1914 as a reality, this is mere childishness and has not the least connection with Marxism.

On the contrary, what is characteristic of the situation is that the German bourgeoisie is not fighting for the overthrow of French

Imperialism (and that is not the only condition for the restoration of their old Imperialist power), but is attempting to come to terms with the French Imperialist slave masters; for that is the only way of dealing with the obstacle to its aims: the proletarian revolution.

The proletarian revolution in Germany would restore the unity of the nation (which was only partially achieved by Bismarck. German-Austria being excluded), and secure "democratic self-determination" (which has not yet been achieved), but it would thereby put an end to the bourgeoisie and their dream of restored Imperialist power.

This the German bourgeoisie knows better than many a German Communist, and for this reason it is keeping its fingers off the hot iron; for this reason it is consenting to nationalist bankruptcy. Nationalism with the German bourgeoisie is, even subjectively, empty demagogy, a mere bait. But, and this is not without importance—there are large sections of the petty-bourgeoisie who still dream of the restoration of the old Imperialist glory. They might—after pursuing a devious path, being subjected to powerful fluctuations and in the end being bitterly disillusioned—come to ally themselves with the proletarian revolution, which, it is true, offers a deathblow to the hopes of restoration of Imperialist power, but will save the nation in a different manner.

The fear that Nationalism will bring us to the side of the bourgeoisie is based upon an entire misunderstanding of the situation and its possibilities. If it brings us to the side of the petty-bourgeoisie and the semi-proletariat, it will be a clear gain for the proletarian revolution, if only to the extent that at the critical moment of the seizure of power a section of the petty-bourgeoisie will be neutralised, and perhaps a small number will even fight actively on our side.

That is part of the revolutionary strategy in Germany.

Our critic declares directly that no difference between 1914-18 and 1923 exists.

This is simply to assert that Germany in 1923 is still as much an Imperialist power as it was in 1914-18, to deny that the military power of German Imperialism has been shattered.

Because the German bourgeoisie cherishes the impotent wish of restoring its Imperialist power, our critic overlooks firstly the fact that this power no longer exists, and secondly the objective hindrance to the restoration of this power.

The political conclusions from this point of view are obvious, and are made, it is true, half-heartedly by our critic.

If during 1914-18 the object of the proletariat in all countries was to unleash civil war against their own bourgeoisie and to secure the military defeat of their own bourgeoisie, the object must be the same to-day—that is, if the situation in 1923 were the same as that of 1914-18.

Accordingly our critic says:—

"The victory of Germany led by the bourgeoisie in the Ruhr war would be a severe defeat for the German proletariat, who will have to pay with their own blood for the consolidated rule of the German possessing classes that would thereby result." On the other hand, he says:—

“It is true we cannot adopt a passive attitude towards the occupation of the Ruhr which is making the lot of the proletariat far harder and is menacing it with the threat of war, but we must not cherish the illusion that any improvement in the lot of the German proletariat would result from the victory of the bourgeoisie.”

This is a gross inconsistency on the part of our critic.

If the situation in Germany is the same as in 1918 we must be active only internally, against the German bourgeoisie alone, and the fight against French Imperialism without any illusion is from the standpoint of the proletarian revolution impossible.

We are, then, in Germany, as in France, to conduct a single-fronted war. The political consequences of this point of view in their full absurdity are drawn not by our author, but by the Independent, Theodor Liebknecht.

The revolutionary party of the proletariat would be thereby completely side-tracked.

Our critic makes references to Brest-Litovsk. The comparison limps on both feet.

The Russian bourgeoisie, Kerensky, in 1917 wanted to continue the war on behalf of the Entente. The masses in Russia neither wanted nor were capable of this. They were just as little able, and wanted just as little to conduct an independent revolutionary war against German Imperialism. They were too exhausted. They needed a breathing space to consolidate the (already victorious!) proletarian revolution internally and to build up their Red Army. These basic facts determined the tactics of our Russian comrades in 1917.

But what are the basic facts of the situation in Germany in 1923?

1. The proletarian revolution is not yet victorious; the bourgeoisie is in power.

2. The bourgeoisie is neither willing nor able to conduct a victorious struggle against French Imperialism, it is anxious to capitulate at the cost of the proletariat; it is only fighting for favourable terms of surrender to French Imperialism.

The basic conditions of victory for the proletarian revolution in this situation is to conduct an active struggle against French Imperialism, and to out-manceuvre the bourgeoisie.

An analogy with Brest-Litovsk does, however, exist, namely, that the German masses are also unwilling to go to war, and that they wish to confine defensive action to passive resistance. A victorious proletarian revolution in Germany could obtain a breathing space at the expense of the bourgeoisie (but in the long run at its own expense). But in order to be victorious the proletariat must snatch the leadership of the defensive fight from the bourgeoisie, who are sabotaging defence.

That is what the Communist Party in Germany is aiming for.

If it acted differently, and it would have to act differently if it accepted the standpoint of our critic, it would be destroying the sources of its own victory. It would sink into the morass with the bourgeoisie. The masses would desert the party which deserted them in a struggle they were obliged to fight for life or for death.

And they would be right!

Resolution on the Differences in the German Party



I.

The Executive Committee of the Comintern welcomes the Unity Conference convened by the C.C. of the K.P.D. for the purpose of settling the long-standing differences existing in the party and to bring about co-operation between all the members in the party. The E.C. of the Comintern declares that the mass of the Communist workers are imbued with the desire for unity in the party and that the task of the party is to rally all its forces for the fight against its class enemies and its lackeys. In this desire of the masses of the Communist workers for unity the E.C. of the Comintern sees the guarantee that after the Unity Conference the differences in the party will be reduced to a minimum and that henceforth all discussions will be conducted in a calm businesslike and impersonal manner in order that party activity may be not hindered but advanced.

II.

The differences in the party arise out of the slow progress of revolutionary development in Germany and in all other countries and the objective difficulties created by that, rendered more difficult by deviations on both left and the right.

The Right Wing deviations arise from the difficulty in breaking the spell of the reformist labour leaders over the organised workers. These are represented by one section of the trade union and Factory Council leaders, who, under the pressure of the masses and our party, have accepted the Communist programme and tactics without understanding their aim. One section of these trade union leaders, out of fear for a prolonged and acute struggle against the Amsterdam Trade Union bureaucracy, avoids a clear definition of Communist policy. One section of our representatives in the Land Parliaments and rural bodies in which we are still weak does not muster sufficient strength clearly and definitely to oppose the Social-Democrats. It was these deviations that the E.C. of the Comintern and the IV Congress had in mind when referring to the dangers connected with the application of the tactics of the United Front. The individuals referred to above regarded the tactics of the United Front not as a means of inducing the masses of the workers to abandon reformist policy but as a means for adapting the Communist Party to the reformist leaders.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany, in its policy, although in the main correct, did not always understand how to combat the dangers in time. In certain measures which the Central Committee employed it rather carelessly gave support to the Right Wing tendencies, as, for instance, in its resolution on the political situation and the immediate tasks of the proletariat submitted to the Leipzig Congress. This applies particularly to the part referring to the necessity "for taking into consideration the illusions and prejudices and needs of the broad masses of the Social-Democratic workers"; and again in the same resolution when it speaks of the Workers' Government "conducting the struggle with the aid of the instruments of power of the bourgeois State." These formulæ are undoubtedly false. The Communist Party takes into consideration the simplest needs of the masses, even its state of mind, with

the aim, however, to destroy the illusions of the working class. It participates in the struggle of the masses in spite of their illusions, relying on the experience of the struggle to destroy them. When the Communist Party combats the menace of Fascism that threatens the Republic, notwithstanding the fact that it stands for proletarian dictatorship and not bourgeois democracy, it does not imply that it accepts the illusions of the masses but that it defends the interests of the workers, who, while not satisfied by bourgeois democracy, would nevertheless be worse off under a white bourgeois rule. The Workers' Government can be established on the basis of existing democratic institutions, which, however, will be abolished when the attack of the bourgeoisie against the workers will convince even the Social-Democratic worker that democracy does not provide a sufficiently powerful weapon in the fight for proletarian interests. The moment the Workers' Government begins to carry out its programme it is compelled to combat the bourgeois menace to its existence, it must break up the bourgeois instrument of power and establish a proletarian instrument of power. Even if the latter take the same form as the bourgeois instrument, i.e., police and imperial troops, it will not be, however, the present Schutz Polizei and Reichswehr. It will be necessary to organise class-conscious workers' forces under working-class leadership.

The false formulations referred to arise from the desire of the Central Committee to induce the as yet non-Communist masses to follow its leadership in the struggle for the Dictatorship of the proletariat. There is nothing in the activity of the Central Committee that leads to the suggestion of the fear of it adopting a policy of reliance on the bourgeoisie. Its false formulations have, however, rendered more difficult the attack on the undoubtedly existing Right Wing elements in the party and have noused the suspicions of the Left Wing tendencies.

The circles represented by the Berlin and Hamburg organisations express the dissatisfaction of active proletarian elements with the fact that the K.P.D. is not yet in a position to conduct the struggle for the immediate capture of power and that it is compelled step by step to fight for the simplest needs of the working class. These people fear that this may lead to the party becoming Reformist. They also fear that the tactics of the United Front represent a means for the gradual merging with the Social-Democracy on the basis of joint struggle for immediate working-class interests. The flow of fresh proletarian elements into the party which are still suffering from Leftism sickness which represented the basis of the K.A.P.D. in the past must lead to fresh Left Wing deviations. These Left Wing deviations must be combated by the Central Committee equally with the Right Wing if they tend, as in the case of the Ruhr, to drag us into isolated battles, i.e., the demands of the minority for the seizure of the factories in the Ruhr which under present circumstances can only lead to a defeat for the party, and, as in the Saxony question, the demand for a policy that will lead to the isolation of the party from the proletariat which is gradually finding its way towards us. The Left Wing can be successfully combated, however, if the Central Committee of the K.P.D. will place in the forefront the combating of the Right Wing elements and thus remove the grounds for the revolutionary impatience and distrust of the Left Wing.

The E.C. of the Comintern notes that the representatives of the opposition in their joint declaration of the Unity Conference have

agreed that "the existing differences on tactics are not so great as to prevent co-operation between the party majority and the minority." This proves that the positive charge that the policy of the Central Committee is leading to the liquidation of the Communist Party, and the liquidation of the Communist theory of the State is unfounded. While asserting this the E.C. declares that every attempt to present the differences in the Party as an attempt on the part of the Left Wing to combat the liquidation policy of the Central Committee is damaging to the party. Although the K.P.D. may have committed certain errors and have shown certain opportunist tendencies, nevertheless it is a revolutionary proletarian party, its leadership is a revolutionary proletarian leadership worthy of the support of the Communist workers and of the Communist International.

III.

With regard to the concrete points of issue on the policy of the Central Committee of the K.P.D. the E.C. states the following:—

(a) **The Ruhr Question.**—The German proletariat in the Ruhr is being crushed between the two millstones of the German and the French bourgeoisie. As long as there are no indications of a revolutionary movement in the unoccupied part of Germany and among the French workers; as long as there are no indications of any mass disaffection amongst the French troops of occupation, any attempt at seizing the factories will lead to the proletariat being obliged to have dealings with the French occupation authorities, and supply coal to the latter; and with this trump card in its hand, French imperialism will be better able to come to an understanding with German imperialism. The German bourgeoisie will release all the unchained forces of Nationalism against the Communist workers. In such a situation all propaganda for the seizure of the factories must end in the defeat of the party. In face of this fact, the K.P.D. can commence the propaganda for the seizure of the factories only when there are strong indications that the situation in Germany and France has become revolutionary. Until that time arrives the task of the Party is to combat every attempt to drag the German working class into an alliance with the bourgeoisie, and to reduce it to the position of a tributary of French imperialism. The German Party must always be prepared for the possibility of a compromise between the French and German bourgeoisie at the expense of the German proletariat by which the White Guards and Fascisti, as the executors of this compromise, will fling themselves against the working class in order to bring them under the heels of Stinnes and Loucheur. To unite with the broadest masses of the working class in order to avert this danger, to organise working-class Defence Corps (hundreds) and to arm them, these are the tasks which the party with passion and energy must fulfil in the immediate future.

(b) **The Saxony Question.**—The K.P.D. has understood by the proper application of the United Front tactics how to convince the Social-Democratic workers of the danger of a coalition with the bourgeoisie. Unfortunately it did not understand how to conduct the struggle for the Workers' Government in Saxony on the lines of a struggle for a National Workers' Government. It was not strong enough to set the working class in Saxony into motion sufficiently in order that, out of its revolutionary struggle, a Revolutionary Coalition Government of Social-Democratic and Communist workers might

be established worthy of the name of a Workers' Government. The support of the Social-Democratic Government on certain concrete conditions—which was a step forward—was the only means by which (1) we could guarantee contact with the Social-Democratic masses, and (2) the responsibility for the Social-Democratic Government would not rest upon us. The position of the present Social-Democratic Government is extremely precarious. Attacked by the Right Wing of the Social Democracy, which has the party apparatus in its hands, threatened by the Imperial Government, it cannot rely upon the support of the Revolutionary workers because their strength is still insignificant. For that reason, it will be compelled either to swing to the Right, which our party will endeavour to bring about in order to break with it and to bring forward the question of setting up a revolutionary Workers' Government once again before the masses, or it will be compelled to lead the masses against the bourgeoisie, which in its turn will raise great tasks for the K.P.D. At the same time the K.P.D. stands in a certain danger, namely, that it will be shouldered with the responsibility for the policy of the Social Democracy in the event of the latter leaving the workers in the lurch. The danger also consists in that the party is not yet in a position to mobilise sufficient forces in the country to support the workers in Saxony against the Imperial Government in the event of the Social-Democratic workers of Saxony compelling their party to conduct a real working-class policy jointly with the Communists. Without losing sight of the importance of defending the State Governments, and the presence of Fascism in these centres where the Proletariat has on democratic lines secured majorities in the local Parliaments (Saxony, Thuringen, Brunswick, Hamburg) which might serve as breakwaters to the counter-revolutionary menace and starting points for new struggles, the E.C. draws the attention of the K.P.D. to the fact that the question of the Workers' Government cannot be satisfactorily solved within the framework of separate State Governments and that, on the contrary, the watchword of Workers' Governments, if carried out within the limits of separate State Governments, may be compromised. For that reason, it is the vital task of the party immediately to take advantage of the danger which threatens the Social-Democratic Government in Saxony on the part of the Imperial Government and the menace of Fascism over the whole country, to commence an energetic campaign for the establishment of a National Workers' Government. Only by linking up the working class over the whole country in a struggle against the Imperial Bourgeois Government and the establishment of a Workers' Government will the determination of the workers be roused to resist the attacks of a counter-revolution against those positions which may have been won by the workers in separate State Governments.

(c) The party will be able to fulfil these tasks only when it is able to find points of contact between the working class and the peasantry and the proletarianised petit-bourgeoisie. The increasing prices of the products of industry imposes a heavy burden upon the peasants, and this must enable the party to draw the poor and middle-class peasant classes into the struggle against the bourgeois regime. To this end the party must liberate itself from the survivals of Social-Democratic ideology which, instead of fighting the bourgeoisie and fighting for the levy on property, exaggerate the antagonisms between the peasants and the workers and thus throw the former on the side of Stinnes and Co.

(d) The post-war development of Germany has created the conditions for winning over larger and larger sections of mental workers, technicians, etc., if not directly to Communist ideas, at all events for the struggle of the working class against capitalism. The progressive deterioration of the conditions of life of these classes, which have sunk below the level of that of the proletariat, and which has taken place not under the dictatorship of the proletariat but under the domination of the bourgeoisie, creates in the minds of these classes vague anti-capitalistic views and strivings. Certain individuals in these classes see the cause of their degradation in the victory of the Entente and for that reason their opposition takes the form of extreme nationalism.

The German bourgeoisie, defeated in war, is compelled to struggle against the victorious Entente and to strive to burst the bonds of the Versailles Peace Treaty. In order to maintain this domination over the working class, it must conduct a counter-revolutionary policy, but as against the Entente it is a revolutionary and destructive factor. Ready at any moment to become the watch-dog of international capital, if the Entente bourgeoisie were inclined to give German capitalism the possibilities of its restoration, the German bourgeoisie, in the face of the hopelessness of arriving at a compromise, is compelled to conduct the revolutionising policy referred to, but is nevertheless incapable of rallying the masses of the nation for this struggle; for history has destined it to repel these masses. If its pressure on the Entente should prove successful, the German bourgeoisie will no longer be able to act as the banner-bearers of the liberation of Germany. It is neither capable of conducting a victorious struggle against the Entente nor is it willing to do so. Therefore the nationalist temper, which it is at present restraining, must ultimately break out against it. It is the task of the K.P.D. to open the eyes of the masses of the petit bourgeoisie and intellectual nationalists to the fact that only the working class after its victory will be able to defend the soil, the culture and the future of the German nation. Only the working class in power will be able to win the sympathies of the masses in other countries, which will hinder the imperialist powers in the conduct of their policy of destroying the German nation. Only the working class will be in a position, in the event of it being compelled for a time to continue to pay tribute to the victorious Entente, to find the forces for the restoration of Germany. Only the working class through its victory will be able to conclude an alliance with Soviet Russia, and thus lay the foundation for the rejuvenation of the German nation.

IV.

The decisions of the Unity Conference, together with careful consideration of the directives of the E.C. given above, create the possibility for the harmonious co-operation of all the forces in the party. On these grounds the E.C. is of the opinion that no organ be established and no measures be taken that may tend to increase the differences that have not yet been entirely removed.

The E.C. therefore recommends the Berlin organisation to withdraw its demand for the establishment of a special organ of discussion and recommends to the Central Committee of the K.P.D. to introduce a special bi-monthly discussion supplement in the "Rote Fahne" for the purpose of public exchange of opinion and criticism within the

party. The E.C. takes it as a matter of course that room will be given in this supplement for diverse views, but that the Central Committee of the party will always decide as to whether a given question shall be discussed at the particular moment or not. It is also understood that when, after all opinions have been heard, the Central Committee has decided on a definite campaign, no criticism of this campaign during its progress will be permitted. The E.C. is compelled to reject the proposal of the Opposition to convene a concentration conference for the purpose of removing all outstanding differences. These differences can only be removed by harmonious action in the party. The convening of such a conference will only lead to a conflict of tendencies within the party and thus weaken the forces of the party during the forthcoming portentous months. If political events in the party raise new differences for which the convening of the Party Conference may be necessary, the Central Committee of the K.P.D. must bring the proposal before the E.C.

The E.C. calls upon the representatives of the Opposition to withdraw from the conflicts in the district organisations. A unanimous policy in the party is impossible as long as two political centres exist within the party. The differences in the party were as stated in the various resolutions at the Leipzig Congress, and were discussed at the C.C. of the party. The party knows the differences, and the local organisations can make up their minds with regard to them without the interference of the representatives of the Berlin and Hamburg districts.

In rejecting all measures that may tend to render the differences in the party more acute, the E.C. at the same time invites the C.C. to complete the work of the Unity Conference, to strengthen and make more intimate its ties with such important proletarian centres as Berlin, Hamburg and Essen, by giving an additional seat in the Central Committee to the Opposition and accepting for that seat the representative of the above-mentioned organisations proposed by them to the Central Committee. The three representatives of the Opposition elected to the C.C. by the Leipzig Congress in their work have shown that they do not regard themselves as the representatives of a group but the representatives of the whole of the party and that they can work in the interests of the whole of the party. The strengthening of the ties with the Opposition districts will increase the fighting capacity of the party and will help the Unity Conference to result in the K.P.D. emerging as a United Revolutionary Communist Party.

V.

The E.C. appeals to the general membership of the K.P.D. to see to it that the party increases its fighting capacity during the next few months. The bourgeoisie and its lackeys, the Social-Democratic leaders, have reduced the working class to a position which raises tremendous tasks for the party. What is lacking is such a compactness and fighting capacity as will allow the growing sympathies of the masses of the proletariat to develop into complete confidence in the K.P.D. It is the duty of the Communist workers, it is the duty of the K.P.D. to deserve this confidence by united action. This will be prevented if factional struggle continues.

Reviews of Books & Periodicals

“Vestnik Socialisticheskaya Academia,” Nos. 1, 2 and 3.
(State Publishing House, Moscow, 1923.)

The first thing one observes in reviewing the periodicals is the great wealth of material selected for the Russian publications. We would draw the reader's attention to the rich and interesting scientific and practical experience which finds expression on the pages of the innumerable periodicals which appear in Soviet Russia. It is natural, of course, that only in Russia, where the Communist Party governs the country, can so much energy and funds be expended on intensive Marxist work; that only here the proletariat and its party are able to give full rein to their intellectual activities. Indeed, to the mortification of its enemies, the Russian proletariat can proudly declare to the whole of the bourgeois world that the toiling masses of Russia have not only repulsed the attacks of its foes and defended its rule on the economic, political, and military fields, but that in a is forging the mighty sword of revolutionary wisdom. We shall endeavour in this review to select that which is characteristic, new and daily heroic struggle amidst tragic privations the proletariat of Russia instructive from the multitude of periodicals and articles at our disposal, and we think that it will serve to inspire the Communists of the whole world with fresh faith in the triumph of the ideas which the millions of Russian workers are serving.

We shall begin our review with the “Vestnik” of the Socialist Academy.

The Socialist Academy is the only institution of its kind in the world. Therein the proletariat of Russia has collected an incredible wealth of books and manuscripts on the Labour Movement of all countries, and on the theory and practice of Socialism. The Socialist Academy is directed by prominent comrades.

Before us are three numbers, reflecting the life of the Academy and containing rich and interesting material. The “Vestnik” progresses both in volume and subject matter with each new number. In the above three issues we have a number of articles and papers read in the Academy, literary reviews on various topics, notes and comments, and bibliography. A salient feature of almost all the articles is their, I should say, practicalness. It is obvious that the Russian comrades are carrying out Communism besides discussing it.

The experience of the Russian Revolution furnishes fruitful guidance in questions of theory and primarily of practice, requisite to a revolutionary workers' party. The article by Volgin, “The Ideological Legacy of Babeufism,” printed in the first number of the “Vestnik,” is an excellent proof of the auspicious influence of the Russian Revolution on the true interpretation of our past, on the real scientific analysis of Socialist theory and practice. In his articles, Volgin quite properly emphasises the tremendous importance which Babeufism, as the first attempt to make the problem of Communism a practical one, had in the history of Socialism. Volgin states:—

“If Babeuf were simply a theoretician, and his Babeufism a school, there is no doubt that neither he nor his school would have supplied so much in the way of theoretical thought as it actually did.”

Volgin here expresses a valuable methodological truth, which, unfortunately, is very often forgotten even by well-known Marxists. Babeuf's attempt at a practical application of Communism, besides its mere theoretical construction, gave more to the theory, and specially to the practice, of Communism than any amount of theoretical discussion. Such an attempt is a step forward in the Labour Movement, which, according to Marx, is more important than all program. The followers of Babeuf strove to seize power, and the question as to how the Government was to be organised and consolidated was a matter of first-class importance with them. We see them drafting economic measures for the purpose of "drawing closer by means of practical measures, the economic ties existing between them and the social groups whose support they sought."

It is highly interesting to note that already at that time the followers of Babeuf surmised that they would have to resort to the coercive measures which the October Revolution adopted. The expropriation of the bourgeoisie, as an economic measure, and terror as a political measure, were fully appreciated by them. "All enemies must be crushed with an iron hand." This axiom of revolutionary tactics, says Volgin, was firmly adopted and more than once developed by Babeuf.

Volgin further points out that the idea of the workers' dictatorship was quite clearly formulated by a section of Babeuf's followers. In this respect it is interesting to note that they were fully cognizant of the transitory period lying between Communism and the bourgeois order, and of the provisional measures which such a situation called for.

"Thus Babeufism," says Volgin, "in so far as it made Communism a practical problem, had to give consideration to and find a solution for a number of new questions, which had no existence for the old Communists." We cannot go through Volgin's article in detail, but we warmly recommend it to the readers and agree with his estimation of Babeufism.

"Notwithstanding the opinion of certain investigators, it should be acknowledged that unless Babeuf and Babeufism is thoroughly and carefully studied from this point of view, there can be no true understanding of the evolution of Communist thought from the Communists of the 18th Century to Marx. Babeufism is the essential link between the old Communism of the pre-revolutionary period and the new Communism of the 19th Century. I think that our researches should proceed along this path and that later post-Marx thought in the revolutionary Socialist Movement, including even Blanqui and Bakunin, have not yet been properly appreciated.

* * *

Talheimer's comments on a topic of dialectics in the second issue of the "Vestnik" are interesting, but not convincing. If, as Talheimer says, "dialectics should establish the systematic connection between the categories of thought, as an ideological reflection of the connections between phenomena of life," then we should learn not from Fichte, or Hegel, or Schelling, but from the mathematicians, physicists and naturalists of the 19th Century, and among them seek dialectics in its really creative expressions.

As if in answer to Talheimer, Deborin publishes an article in the third number of the "Vestnik" called "Dialectics in the System

of Fichte." This long and rather poudenous article convinces one still more that Franz Mehring was right when, according to Talheimer, he got into a state of "quiet rage" when the point was raised of the abstract treatment of the dialectical method, independently of the material being investigated.

We shall refer to the splendid article of Pokrovsky, "The Origin of the Non-class Theory of the Development of Russian Autocracy," when it is completed.

Of considerable merit is Kuzovkov's article, "The Financial System in the Period of Primitive Socialist Accumulation." Though one cannot always agree with the arguments of the author, his fundamental views regarding the problems of the financial system are most valuable. The article abounds in rich statistical material and would be useful for West European comrades as a guide to questions on Communist taxation policy.

Mention should be made of an article by Motiler, "The Law of the Falling Rate of Interest," published in No. 3. Motiler is quite right in pointing out that the amendments made by Hilferding in his "Financial Capital" to the theory of Marx have not been sufficiently criticised. Whereas Hilferding's theory of money was thoroughly criticised by Kautzky, his opinions regarding Marx's theory of interest did not provoke any criticism on the part of Marxists. Motiler ably and aptly conducts this criticism in the above-mentioned article.

Lack of space, unfortunately, does not permit us to give consideration to a number of other interesting articles, such as, for instance, Comrade Bukharin's comments on historical materialism, and others. We venture to bring to the reader's notice an article by Dvolaitzky, "The Theory of the Market," in view of the important bearing which the problems of accumulation have on the practice and theory of Communism. Dvolaitzky speaks for and against the theories of Luxemburg, as expounded in her well-known works, "The Accumulation of Capital" and "Anti-Critique," and against Talheimer, who declared at the Fourth Congress of the Comintern that Rosa Luxemburg's theory should be made the basis of the Communist programme and the Communist manifesto of 1920. We shall not argue the matter here with Dvolaitzky, but merely limit ourselves to a few remarks. Dvolaitzky disagrees with Talheimer, who contends that the Communists who repudiate Luxemburg's platform "give theoretical proof of the impracticability of Socialism and open a way for themselves to the camp of the bourgeoisie." Dvolaitzky justly points out that the Russian home-bred Marxists, including Lenin, have produced a theory distinct from that of Luxemburg, and nevertheless remained in the ranks of the struggling proletariat. Dvolaitzky, however, forgets two things: (1), the fact that when the Russian Marxists wrote about the accumulation of capital, Imperialism was not what it is now and the direct revolutionary struggle against Imperialism was not the immediate problem of the proletariat; (2) that the chief opponents of Luxemburg among the West European Socialists happened to be in the camp of the bourgeoisie. Furthermore, the Russian Marxists conducted their controversy with the Narodniki, and not with Rosa Luxemburg. Comrade Dvolaitzky's reasons why the Russian Marxists gave little attention to the theory of Luxemburg are incorrect. According to Dvolaitzky, this was partly because Rosa Luxemburg's chief works became accessible to the Russian Marxists

only as late as 1921. I think there are other reasons as well. Luxemburg's work appeared in 1913, and was instantly followed by replies from Bauer, Epstein and Panecoeck. Almost all the prominent Russian revolutionary Marxists were abroad at the time and naturally were fully able to make themselves acquainted with Luxemburg's writings. If they made no comments, it was first of all because the problem itself was a very complex one, and secondly, even those Russian revolutionary Marxists who probably did not agree with Luxemburg's theoretical arguments, refrained from stepping forward against her for tactical reasons in view of the revolutionary significance of her position and in order not to support the opportunists who held that the economic collapse of Capitalism was not inevitable. I recollect how Comrade Kamenev, in a private conversation, expressed the same opinion and averred that Luxemburg's book is of vast propaganda value. Dvolaitzky may learn for himself that even now there are Russian comrades who take Luxemburg's theory precisely this way.

I may refer to No. 21 of the "Communists' Companion" ("Sputnik Kommunist") containing a review by Schwartz (which, by the way, is an answer to the first attempt by Dvolaitzky in the "Krasnaia Nov" of June, 1921, to refute the theory of Luxemburg by means of workers' credit and the state taxation) and an article by Bessonor, which gives full support to Talheimer and flatly announces that "the great revolutionary significance of Luxemburg's theory consists precisely in the fact that she precludes every possibility of reconciling the contradictions of capitalism prior to its transition to Socialism and Communism."

Thus, in my opinion, the revolutionary significance of Luxemburg's theory is incontestable and Dvolaitzky's objections are not convincing. Further, if, as Dvolaitzky says, the accumulation of capital in a purely capitalist environment is theoretically feasible in practice (as he himself asserts in the "Krasnaia Nov," and which he seems to have forgotten in the present article) accumulation confined solely to capitalist environment would be possible to a very small degree. "German capitalism," states Dvolaitzky in the "Krasnaia Nov," would have achieved the successes it did only in the course of a few centuries, while French capitalism would have died out together with the French population. At the same time, full-blooded capitalism objectively requires a wide scope and the whole world inevitably becomes transformed into the arena of its incredible expansion. Precisely from this angle both of Luxemburg's cited works threw a vivid light on the problem of imperialism."

If this is so, does it not imply that Luxemburg's theory contributed something new towards the explanation of imperialism, even from the point of view of Dvolaitzky himself, of the Dvolaitzky of the "Krasnaia Nov"? As to the essence of Dvolaitzky's objections, I am not able here to subject them to a detailed analysis. I am sure that Comrade Talheimer will answer Comrade Dvolaitzky. I consider that Dvolaitzky's first attempt in the "Krasnaia Nov" and second attempt in the "Vestnik" to refute the theory of Luxemburg are unsound. Neither "Workers' Credit" or any credit is a reply to Luxemburg's query as to the possibility of expanding production in a purely capitalist environment. Now Comrade Dvolaitzky advances credit on the one hand and the striving of the capitalists for maximum profits, not profits in general on the other, as the

explanation of the problems of imperialism. This merely puts the question off, but does not elucidate it. We must be grateful to Comrade Dvolaitzky, however, for making these problems a current topic, even if he has failed to solve them. We hope that his article will call forth a fruitful discussion.

The book reviews section in the "Vestnik" is well organised. It is the only Russian journal which conducts systematic literary reviews on definite topics, without printing a jumble of book titles and comments which give the reader no proper understanding. Prominent among the reviews is Rothstein's remarkable analysis of the literature of Chartism. This review is at the same time an excellent introduction to the history of Chartism. Comrade Rothstein is right in referring to the tremendous significance of Chartism and the exclusive place it holds in the history of the international labour movement. Nevertheless, Chartism is little known in the wide circles of the working class; this is not accidental, because the bourgeoisie is far from interested in having the workers learn how to fight by studying the history of the Charter movement. Books dealing with Chartism have been published only recently. Rothstein subjects all the greatest works on the subject to a minute examination. Very interesting and instructive is his analysis of quotations from Max Beer, the famous historian of English Socialism. Rothstein proves convincingly how Beer at every step distorts the views of the Chartist leaders which he claims to have cited from documents. Beer does this because, in the opinion of Rothstein, he lacks the revolutionary Marxist method of approach and a scientific objectiveness which is alien to prejudice. Comrade Rothstein's review is excellent in all respects. Among others, Comrade Bronsky's review on literature dealing with world industry is done well and conscientiously. Bronsky (as does Ossinsky in a long article in the "Krasnaia Nov") justly points out and emphasises the tendenciousness of Russian bourgeois Communists, who, from objective investigators (Falkner, Kondratiev) were converted into the apologists of capitalism. The review by Nikolsky of the literature dealing with primitive culture suffers from disjointedness and a superabundance of book titles quoted without an attempt at systematisation; yet in striving after quantity, he has nevertheless omitted certain books. One cannot, however, find frequent cause to disagree with his statements.

This ends for the time being our by no means complete review of the "Vestnik." We hope repeatedly to bring to the notice of all comrades this highly interesting and useful publication.

A. MALETSKY.

The (London) Nation.

The exit of H. W. Massingham from the Editorial Office of the "Nation" (London Edition) practically means the end of that journal as a factor in British Liberal politics. It has been common knowledge for some considerable time now that all was not well with the "Nation," and the recent merging with the "Atheneum" evidently failed to solve its problems. A more aggressive Liberalism has now entered, and the advent of Maynard Keynes into the directorate means more purposeful politics and less literary diletantism. How long it will be before Middleton Murry and his world of books are also compelled to seek another home remains to be seen. World pro-

gress and the sharpening of the conflict between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie leaves neither time nor scope for such mediocrities as Massingham undoubtedly was. The capacity to froth at the mouth over the shooting of pigeons, and at the same time not only to look on but to acquiesce in the slaughter of millions constitutes a unique bourgeois ethical quality which can have no real value in a revolutionary age. Massingham played his part in the building of the Liberal Party and guiding it towards power. That party has now spent itself and likewise has Massingham. The younger Liberals of the Pringle, Hogge, and Kenworthy type are struggling frantically to save at least something from the wreck, and Maynard Keynes is the only hope. In Keynes and the Manchester School of European Reconstruction, the Liberal bourgeoisie think they see a ray of light. It is an optical illusion.

The Capital Levy Explained. Hugh Dalton (Labour Publishing Co., London).

But these are not the only people who are seeing things. The Labour Party, despite the experiences of recent times, still think they can see possibilities of legislating a kind of Socialism into being. Clever schemes are drawn up by clever people in the quiet recesses of the British Museum, all of which are calculated more or less to usher in instalments of this Socialism without in the slightest degree disturbing the continuous operation of the present existing machinery. It never occurs to them that there is a grave possibility of disturbing the mind and purpose of the bourgeoisie and that when this occurs one of two courses only is open to them. Either they persist in attempting to enforce such legislation and face civil war, as in Finland, or they give up the idea entirely and become the loyal and dutiful custodians of the bourgeoisie against the proletariat, as in Germany. It is not very difficult to judge which of these courses the British Labour Party is likely to take should such a situation arise. As a matter of fact, the extent to which the control of the Labour Party has been handed over to the middle class elements leaves no room for doubt in the matter. The one anxiety affecting the mind of those in the leadership of the party to-day is to convince the middle class that the Labour Party is the only party which truly represents it. A study of the literature being issued gives ample proof of this. The proposal of the capital levy adopted as an election slogan was calculated to secure middle-class support to Labour candidates. The fact that about 100 constituencies with a predominate middle-class electorate failed to elect Labour representatives is attributed to a misunderstanding of the proposal. Following upon the explanation issued in book form by Pethick Lawrence, a further attempt is made to reduce the proposition to simple and seductive terms. "The Capital Levy Explained," by Hugh Dalton, is offered as a "handy text book" on the subject. The essence of the proposal is to impose a levy on all capital over £5,000. A man worth not more than £5,000 would pay nothing. Then the scale is graduated until the man with a million pays 55 per cent., or slightly more than half. One can imagine our millionaires quietly handing over half of their millions! Why, they could purchase and equip a counter-revolutionary army to overthrow the Government and set aside a fund to maintain a White Guard Fascisti with slightly less than they are expected to submissively hand over to a Labour Government! Oh, these British Museum Politicians!

“ Liberalising ” the Labour Party.

The gradual but effective “ Liberalising ” of the British Labour Party is now common political history. The peculiar nature of the constitution and structure of this body made it an easy prey to the efforts of the middle-class political groups seeking some powerful expression of their interests. The continued existence of the Mediocre Parliamentary Committee of the Trades Union Congress as the medium through which most of the political demands of the organised Trade Unions found expression, was responsible for their neglect of the Labour Party. The astute Fabians and middle-class I.L.P. leaders readily saw in this neglect their opportunity and were not slow in taking advantage of it. They wormed their way into its councils and committees, deluged the more immature and inexperienced Labour leaders with advices on policy and direction, issued a plethora of brochures, pamphlets and manifestos explaining what the Labour Party policy ought to be, and arranged afternoon teas and parties to which the young and more promising of the trade union leaders were invited and subjected to carefully considered advices. Twenty years of this “ Permeation ” naturally achieved the desired end. Not only was the stated policy of the Labour Party an unqualified middle-class one, but its custodians and propagators were elected into the chief councils and to positions of the party. Sidney Webb is chairman of the party, Ramsay MacDonald chairman of the Parliamentary Group, while the latter is also vice-chairman of the party itself.

But these were not the most striking achievements. Of far more importance and danger to the historic role of such a party was the success with which their efforts to “ proselytise ” the growing leaders of the workers met with. So well was this task accomplished that to-day it is no longer necessary for the Webbs or MacDonalds to rush to the defence of this middle-class policy. This can safely be left in the hands of the Frank Hodges, Charlie Cramps, etc., who can be relied upon to do it with much more effect.

A study of the discussion at last year's Labour Party Congress upon such items as the Communist Party Affiliation, Trial of the Russian Social Revolutionaries, Membership in the King's Privy Council, Government of India Act, etc., reveals the defenders of “ Democracy,” “ Constitutionalism,” “ Collectivism ” “ Monarchism ” and all the middle-class “ isms ” generally, to be Hodges, Cramp, Henderson, Tom Shaw, Brownlie, Clynes, Thomas, etc., all of whom were workers originally but who have successfully been “ permeated.” The success is complete and the only visible danger to the security of the power and control coming as it does from the efforts of the Communist Party seeking affiliation, is combated ruthlessly by a leadership which stands united on a middle-class policy. The issue has been transferred there and revolt is already setting in. Districts are beginning to refuse to administer the exclusion clause adopted at last year's Congress and the fight is emerging as a straight issue of control—middle-class or proletarian.

That the leaders feel perfectly happy and secure in their victory is evident from a survey of the Labour Party literature.

The Labour Magazine. (Labour Party.)

“ The Labour Magazine ” for April has for its main features an article composed from a speech by H. G. Wells, in which he endeavours to placate the scientists and university professors. ▲ All the

disabilities of science, the restrictions of research and the exploitation of the results of scientific investigation by capitalism are abuses which are to be remedied by the Labour Party.

The teaching profession is appealed to by an article on a more modern educational system, under the heading of "The Dalton Plan."

The Church and the Clergy also receive attention. A prominent leading Labour Party and I.L.P. propagandist, Rev. Gordon Long, in an article on "Labour's Challenge to the Churches," appends a most interesting footnote. Evidently a memorial signed by over 400 priests of the Church of England and the Episcopal Church of Scotland was recently presented to Ramsay MacDonald and other leading members of the Labour Party, assuring the party of their support in the effort to secure the economic and spiritual emancipation of the people.

The comment of the writer is worth quotation. He observes: "Once more the 'common people' hear gladly the whole truth of the Christian religion, and loving their brothers whom they have seen, may be led on to love God Whom they have not seen."

To say any more would spoil such a gem!

The co-operative is by no means neglected. A long article on the need for closer attention to this very important movement is also included, which, with Philip Snowden's speech on his "Socialist" Bill in the House of Commons, and an article on the Handsome Estate of the Countess of Warwick which she has recently placed at the disposal of the Labour Party, completes the features of this "Labour" magazine. It is true that a page and a half are devoted to industrial disputes, but when they tell us that some sixty or seventy actual disputes were in operation during February, and as this number has increased during March the amount of attention given is in keeping with the amount of importance this body attaches to such matters. And in any case the page and a half in itself is devoted to comments upon no less than twelve disputes!

Socialist Review, London (I.L.P.).

The review contains a somewhat interesting exposure of how Australia exercised its League of Nations' mandate over the ex-German island of Nauru in the Pacific Ocean. The spoliation of the natives and the practical confiscation of the rich mineral wealth of this island by Great Britain, New Zealand and Australia is fitting commentary on the power and efficacy of the League of Nations.

This island, estimated to be worth at least £350,000,000, with a wealth of rich phosphate deposits, is the stage of one of the most brazen pieces of roguery yet recorded. The vast farming potentialities of Australia naturally enabled the Australian Government to at once appreciate the value of these phosphate deposits. That, of course, is Imperialist Psychology. But the Australian methods, due to immaturity and being a very young Imperialism, are rough and crude and lack the diplomatic finesse of Great Britain, and consequently we get a somewhat brutal realness in her explanations. The Australian Minister for the Navy is quoted as giving the following explanation to the Federal Parliament: "When the war broke out two gentlemen came to interview me. They understood the Pacific Islands well, and pointed out the enormous prospective value of Nauru. As a result I made arrangements that the Australian flag

should be hoisted at once on Naura, because it was essential that we should make our claim early. The Government acted with promptitude, a ship was immediately dispatched, and the Australian flag was hoisted at Naura."

This gentleman, Kelly is his name, went on to say that only "official stupidity" enabled Great Britain and New Zealand to get "a share in the spoils." An interesting "most secret" telegram is quoted as having been sent to Mr. Hughes from the Government, while he was attending the Peace Conference. This telegram urged him to put up the "fight of his life" for possession of Naura, and contained the following:—

"Naura is the one island whose receipts exceed its expenditure. Its phosphate deposits mark it of considerable value not only as a purely commercial proposition, but because the future productivity of our continent depends on such a fertiliser."

No nonsense about THAT! Straight talking, I call it, "Guv'ner." No running any risk here of being misunderstood through the use of "diplomatic" language. It is true that a later message added that he must not "make it appear that Australia was grabbing at a valuable asset."

Certainly not! It is purely the welfare of the natives, is it not? They need liberating! You only want to "Christianise" them and dress them up in a "Democratic Constitution"! As the writer of this remarkable article, W. Francis Ahearn, caustically observes, the British warship commander had "learned with great sorrow how they had been tyrannised by the Germans, and he gave them a message of Hope, Liberation, Democracy, etc."

And the natives need such a message. Wages one half-penny per ton for phosphate which was sold to the farmers at £6 10s. per ton! Other astounding figures are given such as that while SIR JOSEPH COOK was assuring the League of Nations that Australia was looking after the welfare of the natives, they were paying them at the rate of 5s. for 216 hours' work!

And at the same moment as this article appears in the "Socialist Review," MacDonold, Henderson and Co. are endeavouring to have the care of the Ruhr handed over to this League of Nations! As the writer states, "it is a sordid business!"

STUDIES IN LABOUR AND CAPITAL. (Labour Publishing Co., London.)

Labour and Capital in the Engineering Trades.
Labour and Capital in Parliament.

The Press.

It is a healthy relief to turn to the two bright and effective publications issued recently by the Labour Research Department, London. The extent to which the working-class and revolutionary movement is under obligation to the Labour Research Department is already immeasurable. Its efforts to build up a department of systematic proletarian research would make a very interesting history, but this is not the place and the writer is certainly not the person for this task. This Department, besides conducting special investigation for numerous Trade Unions in Great Britain, finds time to issue a monthly circular of every phase of the movement.

As a part of its general activities the Department was given control of the publicity work for the Amalgamated Engineering Union during the big lock-out of 1922. This work led to an investigation

of the various engineering groupings and interests and resulted in the publication of a remarkably informative booklet entitled "Labour and Capital in the Engineering Trades." The success of this venture and the general interest aroused by its publication give rise to the idea of a series of studies along similar lines and under the heading of "Studies in Labour and Capital" two more brochures were issued respectively, "The Press" and "Parliament." The same process was adopted and a keen analysis and scrutiny made of the power behind the Press. I have not this brochure beside me at the moment and will therefore come back to it next month. Number three of the series, "Labour and Capital in Parliament" was inspired by the recent general election. In this booklet the various economic interests represented both in Parliament and the House of Lords are carefully worked out and some remarkable disclosures are made. We are told that in Great Britain there exists no less than 79,994 limited liability companies and that of this number 67,071 are private and about whom complete information is impossible to find. As this constitutes over 80 per cent. of the total it is at once apparent how extremely difficult any such analysis must be. Nevertheless, an investigation of the remainder has more than justified the amount of work entailed. After having eliminated the Labour members. Placemen (those so called because, holding a Government post, it was as much as their place was worth to vote against the Government) and the directors of private companies, no less than 255 of the remaining 400 or more M.P.s are company directors or landowners. Similar calculations for the House of Lords reveal 272 in that institution. Two tables are given setting out for both Houses a list of the various industries, the number of members concerned, the number of companies, the number whose capital is known, and the total capital represented. The tables are followed by an extremely enlightening record of the activities of the Federation of British Industries. This organisation representing some 18,000 manufacturing firms with a united capital of £4,000,000,000, is exhibited as one of the most powerful influences on the late Coalition Government. The stories of how it managed to secure the adoption of its programme for reducing taxation on industry, excess profits, etc., and the abolition of importation restrictions and Government control is told in such a way as to make the figures themselves do the speaking. The success with which it managed to scrap the Electricities Supplies Bill and to severely modify the Railways Bill should in themselves be sufficient for those constitutionalists and sturdy democrats who childishly believe that M.P.s think, act, and vote impartially. The booklet sets out to discover "How much money goes into the Division Lobbies each night," and "How many capital shares does an M.P. think of when he speaks of 'My Constituents'?"—and there is not the slightest doubt but that the effort was successful. We look forward with a lively anticipation to a drastic change in the method in which members address each other, and instead of "The Hon. Member for Tooting," we expect to hear him referred to as "The representative for Shell Oil, etc." Perhaps the advent of a few more Communists into the sacred precincts of Westminster will establish the practice.

The book contains a mine of information of first-class propaganda and agitational value and we look forward to a further development of the series of "Studies in Labour and Capital."

ARTHUR MACMANUS.