

# INTERNATIONAL

# PRESS

# CORRESPONDENCE

Vol. 2 No. 60

21st July 1922

Central Bureau: Berlin SW 48, Friedrichstrasse 225, III. — Postal address Franz Dahlem, Berlin SW 48, Friedrichstrasse 225, III  
for Inprekorr. — Telegraphic address: Inprekorr.

## CONTENTS

	Page		Page
<b>Politics</b>		<b>The Colonies</b>	
The British Labor Party, the I.L.P. and Communist Affiliation. By <i>Thomas Bell</i> (Moscow) . . . . .	449	The Political Situation in India. By <i>M. N. Roy</i> (India) . . . . .	452
The Crisis in the Italian Socialist Party. By <i>Umberto Terracini</i> (Rome) . . . . .	450	<b>Economics</b>	
<b>In the International</b>		The Economic Development in Australia after the war. By <i>W. P. Earsman</i> (Sydney) . . . . .	454
The Fourth Balkan Communist Conference. By <i>Gamma</i> . . . . .	451	<b>In the Camp of Our Enemies</b>	
<b>In Soviet Russia</b>		Vandervelde and Daszynski. By <i>L. Domski</i> (Warsaw) . . . . .	456
The Third Session of the Centrosoyus. By <i>G. Kramaroff</i> . . . . .	452	Makhno and Anarchist Prattle. By <i>G. Melnitchansky</i> (Moscow) . . . . .	456

## POLITICS

### The British Labor Party, the I. L. P. and Communist Affiliation.

By *Thomas Bell* (Moscow).

The British Labor Party is a phenomenon in itself. It is a peculiarly British product that could scarcely flourish elsewhere.

It is not a *Party* in the strict sense of the word; it is rather a loose federation of trade unions, trades councils, and a few minor Socialist societies thrown in. But its main support, financial and moral, is in its powerful trade union backing.

This very looseness has always been its proud boast. Its leaders have always bragged about its catholicity when faced with the demands of Social Democratic elements for a more definite Socialist and centralized policy, or when assisted by reactionary conservative trade unionists who did not want to be tainted with Socialism. Indeed its very name, "The Labor Party", and why it came to be labelled such is a most interesting page in the Party's history that is worth reading. For the present it will suffice to point out that the struggle of twenty years ago to give the Labor Party a definite Socialist constitution and objective found its most strenuous opponent in the late Keir Hardie and Bruce Glasier, both pioneers of the present Independent Labor Party which is affiliated to the 2½ International.

Again and again, when the fanatical sectarians of the Social Democratic Federation, tried to impose a full-fledged Marxian constitution on the Party, Hardie and his followers in the I.L.P. insisted upon keeping Socialism in the background in case it would frighten away the liberal trade unionists and upon the need for rallying all "progressives" under the one banner. The one condition that became an obsession with Hardie was the recognition of the strict independence of the Labor Party from the bourgeois Liberal or Tory Parties. And just as they fought against a definite Socialist program or constitution, so they compelled men like Richard Bell of the Railwaymen, who were more Liberal than Labor, to clear out of the ranks.

There never was any question about the program of the S.D.F. or of any affiliated Socialist society being too extreme. Extreme "Lefts" and moderate "Rights" were encouraged to meet under the common roof of *Labor's own political Party*. In the light of their wisdom the Social Democrats as well as the other Marxist organizations left the field clear for the I.L.P. and took to the propaganda of the "pure doctrine" of Marxism.

The I.L.P. was not slow to take advantage of its opportunities. It threw itself into the practical daily struggles of the workers. In the trade unions, in the cooperatives, in the various labor groups and Socialist clubs the I.L.P. was to be found, not as a mere critic, but occupying official posts.

The trade union jobs which they monopolized were used as financial feeders for the rising Labor Representation Committees; the cooperatives and their guilds were utilized for educational work, but always and everywhere the I.L.P.'er was to be found trying to put his stamp on the particular organization he was working with.

It matters not that out of this great pioneer work there grew a crop of opportunist place-hunters and politicians who now act as lightning conductors to run every revolutionary aspiration of the proletariat into the ground. Nor need we be surprised that today nine-tenths of the Labor Party officials are either actual members of the I.L.P. or have been in the past. The important thing is the lessons from their experience as a Party. And this is just what the Communist Party has done.

The formation of the Communist Party in July 1920 was something more than a mere formal unity of groups or parties. It represented the synthesis of theoretic Marxism with revolutionary practice. Its declaration for immediate affiliation with the Labor Party and participation in all the daily struggles of the working class wiped out the exclusiveness and sectarianism of the past, and showed quite clearly that the Communists were determined to be a live party of the masses and not a mere educational club.

Whether the Labor Party caucus had hoped or not that we were going to be another little sect and were disappointed is immaterial. They were taking no risks, and so when our application for affiliation was made we were promptly turned down. Rejected by the leaders of the Labor Party most of whom, be it remembered, are I.L.P.'ers, our Party concentrated on the Local Labor Party Councils and succeeded in retaining a hold in nineteen Locals.

All Communist branches were urged to renew application to the Local Labor Party and in two important centres, London and Glasgow our applications were sympathetically received. On the strength of the recommendations of the two latter bodies our Executive proposed a meeting with the Labor Party E.C. to discuss with them the outstanding differences and try to arrive at some definite settlement.

After two hours discussion we retired to await a questionnaire to be prepared by the Labor Party E.C. for the Communist Party to answer, the replies to be put before the Labor Party Conference on June 27th at Edinburgh.

The discussion at that joint committee meeting left no doubt in our minds that the advent of the C.P. had created a

new situation for the Labor Party; a situation that would not only bring out more sharply the essentially bourgeois character of the Labor Party leadership but would also demonstrate the fundamental difference between the I.L.P. and the Communists.

The opposition of Henderson and Sidney Webb is understandable. These gentlemen are clearly professional politicians who do not hide behind pseudo-Socialist phrases. It is different with Jowett, MacDonald and the I.L.P. generally. The latter still lisp the formulas of Socialism and pretends to speak solely in the name of the working class. Its traditional policy has been to make the Labor Party more and more a Socialist party, after its own type, of course. It was reasonable therefore to expect support from their representatives in the Labor Party but as our discussion clearly showed, and as the subsequent Easter Conference of the I.L.P. revealed, there is now no longer any reason for the existence of both Parties.

The lifework of Keir Hardie—the pioneer of the I.L.P.—is now consummated in the Labor Party. The Labor Party is now committed to all the I.L.P. is asking for.

Moreover both parties are agreed in their opposition to the Communist International. The issues at the joint meeting were clearly the difference between the Second and the Third Internationals. Henderson tried to make the Communist Party an Anarchist outfit by suggesting that since we did not accept parliamentary democracy as the method of bringing about the social emancipation of the working class there was no common ground betwixt us. A well-thumbed copy of the Theses and Statutes of the Communist International was produced by Henderson's secretary and quoted against us. They had clearly studied our position. But it was of no avail for us to show them by citing from their own copy of our Theses that the C.P. was not anti-parliamentarian but that, while we had big parliamentary groups in the Third International, nevertheless we recognized the limitations of bourgeois democracy and so provided for extra-parliamentary action. We proved to them how even the Labor leaders themselves, as in the case of the "Councils of Action" that were thrown up to resist a new war on the side of Poland against Soviet Russia, were prepared to resort to "illegal" and extra-parliamentary action. On the other hand we quoted from the constitution of the Vienna or 2½ International to which the I.L.P. and one of its members F. W. Jowett who was then sitting in the President's Chair of the Labor Party belong, where that body actually contemplates armed revolt as an alternative to bourgeois democracy. We asked to be treated on the same terms.

Another point of objection to the C.P. is that we are "under orders from Moscow" and therefore would not be loyal to the Labor Party constitution and accept the Labor Whip in the House of Commons. To this argument we pointed out that while we were a loyal constituent member of the Third International, nevertheless, it was sheer knavery to suggest that we were bereft of all initiative on matters affecting conditions in England. The centralized policy of the Communist Party in relation to its members would in no way create a new situation since it was a common practice to find Labor Members voting against each other in the House of Commons.

The substantial difference between us is purely the opposition of the leaders of the Labor Party as representing the Second and the 2½ internationals, and the policy of the Communist International. This is clearly shown by the decision of these leaders to recommend the rejection of our affiliation when it came before the Party Conference which is now sitting in Edinburgh.

But while rejecting our affiliation these gentlemen dared to go further. They also amended the Constitution to make it compulsory for: 1) all delegates to the Party Congress "to accept the Labor Party constitution" and 2) for candidates to local or municipal bodies to belong to an organization that accepts the constitution. Henderson fears that even if defeated in the open congress we may still work through the localities and trade unions as their delegates and he wants to close every door against us.

The I.L.P. fraction in the Labor Party cheerfully joined hands with Henderson in creating their barbed wire fence since they now find the Communists are supplanting them everywhere by the practical daily work or our members in the trade unions, trades councils and amongst the unemployed.

As I have already indicated, the leadership of the Labor Party is a caucus or junta of these Second and 2½ Internationals. This decision to reject the demand of the Communists for a united front is a close parallel to the yellow leaders' sabotage at the Berlin Conference of the united front of the world proletariat. At the same time it clearly shows these leaders on the offensive against us. It is another illustration of how the leaders do not want a united front and our inability to achieve it from

the top. We must now try to do from below what we cannot do from the top. Our Party in England will not give up the struggle. We will prove over the heads of the leaders and if need be against them that the demand of the Communist Party for the right to take place in the Labor Party cannot be set aside. The need for a single front against the capitalist offensive is greater today than ever it was. Under the impulse of the Communists the miners are returning to the unions and strengthening their organization for fresh battles. We are driving home to the metal workers the lessons of their recent defeat. We are heading the struggles of the unemployed against the charity of the bourgeoisie and the half-hearted measures propounded by the Labor leaders.

With and amongst the proletarian masses, the Communist Party will go forward undaunted and yet break through the caucus of professional politicians, the Hendersons, Webbs, Thomases, MacDonalds, etc., who are now so faithfully playing the role of watchdogs for democracy.

## The Crisis in the Italian Socialist Party.

By Umberto Terracini (Rome).

The revolt of the Socialist Parliamentary fraction against the Party leadership, their declaration that they will not follow the decisions of the same and their constituting themselves an "Autonomous Group" until the next Party Congress, to which alone they will answer for their actions, has caused an immediate repercussion throughout the whole Italian political camp. As a matter of fact the Italian Socialist party only lived in the activity of its Parliamentary group. On the other hand a Parliamentary fraction of over 120 members under a constitutionally democratic Parliamentary regime cannot simply be ignored by the other Parliamentary fractions.

At present, Italy has a Right Government which is made up of all Parliamentary groups, from the Conservatives to the Catholic Peoples Party, whose extreme left wing just touches the right wing of the Parliamentary Left, i. e. the Social Reformists. Some of the many so-called "democratic" groups among them, those of the former Prime Minister Nitti, have not entered the government, a fact that justifies the statement that in Italy, in contrast to other countries, "Democracy" has not the character of an opposition, but quite on the contrary, is the slave and lackey of reactionary capitalism.

The existence of such a ministry was the prerequisite for the entry of the Social Democrats into the government. In fact, while the present government allowed the Fascisti the greatest freedom of action and even directly supported them with its press, it was instrumental in creating a state of mind among the workers which sought desperately for a means of rescue and considerably facilitated the propaganda of the Communists, under the slogan of mass action and the united front, but which at the same time provided the reformists with a concrete basis for experimenting with their tactics.

A Social Democratic coalition government therefore had to appear before the country with an outspoken anti-Fascisti program. This follows as much from the declarations of the leaders of the present majority of the Socialist Parliamentary fraction as from the decided oppositional attitude of the Fascisti Party against the new political combination. The various bourgeois Parliamentary groups therefore take an attitude towards the coalition proposal of the Social Democrats according to their sympathies and relations with the Fascisti. Whilst, therefore, the Left Liberal followers of Nitti immediately became apostles of coalition, the Reform Socialists,<sup>1</sup> whose leader Bonomi had supported the White Guards in every respect, brought in a Sibylline decision in order not to compromise itself in any direction for the time being. On the other hand the Agrarians, the Nationalists and the Right Liberals announced their absolute hostility to the remotest possibility of coalition, which would place them in the minority and consequently keep them from the state apparatus. The Popular (Catholic Peoples Party) has, under the influence of its Party Secretary Don Sturzo, (the black giant of Italian politics) caused it to be clearly understood that they are not disinclined to participate in the new government.

It thus seems that a parliamentary majority, though but a small one, is already assured for the government which is to be formed. The negotiations for its formation are meeting with obstacles which are not to be easily overcome and the crisis of

<sup>1</sup> Not to be confounded with the present right wing of the Socialist party (Turati, Treves, Modigliani, D'Aragona, etc.) "Reform Socialists" is the name used by those who were expelled from the party as long ago as 1912 on account of their support of the Tripoli war (Bissolati, Bonomi, etc.).

the present cabinet which seemed imminent, is postponed from day to day. November is already spoken of as the month in which the "old and glorious Party"<sup>2</sup> will enter the government.

This delay does not arise from the fear that the Fascisti, at the first, be it ever so timorous gesture of the Social Democracy minister against the reaction, will answer with an action extending throughout Italy, and leading to a military dictatorship. Perhaps still greater is the fear that the proletariat which has already given unequivocal evidence of its resurgence, might immediately face the government with that tremendous and tragic dilemma which has been the grave of honor of all Social Democratic governments up till now: "Either with the proletariat or against the proletariat!"

The metal workers' movement, as in every year at about this time, is opening the period of great labor struggles in Italy. After some weeks of ostensible negotiations and encounters, the National Council of the F.I.O.M. (Metal Workers' Federation) met at Genoa on the 16th June. The leaders of the Federation, with Bruno Buozzi, who is a member of Parliament and also plays a leading role in the C.G.L. (General Labor Federation) at the head, again advocated their traditional tactics, the tactics of "little by little", which consists in frittering away all trade union activity in little episodes, according to locality, category and workshop, and which up to now has always led to defeat. The Communists this time also promulgated their program of united action which demands the linking up of all isolated struggles into one, great, united action.

The proposal of the Communist Party consisted of two parts; first, the rejection of the new agreements offered by the employers, to be followed by the general strike of the metal workers; secondly, to demand of the *Alleanza del Lavoro* (alliance of the greatest trade union federations) the proclamation of the general strike throughout the whole of Italy. The first part of the Communist proposal was adopted against the will of the leaders by an overwhelming majority of 80,000 votes against 12,000; and it was only thanks to their diplomatic cleverness that the leaders prevented complete defeat. For this purpose they put forward a resolution in which they advocated the very Communist tactics against which they had always fought, and under cover of this smuggled in a vote of confidence for themselves. Thus the vote of confidence in the leaders was carried by 47,000 votes against 33,000 Communist votes. In this way the reformists succeeded in retaining for the time being the leadership of the F.I.O.M. and the control of the general strike which will begin in a few days.

It can be taken as almost certain that the metal workers' strike will only be the first step to a far greater movement.

No bourgeois politician who claims to be a friend of the workers is therefore disposed to take the reins of government just now, because in the event of an open conflict he will immediately have to side with the employers and to fight openly and brutally against the workers. This explains why these bourgeois politicians who at first employed all their arts to bring the Social Democrats to their present attitude, now hesitate to conclude the coalition pact with them. They are still undecided; even though the Socialists have declared with remarkable candor, through their member of Parliament and General Secretary of the Land Workers Union, Nino Nazzoni, in an interview with the Editor of the *Il Comunista* (No. 143 of June 18th, 1922), that they are prepared to break up every proletarian movement or any attempt at such by force.

The bourgeoisie still fears the strength of the workers, in spite of the fact the Fascisti are terrorizing the proletarian organizations or destroying them, and although the Socialists have betrayed and split the workers.

## IN THE INTERNATIONAL

### The Fourth Balkan Communist Conference.

By Gamma.

Towards the end of June the Fourth Balkan Communist Conference was held at Sofia. Together with the delegates of the Communist Parties of Bulgaria, Greece, Roumania and Jugoslavia as well as those of the Balkan Federation of Communist Youth which together constitute the Balkan Communist Federation, there also took part in the Conference delegates from the Communist groups of Constantinople and the Communist Party of Austria with a voice but no vote. The Executive of the Communist International was represented by Comrade Miliutin. In all 21 delegates took part in the Conference.

After a few words of greeting from the Secretary of the Federation, Comrade Kolaroff, the Conference immediately proceeded under the chairmanship of the same comrade to the discussion of the questions on the agenda. The report on the activities of the Executive since the third conference was delivered by Comrade Kolaroff. After a short debate a resolution was unanimously adopted expressing approval of the Executive and of the Secretariat, acknowledging the valuable assistance afforded the Secretariat by the Communist Party of Bulgaria, and also emphasizing that the Executive would not be in a position to fulfil its duties unless all sections sent permanent delegates to the Executive.

Following this, a number of detailed reports were delivered on the condition and activities of the Balkan Communist Parties, as well as the position of the Youth movement. This point on the agenda concluded with the report of Comrade Kabakchieff upon the general political situation in the Balkans. The two Committees nominated by the Conference to deal with these reports, on which there sat delegates from all sections, drew up two resolutions dealing exhaustively with these questions: one on the general situation in the Balkans, and the other on the urgent tasks of the Communist Parties of the Balkans, both of which were unanimously adopted by the Conference. Comrade Dimitroff reported upon the trade union movement in the Balkans. The resolution moved by him was adopted with a few alterations.

The Conference in the same way decided upon a number of practical measures in connection with the organization and activity of the Executive, the publication of a Balkan Bulletin, the setting up of a Balkan Archive, the drawing up of an agrarian program, etc. After the election of the new Federation Executive and the authorization by the Conference of the same to issue a manifesto to the working masses of the Balkans, the Conference concluded with a few words by Comrade Kolaroff upon the importance of the work accomplished by it as well as on to what had been achieved by the various sections for the development and consolidation of the Balkan Communist Federation.

For the first time since the war the Communist Parties of the Balkans were able to overcome all the prevailing difficulties engendered by the Reign of Terror in the Balkan countries and to gather together at a full and representative Conference, and this in a Balkan town itself. This fact shows on the one hand that the consciousness of the necessity for building up the Balkan Communist Federation is sufficiently developed among all the Communist Parties of the Balkans, and on the other hand that the White Terror of the Balkan bourgeoisie is far from able to crush the Communist movement. The presence of the delegates from the Communist groups (Turkish and others) of Constantinople, shows that the Communist movement is making rapid headway in this important Balkan centre and that right from the beginning it feels the need of linking up with the Communist movements of the other Balkan countries. The exhaustive debates and the unanimously adopted resolutions show that the Communist Parties of the Balkans are earnestly grappling with their common tasks, that they follow with the liveliest interest the doings of the Communist Parties of the other countries, that they are prepared to be mutually helpful for the strengthening of the Communist movement and that harmony prevails between them with regard to their understanding of the general and particular tasks of the Communist Parties. All this bears testimony to the vitality and rapid growth of the young Communist Federation. The serviceable participation of the delegate from the Communist International in the work of the Conference is a guarantee that the Balkan Section of the Communist International will develop in entire accord with the latter.

Of the non-Balkan parties, the Communist Party of Austria was the only one represented at the Conference. This goes to prove that interest in the Communist Movement of the Balkans is still very slight among the brother Communist Parties of the Communist International. At the conference it was painfully evident that the Communist Parties of a number of countries which owing to the policy of their governments and their ruling classes are very closely bound up with the position in the Balkans did not consider it necessary to respond to the pressing invitation to put themselves into immediate connection with the Communist Parties of the Balkans. Particularly valuing the moral and political assistance of the Communist Parties of the Entente countries for the victory of the revolution in the Balkans, the Conference pointed out that only through the strengthening and the energetic activity of the Balkan Communist Federation would the Balkan proletariat secure for itself the support of the international proletariat which today is so necessary.

<sup>2</sup> The words of Serrati, with which he in his time fought the Communists and the formation of a Communist Party.

## IN SOVIET RUSSIA

### The Third Session of the Centrosoyus.

By G. Kramaroff.

The third All-Russian Session of the Centrosoyus terminated on the 8th of July. This session had a distinct business character and has directly approached the solution of all the questions relating to cooperative activity. As was to be expected the attention of the conference was concentrated chiefly upon the inner organization of the cooperative societies. It dealt first of all with the relations between the so-called bourgeois and the workers' cooperative societies. The session decided upon a unification of organization and activity of the cooperative societies. The dualism and confusion which previously prevailed in supplying the proletarian elements organized in the cooperative societies were finally removed. Owing to the decree of May 12th of last year, the Workers' Cooperative Society was gradually built up to a complete, self-sufficient organization independent of the general cooperative organization.

This went on quite organically, in spite of the fact that the decree and the 4th All Russian Trade Union Congress decided that the Workers' Cooperative only formed a provisional organization whose task it was to realize the monies which were to be paid to the workers in place of goods in kind and premiums. Such an organization contained in itself the danger of a split in the consumers' cooperative societies. The Conference could obviate this danger. It decided: 1. That the Workers' Cooperative Societies are to carry on the work of supply. 2. Between the cooperative societies and the trade unions the closest connection must be established (part of the members of the Administrative Council of Centrosoyus and the district cooperative societies (Gubsoyus) have to be elected in agreement with the corresponding trade union executives and are responsible to the trade union organizations for the supply of the Workers Cooperative Societies). 3. The remainder of the stocks of goods shall be used exclusively for supplying the workers.

In the industrial districts independent alliances of the Workers' Cooperative Societies may be formed. All these decisions will on the one hand prevent the division of strength in the Workers' Cooperative Societies, with us as well as in Western Europe, and safeguard the interests of the Workers Cooperative Societies which alone form the basis for the Consumers' Cooperative Societies, and on other hand shall in this way avoid the breach between the Workers' and the Peasants' Cooperative Societies.

The economic differences among the population of Russia must in no event be forgotten. The session desired further to point out that the cooperative society as a whole has to serve the interests of the Soviet Power; the dictatorship of the proletariat can only be realized in such a way and by such means which not only do not oppose the interests of the workers to those of the peasants, but which create possibilities which tend to promote common work and common action with regard to the reconstruction of the economic order.

In the second place the agreements which have been concluded with the so-called cooperative societies of the old school must be noted. This agreement between the Communist fraction and the fraction of the nonpartisans determined that in the new executive of the Centrosoyus (consisting of 15 members) three non-Communists should be elected, which in general corresponds to the relative strengths of the two fractions. In the same way non-party members were elected to the Administrative Council and the Control Commission of the Centrosoyus. On the whole, this second fact did not come quite unexpected. Since the time when the Soviets no longer had to fight on the fronts and could devote all their energy to economic reconstruction, the cooperative societies have had possibilities of development as are not to be found in Western Europe. Only in Russia is it possible that all the important governmental authorities lend the cooperative societies every assistance and support in all their economic undertakings. Only in Russia is it possible that the Soviet for the Defence of Labor (the highest economic institution), authorizes the state industries to grant credit in goods to the cooperative societies.

After the Cooperative International had recognized the Centrosoyus as the sole representative of the Russian Cooperative Societies and conferred upon it all the rights which National Cooperative Executives enjoyed, the emigrated cooperative societies of the old school could not do anything else but retire voluntarily and transfer to the Centrosoyus all funds deposited abroad and all branch establishments abroad. In this manner the cooperative societies of the old school which remained in Russia have lost

all support in their fight against the Soviet Cooperative Societies. They came to the conclusion that it was necessary to cooperate sincerely with the Centrosoyus and they set up their list of candidates as an official fraction at the Congress. According to the agreement with the Communist fraction, their candidates were then elected to the Executive Committee of the Centrosoyus. It is to be hoped that the cooperative societies of the old school will cooperate quite sincerely with the Soviet Cooperative, that they will be ready to assume the difficult task of supplying the entire working population. The future will show whether these expectations are justified. The session of the authorized Centrosoyus delegates, the majority of whom were Communists, very cordially greeted the members of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, comrades Clara Zetkin, Jordanov and Gruen who addressed the conference. The same reception was accorded the representatives of the Workers' Cooperative Societies of Western Europe; Worley representing England, Kroneger Austria and Kiefer Denmark.

Of the other decisions of the session are to be noted those regarding the recruiting of women into cooperative work, the plan of commercial activity, the improvement of cooperative finances, the increase of import and export activities, etc. Worthy of special notice is the decision to reduce considerably the number of the members of the Executive and the Administrative Council.

In conclusion we wish to call attention to the general spirit which found expression in all the speeches of the delegates. This spirit was full of the joy of endeavor and self-confidence. The work of the past year under the new economic conditions filled the cooperators with this feeling of assurance. The time of dreaming is finally over, as is also the spirit of depression. The clear aims of the movement have appeared on the horizon.

The confidence in the controlling bodies has also increased. All this gives us the assurance that the Russian cooperative societies will begin their work this year under much more favourable conditions and that the Autumn will furnish proof of its growth.

## THE COLONIES

### The Political Situation in India.\*

By M. N. Roy (India).

#### Confusion in the National Congress.

The arrest of Gandhi has at last let loose the various conflicting economic interests and social tendencies that were knit in a superficial unity in the National Congress under the personal influence of Gandhi. A great confusion and the inevitable disintegration are the two most outstanding features of the Indian movement today. It has arrived at the close of one period, but has not as yet found its way into the next. In order best to understand the present situation it is necessary to make a short review of the past months which directly led up to it.

The magnificent demonstrations and mass strikes during the visit of the Prince of Wales brought into relief two facts, viz., the growing rebellious spirit of the masses, and the unwillingness of the Nationalist leaders, above all Gandhi, to develop or even to countenance this spirit which spelt revolution. The Ahmedabad Congress met in an extremely revolutionary period, but it was not governmental repression, which had already been started with the arrest of the President-elect C. R. Das, Lajpat Rai, Ali Brothers and other influential leaders, but the timidity of the leadership which turned it into a tame, impotent show. It was an instance of rank betrayal of the revolutionary forces by the bourgeois leadership. While throughout the length and breadth of the country mass demonstrations were challenging the State's authority to preserve law and order, the Congress harped on the tune of non-violence, and denounced the revolutionary action of the masses as "rowdyism" and "forces of evil". Instead of adopting a fighting program, embracing the redress of the immediate grievances of the workers and peasants, thus to involve them more consciously and actively in the struggle, the Ahmedabad Congress adopted the so-called "Constructive Program" which was nothing less than a repudiation of all revolutionary preparations. This "Constructive Program" was prefaced by summary abandonment of the tactics of non-cooperation as well as of the powerful slogan of civil disobedience given out but a few weeks before the Congress met at Ahmedabad, which slogan was very enthusiastically responded to by the poor peasantry, because it corresponded to their economic needs. The Congress through the mouth of its elected dictator, Gandhi, declared that civil disobedience could not be declared until there was a "perfect atmosphere of non-violence in the country". This decision of Ahmedabad was corroborated

\* See "International Press Correspondence", Vol. 2, No. 51, p. 379.

by the Working Committee of the Congress in its session held at Bardoli, a district in Gujrat which had been chosen by Gandhi as the first place where civil disobedience should be started under his personal supervision. The Bardoli Resolution, which suspended all revolutionary activities, included the following clauses which left no doubt whatsoever as to the social affiliation of the Congress leadership. It was resolved at Bardoli:—

- Clause 1. The Working Committee deploras the inhuman conduct of the mob at Chauri Chaura in having brutally murdered constables and wantonly burned police thana (station).
- Clause 2. In view of the violent outbreaks every time mass civil disobedience is inaugurated, indicating that the country is not non-violent enough, the Working Committee of the Congress resolves that mass civil disobedience . . . be suspended, and instructs the local Congress Committees to advise the cultivators to pay land revenue and other taxes due to the government, and to suspend every other activity of an offensive character.
- Clause 3. The suspension of mass civil disobedience shall be continued until the atmosphere is so non-violent as to insure the non-repetition of atrocities such as at Gorakhpur or of the hooliganism such as at Bombay and Madras on the 17th of November and the 13th of January.
- Clause 5. All volunteer processions and public meetings for the defiance of authority should be stopped . . .
- Clause 6. The Working Committee advises Congress workers and organizations to inform the *ryots* (peasants) that withholding of rent payment to the *Zemindars* (landlords) is contrary to the Congress resolutions and injurious to the best interests of the country.
- Clause 7. The Working Committee assures the *Zemindars* that the Congress movement is in no way intended to attack their legal rights and that even where the *ryots* have grievances, the Committee desires that redress be sought by mutual consultation and arbitration.

The "atrocities" and "hooligansim" referred to in Clause 2 were the uprisings of the poor peasantry against the landlords, and the magnificent mass strikes with which the Prince was greeted.

The following are the outstanding clauses of the so-called "Constructive Program" adopted in place of militant non-cooperation and civil disobedience:—

1. "To enlist 10,000,000 members of the Congress, all to believe in non-violence and truth as indispensable for *Swaraj* (home rule).
2. To popularize the *Charka* (spinning wheel) and *Khaddar* (homespun). All Congress workers should dress in *Khaddar* and learn to spin.
3. To organize National schools; but no picketing of government schools.
4. To uplift the depressed classes.
5. To organize a social service department to promote unity among all classes and races. This department is to render help to all in time of illness or accident."

This is the program with which the Congress wants to lead the movement for national liberation. The consequences of such impotency are inevitable and were not long in making themselves felt in the movement.

A perusal of the Bardoli resolution and the sayings of Gandhi and other leaders do not permit one even to suspect that it might have been a caution against government provocation. The reasons for the shameful retreat are clearly and blandly stated. The interests of the propertied class must have first consideration: British rule may be "Satanic", but landlordism is sacred.

#### The Arrest of Gandhi and After.

The absence of any serious demonstration to protest against the arrest of the Ali Brothers revealed the weakness of the hold that the *Khilafat* cry had on the Moslem masses. The visit of the Prince of Wales in such a perilous period was contrived in order to measure the strength of the movement; so also was the policy of Reading in arresting a number of influential leaders of the Congress. The object of the government was realized; the cleavage between the masses and the leadership was revealed. Consequently there was no risk in coming down upon the Congress with a heavy hand of repression. This was done. Even Gandhi, whose post-Ahmedabad activities were more helpful to the government than anything else, was not spared, evidently to vindicate the prestige of Imperialism. The bourgeois character of the Congress had alienated it so much from the masses by the time Gandhi, the idol of the Indian people, was arrested, that such a monstrous action of repression, to commit

which even the British government hesitated for month, created hardly a ripple of indignant demonstration in the country. The venerated Mahatma was arrested and sent to jail for six years; sentimental speeches were made to pay homage to the martyred saint and patriot; implicit faithfulness was professed to follow the line indicated by him; but what was remarkable, what revealed the real state of the movement was the absence of any spontaneous mass demonstrations like those which had taken place in the country at the least provocation during the last several years. The remnant of the Congress leadership consoled themselves and their rather disconcerted following with the argument that the Mahatma exhorted the people to remain absolutely non-violent on his arrest. But instances are not rare when such exhortations of the Mahatma, even his personal presence, could not stem the tide of mass action. The wave of mass revolt that swept the country following upon the *Hartal* (national strike) called during the Prince's visit as well as in consequence of the slogan of civil disobedience, is still fresh in the memory. All remonstrations, biddings and denunciations of the Mahatma were of no avail.

The removal of Gandhi marked the termination of the period in which the movement could be carried on with a vague, undefined program. It was possible formerly, because the socio-economic consciousness of the various social factors participating in the anti-British movement, had not been yet sufficiently clarified. Therefore all these incompatible, even antagonistic, elements could have the appearance of being united in a common political struggle. But the most prominent class line was revealed when in the Ahmedabad Congress, Gandhi set his face against the revolutionary action of the masses on one hand, and on the other declared the necessity of making common cause with the Moderates, that is, the political party which consciously advocated the economic and political aggrandizement of the native capitalists and landlords. Since then the reshuffling of forces in the Indian national movement has been going on. The bourgeoisie is so much terrified that it has been of late openly declaring its hostility to the interests of the toiling masses. This attitude naturally does not make for the unity of the political anti-British movement, and is not slow to produce pernicious results.

#### The Provincial Conferences.

The various political tendencies inside the Congress organization, tendencies which have been released by the removal of the personality of Gandhi—too much respect for whom tied the hand and sealed the mouth of many a recalcitrant—came into evidence in the various Provincial Conferences held in the latter part of April. All these Conferences (Bengal, Maharashtra, Central Provinces and Berar) with the exception of Punjab, which met during a veritable reign of terror telling particularly heavily upon the Sikh peasants (Akalis) -were conspicuous by the presence of two tendencies equally actuated by bourgeois ideals and orientations. The powerful revolutionary forces, expressed through the workers' and peasants movements, had very little access to the deliberation and resolutions of these conferences. Strikes, trade unions and peasant revolts were not given any place in the speeches and resolutions, except to denounce them and conjure them up as forces of anarchy threatening the existence of the British Government and the native propertied class alike (Speech of J. M. Sen Gupta as the Chairman of the Reception Committee of the Bengal Provincial Conference).

One of the two political tendencies is decidedly bourgeois and either openly or in thinly veiled language advocates a fusion of forces with the Moderates who stand for cooperation, or in other words, compromise with the imperialist overlord. The other is petty bourgeois extremism utterly incapable of understanding the present situation, therefore heading towards an intellectual rut divorced from the pragmatic politics of the bourgeoisie on the one hand, and the dynamics of mass energy on the other.

It is the latter tendency that has raised the voice of protest against Gandhism and attempts to drag the Congress out of the quagmire of metaphysical politics. In Maharashtra, Central Provinces and Berar there has developed a strong Left Wing which demands the revision of the so-called "Constructive Program". In the Conferences this new opposition found itself still in the minority, but succeeded in forcing the appointment of sub-committees in order to investigate the achievements and failures of the Congress as well as to suggest changes in the Congress Program if necessary such as 1. *Swadeshi* (indigenous machine-industry) instead of *Charka* and *Khaddar*; 2. organization of volunteers for physical exercise and social service; 3. To send propagandists to foreign countries; 4. Establish technical schools; 5. Enter the Councils as Opposition. Some of these sub-committees, specially that of Nagpur (Central Provinces), had made reports recommending total repudiation of the Ahmedabad and Bardoli resolutions; but the new program they sug-

gest is no more revolutionary than the former. If the one was impractical or metaphysical, the other is reformistic, in spite of its wordy extremism, which has absolutely no potentiality on account of lacking a social foundation. Consequently this incipient Left Wing opposition cannot do anything but fumble in the darkness of futile petty bourgeois extremism.

#### Other Tendencies in the Movement.

The secret terrorist groups, which never accepted the leadership of the Congress and which were almost exterminated by wholesale arrest during the war, are also appearing in the field. They have been gradually collecting their scattered forces since repression was somewhat relaxed after the inauguration of the reforms, and on account of the fact that the attention of the Government was attracted towards the non-cooperation movement which involved the wide masses of people. These resuscitated remnants of the secret societies, however, still clung to the belief in their old tactics whose efficacy has been put to the test and could not pass the examination. All the revolutionary forces of the country having been involved in the Congress movement, no scope was left for these elements who, however, kept out of the Congress simply because they did not believe in the latter's tactics, particularly the faith in non-violence. But this aloofness has been broken lately and many of them have joined the Congress organizations individually although as a revolutionary tendency they insisted on maintaining their separate existence. This individual participation has gone so far that according to the latest information received, in the province of Bengal, where the secret societies had been the strongest, a majority of the local Congress organizations is controlled by ex-members of terrorist organizations. These people are in the Congress activities because they have been incapable of evolving by themselves a better or more effective method of struggle. They expected that something would come of the non-cooperation movement; but when non-cooperation was wrecked on the rock of non-violence, they could offer nothing constructive but simply point out that violence was needed. Now during this period of readjustment, these elements are showing signs of activity, which is, however, still far from what is suitable to the situation. Organizations are being formed for propaganda and education among the masses; but the propaganda and education aimed at by these organizations are not revolutionary, but actuated by reformist ideas fomented by despair. Anyhow, there is a search for new ideas, new methods of struggle which will be able to push the movement out of the rut it is now in. To bring about the union of these declassed intellectuals with the workers' and peasants' movement is the immediate task. There is a movement to go to the villages, but the idea behind this movement is wrong. This movement needs revolutionary impetus.

Various journals have come out embodying this new extra-Congress tendency. These journals are mostly written in vernacular languages and aim at combating some of the impossible tactics and metaphysical preoccupations of the Congress. Groups looking for new inspiration, new political horizon are being gathered around these ideological standards.

#### The Labor Movement.

The purely bourgeois and to a certain extent reactionary policies of the Congress have had a harmful effect upon the working class movement. The second All-India Trade Union Congress met two months before the National Congress assembled at Ahmedabad. As a mass demonstration the Trade Union Congress was of much greater significance than the National Congress. But the relaxation of political enthusiasm was already to be noticed. The great demonstration with which the Trade Union Congress met was more of an economic than political character. The leadership was very questionable. But the National Congress in its great consternation over the countrywide mass upheaval failed or refused to take notice of this new tendency in the labor movement. The only way was to launch an action program which would include the fight for improving the immediate material condition of the working class. But the Ahmedabad Congress started on a path which led farther and farther from the workers and peasants. Thus the leadership of the most important revolutionary social factor was left at the mercy of opportunist politicians, petty bourgeois reformers and government agents.

The Bengal Provincial Trade Union Congress, which met almost simultaneously with the Political Conference of the same district, showed that the trade unions and the labor movement as a whole had been almost completely divorced from the political movement and had come under the uncontested control of anti-revolutionary leadership. While the process of divorce of the Congress movement from the dynamic forces of revolution was thus revealed, the predominating tendency in the Bengal Provincial as well as four other Provincial gatherings was

towards the Right, to join hands with the Moderates. The opposition of Left extremism was futile, because it was in no way connected with the forces of mass energy. There were small minorities which declared the necessity of going to the masses, but their voice was overwhelmed in the turmoil preparing the ground for a united front of the bourgeoisie, native and foreign.

In spite of this widening gulf between the political movement and the economic struggle of the working class, the latter has not yet completely fallen under anti-revolutionary leadership, because the objective forces of revolution are still in operation. Most of the trade unions federated in the Trade Union Congress are boards of officers rather than working class organizations. These officers are invariably outsiders making capital of the labor movement, or government agents. They try to dictate how the workers should behave and organize, but are not yet able to curb the spontaneous, although largely unconscious revolt of the toiling masses. In many unions, a spirit of revolt against the "upper class" leaders is growing.

In short, the bourgeoisie has proved itself incapable, even unwilling to push the Indian movement ahead towards revolution. The petty bourgeois extremism, which expects to gain very little by compromise with the imperialist exploiter, would like to go farther, but is unable to find and employ with resoluteness the suitable tactical weapon. The Congress, which has built up the skeleton of a nationwide organization, is thus left without a revolutionary leadership on the one hand, and is losing the support of the masses on the other. The element that can save the situation is yet very weak, but is not lacking. The development of this factor will prevent the split that is threatening the movement; it will keep the political movement for national liberation based on the revolutionary uprising of the masses, and will be able to push the unwilling bourgeoisie into the anti-imperialist struggle, thus utilizing the little revolutionary significance it possesses.

## ECONOMICS

### The Economic Development in Australia After the War.

By W. P. Earsman (Sydney).

Prior to the war Australia was mainly the dumping ground for the manufactured commodities of Europe and America. Australia exported nearly all her raw material in wool, wheat, meat, copper, gold, etc. In many instances the raw material returned in the form of finished commodities.

With the outbreak of the European conflict the whole scene was changed. Britain and Germany, the main industrial countries supplying Australia had something else to do than send manufactured goods for colonial exploitation. Then America and even Japan found they were too busy supplying Europe to trouble about Australia or New Zealand. Therefore the shortage had to be made good in some way. Herein appeared a blessing in disguise, as it was an opportunity for the economic expansion of industries in Australia which previously had never been dreamt of.

The Commonwealth Government was the first to commence operations by erecting large woolen mills for the manufacture of woolen goods. Private enterprise followed and this industry was soon in a flourishing condition. This led to the manufacture of machinery, which in turn led to the very great expansion of the iron and steel industry. The steel works at Newcastle expanded enormously and even commenced to export to Britain.

Then followed shipbuilding which also got a great impetus. The Commonwealth Government policy of having an Australian Navy was about to be realized. The Government took over large shipbuilding yards in Sydney and commenced the building of battleships, destroyers and submarines. This later extended to the building of merchant ships. In fact there was no direction but what there was some very marked development. Electrical appliances, steel tires for the railways, etc., which had all been previously imported from Germany were manufactured. Then there was a greater demand for wheat at fabulous prices. In fact nothing escaped the influence which was abroad.

This prosperity continued for two years after the termination of the war. Then the scene began to change. Those who had been studying the situation knew what was coming, and the workers were well warned. At this time when prices were falling all over the world, the Commonwealth Government acted in such a way that the full force of the impending crash was delayed for a few months.

During the war period the Government had formed what was known as the wheat and wool pool. This was an organization which the Government organized for the purpose of marketing all wheat and wool for exportation. The Government bought up from the farmers all their wheat and wool, and paid them London prices minus cost and freight. When prices fell all over the world, the Government did not reduce the price of wool and wheat but continued to pay war prices till the beginning of 1921. This was merely political trickery on the part of the Nationalist Government which was afraid of the opposition of the farmers, but it had a very big influence on everything at this moment and was the means of stalling off the evil day. The evil day the Government had in mind was the elections and the idea of losing votes for a paltry few million pounds sterling seemed to this gang of daylight robbers very silly. So they waited till after the elections and then burst up the pool. This meant that the farmers were thrown on their own resources for the disposing of their commodities. In 1920 the price of wheat alone fell three shillings per bushel, but the Commonwealth Government continued to pay nine shillings the bushel. This will give some idea of the crash when it did come in 1921. It has not yet fully developed and this coming Winter will be the most severe the masses of Australia have yet experienced.

The first sign of the coming change was that factories and mills began to dispense with the services of some of their workers. At first this was not general, but soon the rout began and every industry was affected. There were all kinds of rumors abroad, that it was only a temporary stoppage and soon the wheels would be moving again. By the beginning of 1921, the position had become very serious and Australia for the first time probably in her short history, was faced with what looked a permanent unemployed army. This does not mean that Australia never had any unemployed before, but that she had not any great number of unemployed in the past. This is easily accounted for when it is remembered that Australia is an agricultural country with great farms, thousands of acres in size, producing wheat and wool on mass production lines. This means that in Spring, Summer and Autumn there is always employment either harvesting, shearing, cutting sugar cane, fruit packing and work in the big freezing works, where the cattle are slaughtered and prepared for exportation. But at this time there was a slump in this business too, which left the army of unemployed. It was not expected that the farmers of all kinds would continue their operations as in previous years with the big fall in prices which I have already mentioned. As in other countries, the capitalists commenced their offensive against the conditions of the workers and lowered the standard of living so as they could compete with other countries.

The unemployed were far from passive and became an organized mass. They soon brought pressure to bear on the different State Governments, who in turn for a time supplied relief work, making new roads, etc. But this was not sufficient, because there were a great number of skilled mechanics also on the bread line or I should say below the bread line, and they refused to accept the pick and shovel work. They were not fit for it, and they demanded work at their own occupations. This was also granted for a limited period, but it was not long before the whole of the relief work came to an end. The Government could not carry on because of the shortage of funds. This situation gave way to one of desperation by the mob and street conflicts took place between the unemployed and the police at the instigation of the Labor Governments, which thought that this was the only way to silence the hungry. At the same time they were perfectly candid about the whole position, saying that they had plenty of work, but no money to pay. Appeals were sent to London by the Queensland and New South Wales State Governments, but both appeals fell on deaf ears. Then an effort was made to raise local loans, which carried for a while, but today they have given out and unemployment is still increasing.

So far no effort had been made to reduce wages, but towards the end of 1921 the capitalists opened the campaign by demanding that wages must fall. This was kept going for several weeks just with the object of preparing the ground for the real attack which would follow. The union leaders replied by refusing to consider any reduction and stating that the profits of employers must fall. The unions were now alive to what was doing and commenced to put their house in order for the attack and prepared their defence. For some reason the employers did not deliver their attack at once, but delayed it. This we turned to the best advantage by organizing and doing the utmost of propaganda among the rank and file.

At the beginning of 1922 the Prime Minister of the Commonwealth, Mr. Hughes, called an Economic Conference composed of employers and employees. This conference opened in Sydney, in February, with Mr. Hughes as chairman. The

Prime Minister said that he had called the conference with the object of finding out if either side could offer the Government any suggestions whereby the present economic crisis in industry could be remedied. Also with the object of bringing Capital and Labor together to try and avoid any unnecessary conflicts.

This conference lasted ten days. The employing class simply demanded a reduction in wages and an increase of the working hours from 44 to 48 hours per week. The workers' representatives refused to consider any such proposals and declared that nothing short of force would induce them to accept any reduction in wages, that unemployment would not be assisted to any degree by reducing the standard of living, that it was part and parcel of the present mode of production, and that while the latter lasted, there was no remedy for the disease. But to meet the present position the workers' leaders put forward a program that would be the means of assisting the workers a little in their misery. It was as follows:—

"In consideration of the fact that Australian industry is inseparably interwoven with the world's economy, and believing that industry in the Commonwealth will shortly be gripped by the same crisis that is paralyzing industry throughout the world, the employees' representatives at this conference declare that the present system of unregulated production, inadequate distribution, and uncoordinated exchange is incapable of meeting the situation that has developed."

"They declare further, that only the socialization of industry, with workers' control, offers a solution for the impending collapse of industry."

The workers' representatives concluded with the following demands:

- 1—No reduction of wages or lengthening of the working week.
- 2—Adequate unemployment insurance as a legitimate risk of and charge upon industry.
- 3—Effective share by the workers in the control of industry.

When this program was tabled, the employers asked for the adjournment of the conference in order to be able to give proper consideration to the proposals. This was agreed to.

The next day the conference met and the employers refused to discuss the employees' proposals, stating that there was nothing practical in the proposals and that they could see no good purpose in going on with the conference. In other words, they found the workers' representatives solid and not prepared to move in agreeing to reduce wages.

Today the position is becoming very acute. More workers are being thrown on the streets, and factory after factory is closing. The employers are preparing to make a mass attack on the unions and by sheer force compel a reduction of wages, etc. On the other hand, the unions are also getting ready by banding themselves together into industrial unions and when the attack is made sometimes this year nothing short of a general strike will be the result.

## IN THE CAMP OF OUR ENEMIES

### Vandervelde and Daszynski.

By L. Domski (Warsaw).

As is known, the Enlarged Executive of the Communist International, decided at its first session to address a request to Vandervelde that defenders from the ranks of the Third International be admitted to the Dombal trial in Warsaw. Vandervelde could not easily refuse this request and asked his brother social traitor Daszynski to use his influence with the Polish Government in this direction.

Of course, nobody for a moment thought that the Polish Government would allow such an unheard of innovation, which can only be permitted, under Bolshevik blood justice. But what even Vandervelde could hardly expect was that his brother in faith would not even know how to behave like a gentleman and instead of creeping behind the bourgeois "Court of Justice", would embody in his telegram every possible argument to justify beforehand the refusal of the Polish Government.

In Poland there is no Party Court. Poland is to be differentiated from Soviet Russia by reason of its non-partisan justice . . . such is the substance of the effusions of the Polish Government Socialist. A Court which defends the Revolution is to the Social Traitor a biased Court. On the other hand a Court which defends the capitalist order against the aspirations of the proletariat is of course an impartial Court, a Court in the highest sense of the word . . .

Daszynski, it is true, more than anyone else is qualified to glorify Polish class-justice which is a product of the first

Polish Government, the "Socialist" Government of Moraczewski, who in turn was only a puppet in the hands of Daszynski and Pilsudski and who after his entry into the Government, with a stroke of the pen abolished a whole series of Czarist laws. But he did not repeal clauses 102, 126 and 129 of the Criminal Code under which *Communists are sentenced to eight years hard labor*. Further he did not repeal the clauses which rendered strikes and strike propaganda liable to punishment, although he could have also done this with a stroke of the pen. *He retained these clauses*, because Pilsudski and Daszynski as guardians of the capitalist order did not wish to be without these anti-strike laws.

In Soviet Russia the Courts are party courts; in Poland, however, party courts do not exist. But the Communists who under Moraczewski were kept in prison for many years by reason of the exceptional laws, would have been glad if they had only been brought before a party court. The hangmen who in the Summer and Autumn of 1920, during and after the offensive of the Red Army caused *hundreds of workers and peasants to be shot down* on account of their "cooperation with the Bolsheviks" (impartial justice!) were not even brought before a party court. The officers of the Minister Sosnovski who but recently, during the strike of the agricultural workers in Posen and Pomerania, flogged and insulted the workers by *beating them with a red flag*, are still allowed to go scot free and need not even fear a party court. This does not hinder the leader of the Polish Social Traitors from assuring Vandervelde that Polish justice deserves the confidence of Socialists. And he cannot do otherwise, for it is *his* justice. The shooting of workers in the Summer and Autumn of 1920 was carried out by the Witos Government in which *Daszynski himself participated as Vice President*. He is therefore a direct accessory to the shooting down of the workers by the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie. In Poland there is no party justice!...

But the crowning cynicism was reached by the Polish Vandervelde, when in his telegram to the Belgian Daszynski he congratulated him because he was able to leave Russia safe and sound after throwing up his task as defender....

One would think that Soviet Russia is a barbarian state into which its enemies are only admitted, to act as defenders at political trials in order that they may be murdered. This is written by the spiritual guide of the Moraczewski Government which *actually had crimes of this sort on its conscience*. For there has never been in Russia a murderer of a member of a foreign mission which was previously invited, even if he proved himself to be a spy and a counter-revolutionary. In Poland, on the other hand, in the year 1919, a *Soviet mission under the leadership of comrade Vesolovsky* which had been invited by Pilsudski to take charge of the transportation of Russian war prisoners, was foully slaughtered by the Gendarmes of the "Socialist Government". The Foreign Minister, the "Socialist", Vasilevski caused the Mission to be deported under an escort of Gendarmes *who shot down the whole mission*—without as much as a party court. Up to the present nothing whatever has been done to the murderers, but the protector of these murderers today has the brazenness to congratulate a foreign Socialist on his safe and sound return—not perchance from Poland, but from Soviet Russia.

The telegram of Daszynski which constitutes one of the most shameful documents of international social treachery, was certainly not written for the Russian workers. The latter are following with interest the Dombal trial as they followed the trial of the Roumanian Communists and the German political trials. They know that in the event of a victory of the Social Revolutionaries, of the protegés of Vandervelde, they would receive exactly the same "impartial" justice as obtains in the capitalist countries. They are not in the least desirous of this "justice" and they stand firmly by that "party justice" which all the capitalist flunkies of the world seek to bespatter with mud.

## Makhno and Anarchist Prattle.

By G. Melnitchansky (Moscow).

In number 165 of *Le Libertaire*, we find an article on Makhno, by the Anarchist Alexander Berkman. In his desire to whitewash Makhnoism from the pogroms and the banditism of which it is accused, Alexander Berkman attempted to draw a resemblance between the army of the famous "little father", and other armies. He arrives at the conclusion that excesses are a thing inevitable in any army, and that they took place not only in Makhno's, but also in the Red Army; and in support of his assertions he cites me as a "witness".

"It is true", he writes, "that there have been cases of banditism in Makhno's army, but banditism is a phenomenon com-

mon to all armies. Did it not occur in the cavalry of the famous Budienny, when they attacked the Jewish population? Is it not a fact, that many soldiers of this very army of Budienny, were shot in March 1921 for acts of pogromism? These facts are well known throughout Russia. I have heard them cited by Melnitchansky, whom I knew intimately. And Melnitchansky is a Communist of rank for he is the president of the Moscow Trade Union Council. He himself was member of a special committee composed of Communists, charged with investigating the crimes committed by Budienny's army".

I became acquainted with Alexander Berkman during his stay at Moscow, and during this time I have seen him but six or seven times all told. I took him for an honest man and did not consider him capable of distorting my conversations with him in such a clumsy manner. Unfortunately, however, his article shows that I was mistaken.

And now let us examine the crux of the question. Alexander Berkman is right in saying that every army contains some undesirable elements who commit robbery and murder, but on this point his own article hits its writer. Berkman claims that many regiments from Budienny's army had been severely punished, and that in March 1921, numerous soldiers had been shot for having taken part in pogroms. What does this signify? It signifies that the Red Army of the Soviets is a disciplined army, and that all the massacres and acts of robbery perpetrated against the civil population are severely punished, even to the point of executing all the guilty ones.

But what of the "little father" Makhno? Has he ever attained such discipline? Let Makhno's defender cite a single case where the bandits of Makhno's army had been disciplined! Alexander Berkman speaks of this army quite intimately. One's hair stands on end on hearing the "exploits" of Makhno's bands. Since I am referred to as a witness, permit me then to tell you the following: "I am a native of Ukraine from the district of Elizavetgrad. I have there many relatives and friends. This region had been invaded by Makhno several times, and I affirm that everyone of these invasions was a nightmare; massacres, cases of looting and pillaging were without number. The inhabitants of this district are terror-stricken at the very thought of Makhno's army. And as far as I know, not a single section, nay, not a solitary soldier of Makhno's army was court-martialed. In the eyes of all the criminal elements, Makhnoism was a paradise of unpunished crime. As to the participation of some soldiers of the Red Budienny Army in pogroms, the following are the facts: At the time when Budienny's army was passing through Volhynia, on the Crimean front, the agents of Poland and of Wrangel, working under the mask of "volunteers", attempted at first to disorganize the Red troops through their propaganda. The result of this provocation was that a small band, consisting of the scum of the army, organized pillage, and assassinated the Communist Commissar of the Division who had learned of their plans and tried to stop their ignoble work. The pillaging recurred in two or three places. As soon as the Army Revolutionary Council heard of this, an investigating Committee (with myself at the head), was appointed. The result was that three regiments were disciplined, 140 men arrested and handed over to the authorities. The arrests were carried out by the soldiers of the disciplined regiments themselves, who later, desirous of regaining their honor, distinguished themselves in the fighting against the armies of Petlura and Wrangel. At that time the whole incident was reported in the Soviet press. This shows that it is inadmissible to draw a parallel between the robber bands of the "Anarchist" Makhno, the organizer of pogroms, and the Red Revolutionary Army. I spoke of this to Berkman, and since he cites me, he should also cite the slogan of the agents provocateurs, which I told him. This was: "Kill the Jews, the Commissars and the Communists. Come, let us join the 'little father' Makhno".

If he had inserted this passage, it would have interested and instructed the readers of "Le Libertaire".

In conclusion, here is a question I put to Berkman: "Would you seriously imagine that, if Makhno and his army were really the champions of Revolutionary Anarchism, the bourgeois and robber Government of Roumania would have accorded them an asylum?" In the history of the revolutionary movement there are no cases where bourgeois governments take militant revolutionists under their protection. Moreover, why is it that the same Makhno, the "Anarchist", who on "conscientious" grounds refused to deal with the Soviet power, now finds it so easy to live in peace with the blackest and most reactionary government in existence? Why is it, that now when he is in a country where the White Terror rules supreme, he does not raise a finger against the Boyars and the Roumanian bourgeoisie? Not only does he not fight against them, but he organizes with their aid new bands; for new crimes and new massacres in Soviet Russia...