

THE COMMUNIST REVIEW

EDITOR :: WM. PAUL

Volume 4

MAY 1923

Number 1

SUBSCRIPTION RATES

HOME—SINGLE COPIES		ABROAD—SINGLE COPIES	
SIX MONTHS	- 3s. 9d. POST FREE	SIX MONTHS	- 3s. 6d. POST FREE
TWELVE „	- 7s. „ „	TWELVE „	- 6s. 9d. „ „

HOME AND ABROAD—BUNDLE ORDERS

13 COPIES FOR 5s. 3d. POST PAID SALE OR RETURN

REVIEW OF THE MONTH

A CHANCE FOR MAY DAY

MAY-DAY is the day when the militant workers sum up the events of the year; when they count their victories and pay heed to their defeats. The past year has not been one of conspicuous success for the proletarian movement. We have very few *real* victories to record. During the past year the ruling propertied class took full advantage of the refusal of the Second International and the Vienna Union to join hands with the Communist International and build up a united fighting front of the working class. The Communist International did everything in its power to facilitate the creation of a united front. At Berlin, last year, the Second International and the Vienna Union sacrificed unity of mass-action and based their refusal upon the most trivial of hypocritical excuses. Again, at the Hague this time, the Amsterdam International refused the offer of the International of Red International Unions to form a solid battle line against the capitalist offensive. The leader of the Amsterdam International, J. H. Thomas, who could not fight side by side with the militant elements of the industrially organised masses, was able to show his enthusiastic anxiety to co-operate with the propertied interests; let those who are interested study his servile speech—in which he sang the praises of the Monarchy and upheld the capitalist Constitution—at the dinner of the Industrial Welfare Society last January. Let them also read his scathing denunciation of the hunger-marchers and those who are active in the rent-restriction agitation. Let them study his antics now when his own union demands to struggle against the transport magnates. Where encouragement to stand solid on behalf of the interests of the masses is needed, there J. H. Thomas helps the reactionaries by his abusive denunciation of every move that the workers make against their exploiters.

J. R. MacDonald—who leads the Liberal-Labour middle-class career mongers in their campaign of splitting the working-class

movement by refusing the application of the Communist Party to join the Labour Party—dines with the industrial magnates of the City in order to assure them that he and his colleagues have “not a thousand millionth part of sympathy with the Bolshevik point of view.” Unfortunately for J. R. MacDonald, there is still an honest and proletarian element in the I.L.P., and at the recent Party Conference he and his kidney were severely censured and forbidden to attend these banquets which are now fashionable among wealthy reactionaries who, appalled at the growing power of Soviet Russia, seek to derive some temporary consolation in listening to the tame ducks of the I.L.P. denouncing the Communists.

The alarming results of the determination of MacDonald and Thomas to split the Labour movement in this country may be seen in the tremendous struggle that is going on within the Labour Party at the present moment. Because the Communists are active and courageous in the workshops, they are elected by their mates to represent them in the local Labour parties—in the mine, the railroad, the factory, and the workshop—in the industrial trenches of the class struggle—it is there that the masses respect and honour the Communists; it is there that the Communists are chosen as Labour Party delegates, and it is there that the real struggle regarding the Communist Party application to join the Labour Party and to solidify the whole working-class movement, from Left to Right, is being fought out. It is highly possible that the dead-weight of dictatorial bureaucracy and red-tape, operated by the officials at the top, may prevent, for the time being, the official entrance of the Communist Party into the Labour Party. But the main thing is that the Communist influence in the Labour movement is spreading from below upwards. And because these active and respected workers, appointed by the rank and file, happen to be members of the Communist Party, the national leaders of the Labour Party insist upon the local groups refusing either to recognise or to accept them as *bona-fide* delegates. In the large industrial areas many local Labour Party groups are refusing to bow down to the ukase of the petty Tsars of Eccleston Square, and are recognising every worker as a *bona-fide* delegate who is elected by his trade union colleagues. In certain districts, where the Communist delegate is not permitted to represent his work-mates, he returns to his trade-union branch and reports upon the matter; in most cases he is voted back upon the local Labour Party and is invariably reinforced with a declaration from his union that it insists upon choosing its own delegates in accordance with its own desires, and not to suit the political whims of the sectarian national leaders. This internal and regrettable conflict is bound to develop and to intensify in the measure that the Communist Party grows. The embittered war that the middle-class leaders of the Labour Party are waging against the Communists is creating turmoil in the working-class movement; their refusal to admit that the Communists are an integral unit in the struggle against capitalism is as intolerant as it is idiotic. And the solution is as simple as it is logical—to unify the whole movement and to invite the Communists into the Labour Party.

The significant point in the whole matter is that it is the rank and file masses in the mine, railroad, factory, and at that the workshop bench who are rallying to the support of the Communists and who

are electing them to the local councils of the Labour Party; these rank and filers are doing this in spite of the Edinburgh resolution which was purposely drawn up by the timid Parliamentary leaders to exclude all Communists from the Labour Party. It is in the industrial trenches of the class war, where the masses are directly face to face with their exploiters, that the power of the Communists is growing. It is there that the influence of the Communists, in their policy of solidifying the proletarian struggle, will ultimately triumph over the small clique of professional careerists who, caring very little about the actual poverty and conditions of the struggling workers, are able to spend their week-ends at the glorious country mansion of the Countess of Warwick where they ape the disgusting mannerisms of "respectable" bourgeois statesmen.

Not even the best proletarian elements in the I.L.P. were able to lead their party to declare for a united working-class front at their recent conference. And, heaven knows, such a united fighting front is supremely necessary to-day. Whatever were the reasons for unity of action last year, there are a hundred more reasons why it is imperative at the present moment. Apart from the international growth of Facism; apart from the rapidly on-coming imperialist war; apart from the success of the British policy in Ireland, which is gradually stamping out the heroic stand of the Republicans; apart from the great struggle that is facing the rail-road and railway shop workers—see what is going on at the moment these lines are being penned? According to the *Daily Herald*:—

TEN THOUSAND FARM WORKERS are on strike in Norfolk against starvation wages.

FORTY-FIVE THOUSAND MINERS are on strike in South Wales against Non-Unionism.

THIRTY THOUSAND JUTE WORKERS are locked out in Dundee because the employers desire to worsen conditions.

SIXTY THOUSAND POTTERY WORKERS are prepared to resist further cuts in their wages.

HALF A MILLION BUILDING WORKERS are to be locked out for defending their wages and working hours.

Here is what is calling for a united working-class movement. We Communists have our differences with the I.L.P. and the other moderate sections of the movement. We do not pretend for one moment that we are going to forget these differences. But we do insist that in face of the capitalist offensive there is *one* vital point upon which we can unite—*i.e.*, to unite to resist the enemy. If we cannot secure unity of resistance, then the reactionaries will sweep over all of us. By creating a united fighting front we can resist successfully. By throwing up a powerful resistance we can manage to transform our retreat into an advance, and even into a triumph over the enemy. Before the advancing enemy, great as our differences are, we must have unity. After the enemy has been routed and his stronghold captured, *then* we can discuss our differences in principles and our points of departure in tactics.

Imperialism and Fascism are murdering our comrades all over the world. The Communist International is alone in sincerely attempting to organise a united front. It was the Communists who so readily responded to the appeal of the shop-stewards of the Ruhr; it was the Communists who attended their conference at

Frankfort; it was the Communists who pledged themselves to struggle with the industrial workers of the Ruhr and to fight the imperialists who are executing the German miners. In Saxony, where the proposals of the Communist International have been accepted, the whole Labour movement is uniting and is building up a Workers' Government. In France, Belgium, Italy, and Germany, thousands of Communists are languishing in hundreds of prisons because they alone, in the Labour movement, attempted to resist imperialism and sought to organise the masses to do the same. Can either the Second International or the Vienna Union show such a record of heroism in the struggle against the common enemy?

May-Day is Labour day—it is international Labour day. Confronted with the rising tide of world-wide reaction, we Communists solemnly declare that on this, the most important day in the whole Labour year, nothing could be more inspiring or splendidly appropriate than an international declaration that the fighting line of the united working class had been created. Were this possible, it would be the greatest challenge ever hurled at the feet of capitalism since the Labour movement inscribed upon its banner—

Workers of All Lands unite.

You have nothing to lose but your chains;

You have a world to win!

A STUDY IN FUTILITY

IF any sincere student of international working class politics were asked to state what was the most important issue before the Labour movement to-day, there could be only one answer—that of the organised and armed onslaught of the world-wide capitalist class upon the masses. The Versailles Treaty. League of Nations, the invasion of the Ruhr, unemployment, attacks on wages and hours, and above all, Fascism—all these are *not separate* problems; they form different aspects of *one* vital problem—the international offensive of capital against Labour. The test of every working-class party in the world to-day is determined by its attitude towards that problem. And if any party does not give a clear lead upon this issue it only adds to the difficulty and confusion of the working class, and thus plays an indirect part in assisting the reactionaries who are successfully attacking Labour.

In view of what we have just stated, it is interesting to turn to the widely circulated agenda of the cleverly staged-managed I.L.P. Conference, which took place at Easter. According to the advertisements which appeared in the Press, the main resolutions which the leaders had drawn up for discussion were:—

Machinery of Government.

Unemployment.

Drink Question.

Naval and Military Estimates.

League of Nations.

Agriculture and Land.

Foreign Policy, etc.

This is not and cannot be the agenda for a party of militant Socialism in 1923; it looks like what might be discussed at a conference of Liberal parliamentarians aiming at securing the support of the middle-class. Of course, it is easy to understand why the leaders of the I.L.P. were anxious to have such questions discussed; they hoped that by diverting the conference into the channels of

Liberal politics that it would be possible for the I.L.P. to drift along for another year, without outlining and enforcing a fighting policy upon the leaders or compelling them to adopt a definite line of action upon the immediate and fundamental need of the working class—that of fully discussing the tactics and plans for uniting the whole Labour movement upon a common front to resist the organised and armed attacks of capitalism upon the masses. This question, despite several attempts to raise it by rank and file delegates, was never faced by the conference. It was not even alluded to in the Chairman's florid address to the delegates, which contained the usual I.L.P. sneer at the Soviet Government. Small wonder that Joseph Southall, a Birmingham delegate, was compelled to protest against what he scathingly termed the "Amsterdammation" of the I.L.P. leaders and the ready assistance they rendered the reactionary forces who were fighting the Bolsheviks. In marked contrast to the Chairman's speech at the I.L.P. Conference was the one delivered from the chair of the meeting of the delegates of the National Union of Distributive and Allied Workers. Here, at an ordinary trade union gathering, which made no bombastic claims to be a Socialist conference, the President made a powerful plea for working-class unity to fight the Federation of British Industries. Instead of singling out the Bolsheviks as a subject for spleen and malice, they were referred to as "Our brothers in Russia, who have now had nearly six years of trial and anguish." After drawing attention to the dangers of armed reaction in Italy, Austria, Germany and France, the President of the N.U.D.A.W., Mr. Jagger, urged forward the solidarity of the trade union movement. This did not mean, he said, that 10,000,000 workers should be split up among 2,000 unions, but that the industrial masses should be organised "into one homogeneous mass, prepared to act simultaneously at the call of a general council." Here, we repeat, at an ordinary trade union gathering, was struck a note concerning the needs of the workers that was never heard, at any moment, in the whole of the I.L.P. Conference. The careful preparation of the I.L.P. agenda made it almost impossible for such a policy to be discussed; and the specially imported fraternal delegates from Germany and France, Crispin and Longuet, were there to assist and to see that the question of international solidarity was sidetracked and smothered.

DODGING THE ISSUE

AT one moment it seemed as though some of the I.L.P. delegates, from the industrial centres, were going to force a thorough discussion regarding the needs for an international united front of the working class. This move was sabotaged by Mr. R. C. Wallhead. It was the same individual who, three years ago, held back those in the I.L.P. who desired to affiliate to the Communist International. On that occasion, he, with some others, played the decoy duck for the Second International by helping to create the Two-and-a-half International, the function of which has been to prevent the unity of the best militant proletarian fighters. At every attempt to organise a fighting front of the masses, the Two-and-a-half International proved to be as equally treacherous in its tactics and to be as bitterly opposed to solidifying the proletarian ranks as ever J. H. Thomas Samuel Gompers or Tom Shaw were. Indeed, these reactionary

leaders, with all their faults, have never claimed to be Socialists; they have always been avowed upholders of capitalism. But Wallhead, Longuet, Crispin & Co. have made loud-mouthed boastings regarding their Socialist faith, but in mass-action they have never risen above the deeds of the old Victorian, non-Socialist, trade union leaders. The farcical position of the Two-and-a-half International has been demonstrated by its practical absorption by the renegade Second International. When, therefore, the proletarian elements in the I.L.P. demanded international unity it was R. C. Wallhead who was put up to attack the Communist International by declaring it to be dictatorial. He also uttered the old I.L.P. lie that the Berlin Conference for international working-class unity of action broke down, last year, due to the dictatorial attitude of the Communist International.

Fortunately, it is possible for I.L.P.-ers to read the verbatim report of that conference* and to find out for themselves the peculiarly sinister and lying part that R. C. Wallhead plays in the Socialist movement. Having seen that the Two-and-a-half International had proved a failure in its function as a decoy duck for those honest Socialists who are really anxious to put up a fight against capitalism, R. C. Wallhead pleaded for a new international organisation. By this he means the capitulation of the Two-and-a-half International to the Second International. He urged this in view of the strong position of world reaction. This person knows full well that many opportunities have been given to him and his organisation to prove their zeal for international working-class unity to fight world reaction. He knows that it was J. R. MacDonald who helped to wreck the Berlin Conference, which had been specially convened to set up a united front to fight against world reaction; he knows that it was J. R. MacDonald who spoke at Edinburgh against the Communists' offer to line up with the Labour Party; he knows that the I.L.P. did not accept the invitation sent out by the shop-stewards of the occupied Ruhr Valley, when they called for decisive action in Europe. All talk about the Communist International being dictatorial is cant, and from R. C. Wallhead, in particular, it is sheer hypocrisy and knavery. Every fighting organisation that enforces discipline is always denounced for being dictatorial by those whose actions, being in opposition to the policy of the party, have to be compulsorily restricted. When the I.L.P. rank and file is compelled to pass and enforce a humiliating resolution to prevent some of its leaders from dining and wining with political reactionaries and capitalist enemies of Labour, such a resolution may be castigated as being dictatorial by those at whom it is aimed; Madame Snowden may yet remind R. C. Wallhead of this fact. The dictatorial argument used by R. C. Wallhead against the Communist International is identical with that used by the *Morning Post* against the South Wales Miners' Federation, which insists in *compelling* non-union miners to join its organisation. Every blackleg organisation in the country claims that the trade unions are dictatorial. They use this argument to justify their policy of scabbing, and they have as much logic on their side as R. C. Wallhead has on his. The discipline enforced by a

* Vide *The Second and Third Internationals and the Vienna Union*. Official Report of the Berlin Conference, April, 1922. Price, 1s. Labour Publishing Co., 6, Tavistock Square, London, W.C.1.

revolutionary party must be stern because of the very nature of its struggle, and because there are so many people who wander into the Labour movement hungering and lusting after the flesh-pots of the enemy. To those who desire to help the masses and who are eager to participate in the class struggle, the discipline of the movement is not irksome; it is rather looked upon as a guarantee that the organisation is jealously guarding its warriors from internal foul play, from cowards, and from traitors. Those who do not want to participate in the struggle and who prefer compromise to open combat; those who seek any excuse to delay determined action and who view the working-class movement as a medium for providing an easy career and its conference halls as a place for shirking grim realities; those who believe they are heroic when they are only rhetorical and who feel they are facing the enemy when they are simply bathed in platform limelight—those, in a word, who are like certain I.L.P. leaders, do find revolutionary discipline rather inconvenient and denounce it for being dictatorial.

Thus, the I.L.P. Conference, during its deliberations, never faced the vital problem of how to band together the masses into one fighting front against capitalism. The need for an immediate conference of the Internationals to prepare organised plans to fight world reaction, as moved by the Middlesbrough delegates and supported by Birmingham, was defeated. The demand of the Birmingham delegation for the creation of a united front in this country, against war, composed of Labour, Socialist and Communist Parties, was also lost. The fate of these two appeals, which would have helped forward working-class unity, both nationally and internationally, demonstrates to the hilt that the leaders of the I.L.P. are determined to thwart every attempt at solidifying the Labour movement. The record of the I.L.P. Conference on these two points alone is the most dramatic reply to the twaddle poured forth by Wallhead, Longuet and Crispian regarding the splitting tactics of the Communist International.

The Communist Party stands to-day as the only party of the masses that believes in working-class unity. It has made several serious sacrifices to preserve unity; it helped to return many of the very I.L.P. members who are now in Parliament and who voted against unity with the Communists. It withdrew its own parliamentary candidates, where these clashed with Labour nominees, at the General Election. Despite the careful rigging of the I.L.P. Conference by the leaders, it was impossible for them to suppress the influence which the Communist Party wields over the *bona fide* proletarian elements of the party. This was seen in the demand put forward for the withdrawal of the British troops from Cologne, a policy which the Communist Party advocated in opposition to the official declaration of the I.L.P. and its organ, the *New Leader*. During the whole course of the war no I.L.P. leader had the courage to vote against the war credits, as Karl Liebknecht did in the German Reichstag. J. T. Walton Newbold, speaking in the name of the Communist Party in the House of Commons, declared that he would cast his vote against every credit necessary to equip either the British imperialist navy or army. This lead has found a response in many I.L.P. branches, who compelled their leaders, at the recent Conference, to adopt a similar policy. During the coming year of intensified class struggle, the weakness and baseness

of many I.L.P. leaders will be revealed and their shortcomings unmasked; during the same period the straightforward and unequivocal attitude of the Communist Party will impress many proletarian I.L.P.-ers, who will either compel their party to face the real issues before the masses or they will leave the I.L.P. to the mercy of the middle-class Liberal careerists, who are at present in control, and join up with the fighting party of the workers—the Communist Party of Great Britain. The very conditions that are developing all around us are going to force forward working-class solidarity. The obstructionist tactics and malicious lies of the Wallheads and the MacDonalds may, for the present, make it impossible for the I.L.P. proletarian membership to line up alongside of the Communists in the everyday struggle of the workers; but the time is speedily approaching when these rank and file members will insist upon taking their place in the battle-line of the class struggle; either they will compel their leaders to join hands with the Communists in strengthening the working-class fighting front, or they will sweep over their heads and take their stand side by side with the Communists.

FASCISM NOT DISCUSSED

WE have stated that the I.L.P. Conference refused to deal with the most vital problems at present confronting the working class. This was most noticeable in the complete silence during the Conference regarding the rapid growth of Fascism. The appearance of Fascism the armed terror of capital over labour, is only one aspect of the class struggle; it is, however, a most important aspect. That any conference of Labour, and particularly one claiming to represent the challenge of Socialism to capitalism, should meet without either fully discussing the implications of Fascism, or of setting up special machinery to combat this White Terror, serves to indicate how afraid the I.L.P. leaders are to face the rapidly-growing menace which threatens the whole Labour movement. It is a most remarkable thing that those I.L.P.ers who are so ready to denounce Soviet Russia have nothing at all to say with reference to the tactics of the Fascisti; the answer may be that these gentlemen so exhaust themselves in attacking Lenin that they have no energy left to criticise Mussolini.

The real reason, however, why the I.L.P. Conference dared not pay any serious attention to the Fascisti movement, which is rapidly spreading from Italy to Germany, Austria, Hungary, France, America, Britain, etc., is because the I.L.P. is based upon the stupid and blind assumption that the present system of society is a democratic one. For J. R. MacDonald or P. Snowden to admit that the capitalist class will meet every serious advance of the Labour movement with armed force, and that the propertied interests will not relinquish their grip over the political State until they have plunged the country into civil war—for them to admit that such a thing is remotely possible would be tantamount to granting all that Lenin has ever advocated. And yet the experiences of the last few months in Europe prove that the ruling class is making every preparation in order that civil war in every capitalist country becomes inevitable.

It seems almost belated to state, in the year 1923, that the capitalists do not intend to conduct their struggle against the masses

within the confines of their own political constitution. At the slightest sign of trouble, the propertied interests speedily protect themselves by special methods and with the aid of the armed forces. Strikes, lock-outs, and political agitations which are conducted by any determination on the part of the masses, or by leaders who are bent on a victory for the workers, are speedily dealt with by such things as D.O.R.A., Orders in Council, Emergency Acts, etc., any of which may lead to Martial Law and the employment of police, army and navy. But the extension of Socialist and Communist propaganda is slowly permeating and undermining the armed forces of the capitalist State, with the result that the ruling class is creating its own private armed forces, which it secretly subsidises, and which it uses for the special purpose of destroying the Labour movement and for murdering those leaders who are dangerous and daring. Only a few days ago the Government introduced a Bill to enable it maintain a civilian police to be used during any emergency; this is one of the instruments that the British capitalists intend to use against the Labour movement.

One of the sure symptoms that a propertied system is nearing its end is seen in its growing callousness. Every social system that is virile and economically stable is able to conduct its many political activities under the guise of high-sounding ideological forms. But as social systems pass into their period of decadence they gradually drop all ideological pretensions and rule openly by the power of armed might. Thus the early wars of Greece, Rome and Britain were claimed to be wondrous attempts to spread the blessings of culture and civilisation to barbarian peoples in lower stages of social development. In the measure that the economic foundations of Greece and Rome became insecure, in the same ratio it became increasingly apparent that the aim of their wars was to secure plunder and slaves. As capitalism nears its end the beautiful phrases which served to explain the cause of war have been abandoned. To-day the imperialists no longer pretend that they are struggling to make the world safe for democracy, or that they are fighting to protect the rights of small nations—to-day all shams have been dropped and the war lords openly and unashamedly proclaim that they are using armies, blockades, boycotts, financial strangle-holds, etc., to obtain oil wells, gold mines, coal or iron zones, spheres of influence, trade routes, etc. And in their home politics the propertied interests are equally arrogant in their dealings with their opponents. Political rivalries are rapidly developing into murder feuds. Class antagonisms, which had not fully developed and which did not threaten the existence of capitalist society could be conducted, normally, with civilised weapons; these struggles are now fought out by means of wholesale deportations, mass murders, and by the introduction of White Terror bands in the shape of the Fascisti.

All this is known to everyone except our complacent I.L.P. leaders, who were afraid to bring the matter up for discussion at their annual conference. They were afraid to have the matter discussed because there was only one solution—a united front of the whole working class movement to resist the murder gangs of the propertied interests. The middle-class leaders of the I.L.P. are prepared to see the whole of the British Labour movement divided and submerged beneath the terrorism of capital, rather than align

themselves with the valiant fighters of the Communist Party.

We ask our readers to study how the Communist Party deals with Fascism, and to read the reports published in this issue under the International Review section.

THE BASE INTERNATIONAL

ALL the despicable treachery that branded the Second International, on the outbreak of the world-war in 1914, has again reappeared in a more aggravated and malignant form in its attitude over the imperialist manœuvre in the Ruhr. All the shameless cowardice and hesitancy, the absence of a uniform policy, and the collaboration with the capitalist enemy have been repeated with automatic stupidity. In 1914, the Second International simply passed over to the side of the imperialists without any effective protest being made by the world masses. To-day, however, the situation is very much different. In order to assist the capitalist class, in its attempt to enslave the workers of the Ruhr, the leaders of the Second International have had to deal with the Communists who have successfully exposed these renegades of Labour.

The only proletarian protest that has been made against the Ruhr invasion has been that organised by the Communist International. So much did Poincaré fear the influence and daring of the French Communist Party that he did not begin his armed attack upon the Ruhr until he had arrested and imprisoned its most important leaders. But even this did not prevent the French Communists from organising and assisting in a series of big strikes; nor did it suppress the most gigantic agitation ever organised in France against imperialism. Similarly in Belgium; while Vandervelde—the friend and inspired of Mr. J. R. MacDonald—was making impassioned speeches in *favour* of the French invasion of the Ruhr, it was left to the Communists to fight imperialism and the reactionary policy of Vandervelde. In Belgium all the best fighters in the Communist Party have been thrown into prison, and still the struggle and agitation is being heroically conducted. The same Vandervelde who demanded the privilege to enter Soviet Russia in order to defend the assassins in the S.R. Party, has not ventured to raise his voice to defend the Communists imprisoned by his own capitalist friends in Belgium. In Germany it is the Communists who are directing the struggle along *class* lines; and it is the Stinnes reactionaries and social-democrats of the I.L.P. type who are seeking to divert the class conflict into *national* and *chauvinistic* channels. In Britain the sentimental elements of the Labour movement, led by the I.L.P., have done everything except the only thing that matters—to fight the British imperialists. They have made proposals to submit the Ruhr problem to the League of Nations; some have wired to America to intervene; others have had confabs in Paris with French and Belgian types similar to and as cowardly as themselves. They have issued manifestoes and said heroic things against Poincaré under the protection of and with the very assistance of their own imperialists. Yes! they have done many things; but they have not given a lead to the masses in Britain, on any single issue, against their own Poincares securely and tranquilly resting in Downing Street. The British Labour Party can do almost anything except conduct a bold struggle against those who are responsible for many imperialist

crimes more serious and ruthless than anything that has ever been done by Poincare or the French.

TYPICAL

AS an illustration of the sort of thing that is done, regarding the Ruhr, in the name of British Labour, observe the following resolution passed at a women's conference recently held in Birmingham. Dr. Marion Philips moved:—

“ That this conference believes that the *manner* in which the French have conducted the occupation of the Ruhr constitutes a breach of International Law, and is a menace to world peace. Also, that the invaders are actuated, *not by a desire for reparations, but rather by strategic and economic reasons*, and to create a Rhine frontier for France and the dismemberment of Germany for commercial purposes. We, therefore, request the British Government to invite the cordial co-operation of the U.S.A. Government, with a view to initiating a world conference which shall, if possible, co-operate with the League of Nations for the purpose of ensuring a *revision of the unworkable and immoral instrument known as the Versailles Treaty.*”

We draw attention to this remarkable resolution (and particularly to the parts italicised) as a precious sample of how the I.L.P.-inspired sentimentalists in the Labour movement are facing the grave issues raised by the Ruhr situation. First of all, we see that the resolution does not object to the French capitalist attack upon the workers of the Ruhr; it only protests against the “*manner in which the French have conducted the occupation of the Ruhr.*” Had the French only followed the Pecksniffian policy of British imperialism, which *undermines* in preference to straightforward frontal attacks, the Birmingham Labourists would never have raised any objection. The resolution does not protest against imperialism; it merely signifies its disapproval of the *manner* in which the French imperialists seek to attain their objective. It is characteristic of the moderate section of the British Labour movement to denounce the French Government for violating the principles of International Law—an instrument specifically created by imperialists for the guidance of imperialists—and never to protest effectively or to organise a special conference to attack the British imperialists who bomb native races from aeroplanes. With the most amazing hypocrisy we have an attack made upon the French Government because it is “actuated, not by a desire for reparations, but rather by strategic and economic reasons.” We thought the whole world knew—save for a few middle-class intellectuals in the I.L.P.—that the policy of reparations always are conditioned upon strategic and economic reasons. To try and separate reparations from strategy and economic interests reminds us of the rhetorical hot air indulged in by Mr. J. R. MacDonald to justify his advocacy of the Allies collecting indemnities from Germany. Having made so many errors in one resolution, it was only natural to find the whole thing capped by a denunciation of the Versailles Treaty as being both *unworkable and immoral*. Did the conference demand that this unworkable and immoral thing should be cast aside? By no means; it merely pleaded that it should be revised! And it is the creators of the vile instrument who are beseeched to do

the revising. To such depths of impotent idiocy does British pacifist Labourism descend.

Throughout the whole conference there was no call for a united Labour front of the British masses to rise up against their own imperialists; nor was there any hint that the world masses should be banded together to struggle unitedly against international imperialism. True it is that the speaker suggested that the workers of France and Britain should break the capitalist power in their countries; but no lead was given to show *how* the breaking was to be done. The aim of the whole speech, in fact, was to gain support for a resolution which actually urged the capitalist States of Britain and America to initiate a movement to undo their own handiwork. This is how our clever Labourist friends show the workers how to break the power of their class enemies.

STRUGGLE, STRUGGLE, NOT CABLES

ONE of the most amazing and stupid things in the British Labour movement is the high regard which the leaders of the I.L.P. have for the alleged humanitarian aspirations of the United States Government. When anything happens in Europe that demands bold and courageous leadership by the Labour movement in Britain, the first thing that is done is to dispatch a telegram to America to ask its Government to adopt a certain policy. During the war the I.L.P. sent a telegram congratulating the pacific attitude of President Wilson, who, for various economic and strategic reasons found it best not to enter into the war until it had reached a certain stage; that telegram was used by the Wilsonian Government to strangle those brave American anti-militarists who saw through and who opposed the subtle imperialism of Wall Street. Many of those anti-militarists are in prison to this very day. In 1918, when the Russian revolution was fighting with its back to the wall, and when the European masses were in the midst of a revolutionary upheaval, and were looking to the workers of the country for some little assistance, at that most critical moment the I.L.P. sent its customary telegram of congratulation to the American Government and called upon the British workers to trust Wilson. In America, at that very time, the Wilsonian Government was carrying out a campaign of terrorism and espionage against the industrial workers in the name of one hundred per cent. democracy; it was President Wilson who sent troops against the steel workers; in the universities a most brutal inquisition was organised which made Torquemada seem a fumbling amateur; and in the cities the now famous Ku Klux Klan had reappeared in all its glory as the precursor of Mussolini's Fascisti. It was to this Government that the MacDonalds and the Snowdens appealed at a time when they denounced the workers' regime of Russia with language famous only for its malice and ignorance. And when the German-British-French-American imperialists made their famous attack upon the Ruhr workers, when the situation demanded a world-wide conference of the proletariat in order to organise an international Labour resistance—once again did our I.L.P. statesmen dispatch their traditional telegram to the American Government and urged upon it to intervene in the Ruhr situation and to use its influence with France. These I.L.P. telegrams, while a continual source of merriment in Wall Street, are extremely irritating and exasperating to every intelligent person

in the American Labour movement. It never seems to have struck innocent people like Mr. R. C. Wallhead, and his simple-minded colleagues, that America *had* exerted its influence upon France regarding the Ruhr long before he and his friends had sent their cable. The French imperialists were only able to embark upon their risky and speculative Ruhr policy because they had come to terms with Wall Street and the other financial groups which can decisively influence the American Government by methods of pressure unknown to those short-sighted and timid British Labour leaders who innocently believe that they can divert the policy of imperialist States by sending them telegrams. Long before our I.L.P. parliamentarians sent their famous cable, the American financiers had taken action regarding the Ruhr. So cunningly had they prepared their campaign that they shall win, even if France loses. Everyone who knows anything about the financial undercurrents in international politics understands that the Ruhr situation was brought to a crisis as a result of the cleavage between two great iron and financial syndicates—the German one led by Stinnes and the French one greatly influenced by Loucheurs. Behind the Loucheurs group there is American finance, and there is also American influence behind certain German syndicates. This explains why American statesmen are sympathising both with Germany and with France! But one or two things have happened recently that makes America desire to see a speedy end to the Ruhr business. Britain and America are coming together again in world politics and Britain is using her influence on Wall Street to get the New York financiers behind Loucheurs to compel him to settle the Ruhr problem. Loucheurs, therefore, has been tapping all the British imperialist politicians, and also, of course, Mr. J. R. MacDonald. Whatever is the outcome of the Ruhr struggle, other than a victory of the German workers, the American financiers are destined to reap a large portion of the harvest. President Harding—the tout of Wall Street who set his infamous attorney, General Dougherty, upon the American workers, and who enforced the brutalising injunction against organised Labour—must be amazed at our innocent I.L.P. and their mania for dispatching telegrams to Washington. The thing might puzzle him were it not that in his own country he has samples of the same tame Labourists in the persons of Hillquit, Berger, and Samuel Gompers.

WM. PAUL.

ERRATUM

LONDON RESIDENCES OF KARL MARX.

DEAR COMRADE EDITOR,—

A somewhat serious error occurs in my article in your March issue, due to the transposition of a line. Under the heading "Dean Street" the line—

"After the two elder daughters had married,"
should read—

"After a brief stay at the German Hotel,"

At that period, of course, Marx's daughters were mere infants. The ways of compositors are dark and mysterious, but the transfer of this line from the section headed "Maitland Park Road" is perhaps not unconnected with the fact that both lines commence with the word "After." Yours fraternally, JOHN T. WINTER.

A GREAT MARXIAN PARTY ❀ N. Bukharin

[This year the heroic and brilliant leader of the international proletarian revolution, the Russian Communist Party, is celebrating its twenty-fifth anniversary. Last month we showed how the Russian Party organised and built up its fighting journal—"Pravda." This month we publish several articles which help to explain the nature of the work and the stuff from which the Russian Party is made. The first article is the one following herewith by Comrade Bukharin.—ED. OF COMMUNIST REVIEW.]

FOR five years the Russian proletariat has maintained its power. And even the opponents of the proletariat have to admit that this power is securely established. It is a power rooted deeply in the Russian soil; it transforms the Russian people; it leads with an iron hand millions of human beings along a stony and thorny path, crossed by barbed wire and exposed to the fire of the enemy; it leads them through the steppes of hunger to the glorious victory of united humanity. How has this miracle been accomplished, despite the impotent rage of bourgeois mediocrity?

Undoubtedly the first factor which is to "blame" is the historical circumstances under which the toil-stained battalions of labour have advanced with mighty strides. History has created extraordinarily favourable circumstances for the success of the Russian working class: an autocracy whose devilish organisation was shattered by the war, a weak bourgeoisie not yet capable of wielding the weapon of imperialism, and stupid enough to have undermined the power of Czarism during the war. Mighty masses of peasantry not yet awakened to patriotism, filled with passionate hate against their land-owning lords, and longing to possess the land they tilled. These are the circumstances which rendered the victory of the proletariat possible, which enabled it to unfold its young wings and soar aloft.

But there was yet another cause. The existence of an iron cohort absolutely devoted to the revolution; the existence of a party, unexampled in the whole history of great class struggles. This party had passed through the hard school of illegal action, its class will had been developed in the stress of conflict, it had won and trained its comrades in suffering and deprivation. The very hardness of the school evolved admirable workers, whose task it is to transform and conquer the world. In order to gain a clear idea of how this party has been formed, let us cast a glance at the main features of its development.

First a few words regarding the general staff. Our opponents do not deny that we have excellent leaders. One of the greatest ideologists of the German bourgeoisie, one of the present masters of German thought, Count Kayserling, states in his book: "Economics, Politics, Wisdom," that the power of Soviet Russia can only be explained by the superiority of its statesmen, who far surpass the statesmen of all bourgeois countries. The exaggeration is obvious. This alone is not decisive. But it is nevertheless incontestable that the fact explains much. What is the truth in this

respect? The main point is the careful choice of leaders, a choice ensuring a combination of competence, cohesion, and absolute unity of will. With this watchword the leadership of the party was formed. In this respect the party owes much to Lenin. That which narrow-minded opportunists call anti-democracy, mania for conspiracy, or personal dictatorship, is in reality one of the most important principles of the organisation. The selection of a group of persons possessing absolute unity of thought, and filled with the same revolutionary flame, this was the first pre-requisite for successful action. And this pre-requisite was fulfilled by merciless combat against any deviation from orthodox Bolshevism. This utter rejection of compromise, this constant self-purging, welded the leading group so firmly together that no power on earth could divide it.

The most important elements of the party grouped themselves around these leaders. The strict discipline of Bolshevism, its iron cohesion, its uncompromising spirit, even during the period of joint work with the Mensheviks, its absolute unity of viewpoint, and its perfect centralisation—these have invariably been the characteristic features of our party. The comrades were blindly devoted to the party. “Party patriotism,” the passionate enthusiasm of struggle against all other groups, whether in workshop, public meeting, or prison, converted our party into a sort of revolutionary religious order. For this reason Bolshevism aroused the abhorrence of all liberals, of all reformists, of all tolerant, vacillating, and weak-minded elements.

The party demanded real work among the masses from all its members, whatever the conditions and difficulties. It was precisely in this regard that our first differences with the Mensheviks arose. In order to carry out our purpose we formed fighting units. These were not composed of fine speakers, sympathising intellectuals, or migratory creatures here to-day and there to-morrow, but of men ready to give their all for the revolution, for the fight, and for the party; ready to face imprisonment and to fight at the barricades, to bear every deprivation and suffer constant persecution. Thus the second concentric circle was formed around our party, its fundamental proletarian working staff. But our party has never been narrowed or limited within any sectarian confines. It must be energetically emphasised that the party has never considered itself to be an aim in itself; it has invariably regarded itself as an instrument for the formation of the mind of the masses, for gathering together and leading the masses. The whole art of political dialectics consists in possessing firm and coherent formations, but not in being a sect, manoeuvring in mere emptiness; in being a really mobile fighting power, capable of setting in action the mighty apparatus of the whole class, the whole of the working masses. The history of our party, especially during the years of revolution, shows how closely it has followed the tendencies in the masses. Who was the most active revolutionist in the army under the old system, constantly in danger of being martyred or killed by the officers? It was the Bolshevik. Who was the most unwearied agitator and organiser? It was the Bolshevik. He missed no opportunity of influencing the masses. In the imperial Duma and in the trade union, in the workers’ meeting and in the workers’ club, in the Sunday school and in the factory canteen, the Bolshevik was to

be found everywhere; the Bolshevik penetrated into every corner, so that a contemporary writer said of him that he "functioned energetically." He has never failed to "function energetically," this Bolshevik.

We must further draw attention to some peculiarities in the policy of the party, to which is largely due the great success attained by the Russian Communist Party. In the first place comes the firm Marxian foundation of the party. Martov was not wrong when he explained the continuance of the proletarian dictatorship, after the crisis in the spring of 1921, by the remark: "The Bolshevik Party has at least gone through the Marxian school." This is true. The party has studied Marxism thoroughly. The theoretical pre-determination of events, the analysis of class relations, that calculation "in millions" which Lenin has so aptly described as being the essence of politics; all this is in the highest degree characteristic of the leaders of our party. At the same time another peculiarity must be specially emphasised, applicable to our leader Lenin. In our hands, Marxism has never become a dead dogma. It is always a practical instrument, it is not a word but a spirit, it is no scholasticism and no Talmudism, but the actual spirit of Marxian dialectics as a practical working weapon. We possess Marxian training, but no Marxian prejudices. We have an admirable instrument, and it is under our control, not the reverse. And this living revolutionary Marxism is really capable of working miracles.

This explains the extraordinary tactical elasticity of the party. Political errors almost invariably arise from the application of methods which are eminently suitable under certain circumstances, but are harmful under others. The inability to grasp a concrete situation is the cause of the majority of political mistakes. And it is precisely in this grasp of a concrete situation that our party excels. The party has understood how to exercise the utmost patience in dealing with the errors and naïveté of the masses. We only need to recall the days following the February revolution, when we had patiently to make clear so much, and had to proceed so carefully in drawing the masses over to our side. But the party has not only shown its capacity for patience, but for bold, determined, and unexampled rapid action. The days of the October revolution were ample proof of this. At that time history confronted the party with a whirlwind. There was nothing for it but to plunge into a whirlpool, and to emerge from it on the crest of a gigantic wave. The slightest false move would have been fatal. What was required was unlimited boldness, obstinacy and determination; the party plunged into the vortex, and emerged with power in its hands.

The party has proved itself capable of adapting its course to the need of the hour. Nothing can be more instructive than its policy in this respect. If we remember how the Russian Communist Party utilised the support of the social revolutionary party, and how rapidly it steered its own ship, and the ship of State, out of the waters of war communism into those of the new economic policy, these two examples suffice to show the tactical elasticity of the party, which combines absolute realism with a clear consciousness of the final goal to which it is steadily proceeding.

It is not possible for the working class, under the rule of

capitalism, to so educate itself as to be capable of undertaking the leadership of society. Under the rule of capitalism the working class is enslaved and oppressed. In order to rise, it must break down the capitalist shell which envelops society. It cannot train its forces, prove its powers of organisation and undertake the leadership of society, until the period of the dictatorship. During this period the working class develops its real nature, the slave is transformed into creator and lord. This gigantic work is one demanding the utmost exertions on the part of the masses and their vanguard. Our Russian Communist Party may well be proud of what it has accomplished. It has created its generals and its soldiers, its administrative and governmental forces, its nuclei for mental culture and economic construction. Its younger generation enters right into the gigantic laboratory of the Soviet state. After the frightful civil war, and the famine, the great Red Land advances triumphantly, and its trumpet of victory calls upon the workers of the whole world, the slaves in the colonies, the coolies, to take up the final struggle against capital. The innumerable army of the exploited is headed by a mighty troop, seamed with scars, their standards riddled with bullets and torn with bayonet thrusts. This is the troop which leads the advance, the guide and helper of all the others—it is the Communist Party of Russia, the iron cohort of the proletarian revolution.

LENIN ❀ By Karl Radek

Written on the occasion of the 25th Anniversary of the Russian Communist Party

LIKE everything else in nature, Lenin was born, has developed, has grown. When Vladimir Ilyitch once observed me glancing through a collection of his articles written in the year 1903, which had just been published, a sly smile crossed his face, and he remarked with a laugh: "It is very interesting to read what stupid fellows we were!" But I do not here intend to compare the shape of Lenin's skull at the age of 10, 20 or 30 with the skull of that man who presided over the sessions of the Central Committee of the Party or the Council of Peoples' Commissars. Here it is not a question of Lenin as leader, but as a living human being. P. B. Axelrod, one of the fathers of Menshevism, who hates Lenin from the bottom of his soul—Axelrod's case is an excellent example of how love can change to hate—related, in one of the philippics with which he sought to convince me of the harmfulness of Bolshevism in general and of Lenin in particular, how Lenin went abroad for the first time, and how he went walking and bathing with him. "I felt at that time," said Axelrod, "that here was a man who would become the leader of the Russian Revolution. Not only was he an educated Marxist—there were many of these—but he knew what he wanted to do and how it was to be done. There was something of the smell of Russian earth about him." Pavel Borisovitch Axelrod is a bad politician, he does not smell of the earth. He is one who reasons at home in his own study, and the whole tragedy of his life consists of the fact that at a time when there was no labour movement in Russia, he thought out the

lines upon which such a labour movement should develop, and when it developed on different lines, he was frightfully offended, and to-day he continues to roar with rage at the disobedient child. But people often observe in others that which is lacking in themselves, and Axelrod's words with regard to Lenin grasp with unsurpassable acuteness precisely those characteristics which make Lenin a leader.

It is impossible to be a leader of the working class without knowing the whole history of the class. The leaders of the labour movement must know the history of the labour movement; without this knowledge there can be no leader, just as nowadays there can be no great general who could be victorious with the least expenditure of force unless he knew the history of strategy. The history of strategy is not a collection of recipes as to how to win a war, for a situation once described never repeats itself. But the mind of the general becomes practised in strategy by its express study; this study renders him elastic in war, permits him to observe the dangers and possibilities which the empirically trained general cannot see. The history of the labour movement does not tell us what to do, but it makes it possible to compare our position with situations which have already been experienced by our class, so that in various decisive moments we are enabled to see our path clearly, and to recognise approaching danger.

But we cannot get to know the history of the labour movement properly without being thoroughly acquainted with the history of capitalism, with its mechanism in all its economic and political phenomena. Lenin knows the history of capitalism as do but few of Marx's pupils. It is no mere knowledge of the written word—here Comrade Riazanov could give him five points start—but he has thought out Marx's theory as no one else has done. Let us, for instance, take the small pamphlet which he wrote at the time of our conflict with the trade union movement; in it he calls Bukharin a syndicalist, an eclectic, and a great sinner in numerous other respects. This polemical pamphlet contains a few lines devoted to the differences between dialectics and eclectics, lines which are not cited in any collection of articles on historical materialism, but which say more about it than whole chapters from much longer books. Lenin has independently grasped and thought out the theory of historical materialism as no one else has been able to do, for the reason that he has studied it with the same object in view by which Marx was actuated when creating the theory.

Lenin entered the movement as the embodiment of the *Will to Revolution*, and he studied Marxism, the evolution of capitalism, and the evolution of Socialism, from the point of view of their revolutionary significance. *Plekhanov* was a revolutionist too, but he was not possessed by the *Will to Revolution*, and despite his great importance as a teacher of the Russian Revolution, he could only teach its algebra and not its arithmetic. Herein lies the point of transition from Lenin the theorist to Lenin the politician.

Lenin combined Marxism with the general working class strategy, but at the same time he applied it concretely to that strategic task involving the fate of the Russian working class. It may be said that at the Army Staff Academy he studied not only Clausewitz, Moltke, and their like, but he studied at the same time, as no one else in Russia, the territory of the future

Russian proletarian war. Herein lies the whole of Lenin's genius: it his utmost intensity of intimate contact with his field of activity.

I must take some other opportunity of debating why so great a mind as that of Rosa Luxemburg was not capable of understanding the correctness of Lenin's principles on the origin of Bolshevism; I can only outline the fact. Rosa Luxemburg did not grasp concretely the economic and political difference between the fighting conditions of the Russian proletariat and those of the proletariat of Western Europe. Therefore she inclined to Menshevism in the year 1904. Menshevism, regarded historically, was the policy of the petty bourgeois intelligentsia, and of those strata of the proletariat most closely related to the petty bourgeoisie. Regarded methodologically, Menshevism was an attempt at transferring the tactics of the West European labour movement to Russia. If we read an article by Axelrod or Martov on the independence of development in the working class, "which has to learn to stand on its own feet," it appears exceedingly plausible and striking to anyone who has grown up in the Western European labour movement. I remember very well that when I became acquainted with Russian social democratic polemics during the first revolution, but was not yet familiar with concrete Russian actuality, I could not comprehend how anybody could deny such elementary truths. This magnificent plan lacked nothing except the pre-requisites for the application of its tactics, and to-day it is historically proved that all the speeches delivered by the Mensheviks on the "independence of the labour movement" were in reality only speeches on the necessity of the Russian labour movement subordinating itself to the Russian bourgeoisie.

To-day it is most interesting to read the controversy on the famous first paragraph of the Party Statutes, the paragraph which led to the split of the Social Democratic Party into Bolsheviks and Mensheviks. At that time Lenin's demand, that only the members of illegal organisations were to be counted as party members, appeared highly sectarian. But what was the real point in question? Lenin sought to prevent the confused ideas of certain intellectuals from determining the policy of the labour party. Before the first revolution, any malcontent of a physician or lawyer who happened to have read Marx styled himself a social democrat, although at bottom he was only a Liberal. Even when they entered an illegal organisation, even when they had broken with their petty bourgeois way of living, history shows many intellectuals to have remained Liberals at the bottom of their souls. But the limitation of the Party to such persons as were willing to face the dangers of belonging to an illegal organisation had undoubtedly the advantage of lessening the danger of bourgeois ascendancy in the labour party, and permitted the revolutionary ray emanating from the working class to penetrate the party organisations, however much filled with intellectual elements. But in order to be able to grasp this, in order to be even prepared to split the Party on this account, it was necessary to be as closely bound up with Russian realities as was Lenin, in his capacity of Russian Marxist and Russian revolutionist. And if this was not fully clear to many a good Marxist in the years 1903 and 1904, it became clear enough from the moment when Axelrod began to mix up the class struggle of the proletariat against the Russian bourgeoisie with the famous

agrarian campaign, that is, with the appearance of workers at liberal banquets for the double purpose of: getting to know the bourgeoisie, and of becoming filled with hate against the capitalist class, which, as is well known, had never seen the working class except at the banquet; moreover, the capitalists were to be thus educated into a comprehension of the necessity of furthering general national interests.

Lenin's *way* of knowing Russian actuality is another point in which he differs from all others who have stretched out their hands towards the sceptre of leadership over the Russian proletariat. Not only does he *know* Russian actuality, he sees and feels it as well. At every turning point in the history of the Party, and especially at the moment when we seized power, and the fate of 150 million people hung on the decisions of the Party, I have always been amazed at Lenin's store of what the English call "common sense." It may be remarked that when we are speaking of a human being of whom we are convinced that his like will not recur for a century, is is but a poor compliment to praise his common-sense. But it is just in this that his greatness as a politician lies. When Lenin has to decide on an important question, he does not think of abstract historical categories, he does not think of ground rents, of surplus values, of absolutism or liberalism. He thinks of Sobakevitch, of Gessen, of Sydor from the Tver Province, of the Putilov worker, of the policeman on the street, and he thinks of the effect of the measure on the Mujik Sydor and on the workman Onufria, as bearers of the revolution.

And I shall never forget my talk with Ilyitch before the conclusion of the Brest-Litovsk peace. Every argument which we brought up against the conclusion of the Brest-Litovsk rebounded from him like peas from a wall. He employed the simplest argument: A war cannot be conducted by a party of good revolutionists who, having seized their own bourgeoisie by the throat, is not capable of closing a bargain with the German bourgeoisie. The Mujik must carry on the war. "But don't you see that the Mujik voted against the war?" Lenin asked me. "Excuse me, when and how did he vote against it?" "He voted with his feet, he is running away from the front." And for him that settled the matter. That we would not be able to agree with German imperialism, this Lenin knew as well as everybody else, but when he spoke in favour of the Brest pause for breath, he did not conceal from the masses for a single moment the sufferings which were bound to follow. But it was no worse than the immediate breakdown of the Russian Revolution; it gave us a shadow of hope, a pause for breath, if only for a few months, and this was the decisive moment. It was necessary that the Mujik should touch with his hands the earth which the revolution had given him; it was necessary that he would be confronted with the danger of losing this earth, for *then* he would defend it.

Let us take another example. It was at the time of our defeat in the Polish war, when negotiations were taken up at Riga. At that time I went abroad, and before leaving I paid Ilyitch a visit, in order to speak with him on the differences of opinion which had arisen between us on the relations to the trade unions. Just as Lenin held the Mujik from the Riazan Province before his mental vision when deciding on the Brest peace, knowing that this Mujik

was the decisive personality in the drama of war, in the same manner he placed himself in the position of the plain workman as soon as it was a question of transition from civil war to economic reconstruction, for without this plain workman no economic reconstruction is possible. How did he put the question to himself? The Party meetings discussed the rôle played by the trade unions in political economy; there were controversies on syndicalism and eclecticism. But what Lenin saw was the victimised workman, enduring unheard of and indescribable sufferings, and now called upon to reconstitute political economy. That the economic reconstruction was an imperative necessity, that we had to assemble all our forces, and that we had the right to call upon the working class to take part in the work, all this appeared incontestable to him, but it was a question whether we should begin with this at once, whether we should withdraw thousands of our best comrades from the army, where they had accustomed themselves to commanding, and send them back into the factories at once. Nothing would be produced by pursuing such tactics. "*They must have a rest, they are very tired.*" Such was Lenin's decisive argument. He saw before him the real Russian worker, as he was in the winter of 1921, and he felt what was possible and what impossible.

Marx, in the introduction to his *Critique of Political Economy*, states that history only sets itself such tasks as it can fulfil. This means, in other words, that only he who grasps what tasks are historically capable of fulfilment at a given moment, and who does not fight for the desired, but for the possible, can become the instrument of history. Lenin's greatness lies in the fact that he never permits himself to be blinded to a reality when it is in process of transformation, by any preconceived formula, and that he has the courage to throw yesterday's formula overboard as soon as it disturbs his grasp of this reality. Before our seizure of power, we issued, as revolutionary internationalists, the slogan of the peoples' peace against the governments' peace. And suddenly we found ourselves in the position of a Workers' Government, surrounded by peoples that had not yet succeeded in overthrowing their capitalist governments. "How can we conclude a peace with the Hohenzollern government?" was a question put by many comrades. Lenin answered mischievously: "You are worse than hens. A hen cannot make up its mind to step over a circle drawn around it with chalk. But it can at least justify itself by the assertion that this circle was drawn by a strange hand. But we have drawn up our formula with our own hands, and now you see the formula only, and not the reality. Our formula of peace to be concluded by the peoples had for its object the awakening of the masses against the military and capitalist government. Now you want us to go to ruin, and to let the capitalist governments carry off the victory in the name of our revolutionary formula."

Lenin's greatness lies in his aiming at goals arising out of realities. In this reality he sees a powerful steed which will carry him to his goal, and he trusts himself to it. But he never abandons himself to his dreams. This is not all. His genius contains another trait: After he has set himself a certain goal, he seeks for the means leading to this goal through reality; he is not content with having fixed his aim, he thinks out concretely and completely everything necessary for the attainment of that aim. He does not

merely work out a plan of campaign, but the whole organisation of the campaign at the same time. Our organisers, who are organisers only, have often laughed at Lenin as an organiser. Anyone seeing how Ilyitch works at home, in his room, or at the Council of Peoples, Commissars, might think it impossible to find a worse organiser. Not only has he no staff of secretaries to prepare his material, but up to now he has never even learnt to dictate to a stenographer, and gazes at the pen he is writing with, something like a Mujik from the Don district gazes at the first motor-car he sees. But show us in the whole Party one single individual capable of realising within decades this central idea on the reform of our bureaucratic apparatus, although this reform is inevitable if we do not want the Mujik, indignant against officialdom, to begin to howl. We all know our bureaucratic apparatus, we all cry out against the scandalous state of affairs defined by Comrade Steklov (chief editor of the *Izvestia*), with all the delicacy of a semi-official organ "as slight defects of Soviet mechanism." But which one of the party leaders puts himself the question: The new economic policy has created a fresh basis for an alliance between proletariat and peasantry; how are we to prevent bureaucracy from destroying this alliance? But the great politician of the Russian proletariat, prevented by his illness from going through his daily routine, thought of the central question of State organisation, and worked out the plan of the struggle for decades in advance. But this is only the preliminary draft, details are dependent on the confirmation of experience. But the more attention we devote to this superficial draft, the more plainly we see that in Lenin's personality the great politician and the great political organiser are combined.

How all this happened to be combined in him, God only knows. (Comrade Stefanov and the Commission for combating religion will kindly excuse.) History has her own apparatus for distilling brandy, and no Tcheka can detect her. The German bourgeoisie could not manage to unite Germany, and somewhere, on a small landed estate grange, history set one of her machines in action, and with the aid of God or the devil, that is, by molecular work, she created *Bismarck*, who then fulfilled the task. If we read his first reports, if we follow his policy step by step, we are obliged to ask ourselves how it was possible for a landowner to possess such an understanding for the whole of European actuality.

The same thought arises every time we think over the history of our Party, the history of the revolution, and of Lenin. For fifteen years we looked on while this man was fighting over every comma in the resolutions, against every "ism" invented during the last twenty-five years, from *Khvostism* to *Empiriocretism*. For Lenin every such "ism" has always been the embodiment of some real enemy, existing either in outside classes or in the working class, but in any case in reality. These "isms" were the feelers of reality, and he absorbed the whole of this reality into himself, studied it, thought it out, until the finished miracle appeared, and the underground man proved himself the most earthly man of Russian reality. History offers no second example of such a transition from subterranean revolutionist to statesman. This combination of the characteristics of a leading theorist, politician and organiser has made Lenin the leader of the Russian Revolution.

And that this leader should be the only one universally recognised as leader the human touch was required, the quality which has made Lenin the beloved hero of the Russian Revolution.

He himself tries to convince us that man requires absolute truth, which is an untruth in Ibsen's individualistic formulation. For many people the truth is deadly; it is deadly even for many classes. If the bourgeoisie were to grasp the truth about itself, and were permeated with this truth, it would be defeated already, for who can go on fighting when the truth of history tells him that he is not only condemned to death, but that his corpse will be thrown into the sewer? The bourgeoisie is blind and dumb to its fate. But a revolutionary class needs the truth, for truth is the knowledge of reality. And it is not possible to dominate this reality without knowing it. We form one part of this reality: the working class, the Communist Party. And it is only if we are able to judge of our power and our weakness that we can judge of the measures to be taken to ensure final victory. Lenin tells the proletariat the truth, and the truth only, however depressing it may be. When workers hear him speaking, they know that there is not a single phrase in all his speech. He helps us to inform ourselves on reality. At one time I was living at Davos with a Bolshevik workman dying of consumption. At that time the right of self-determination of nationalities was being debated, and we Polish Communists were opposed to Lenin's views. The comrade of whom I speak, after having read my theses against Lenin, said: "What you have written is perfectly convincing to me, but whenever I have been opposed to Ilyitch, it has always turned out afterwards that I was wrong." This is how the leading party functionaries think, and this is the reason of Lenin's authority in the Party; but the workers do not think so. They do not feel bound to Lenin because he has been in the right a thousand times, but because, if he has once been in the wrong, if a mistake has been committed under his leadership, he admitted openly: "We have made a mistake, and therefore we have been defeated here; this mistake must be made good in such and such manner." Many have asked him why he speaks so openly of mistakes made. I do not know why Lenin does it, but the results of this course of action may be plainly seen. The workman is much too enlightened to believe in redeeming saviours any longer. When Lenin speaks of his mistakes, he hides nothing, he leads the worker into his own laboratory of thought, he makes it possible for the worker to take part in forming the final decision, and the workers see in him the leader who represents their laboratory, the embodiment of their class struggle. A great class, itself needing absolute truth, loves with its whole heart a leader who is himself a truth-loving human being, one who tells the truth about himself. From such a leader the worker can bear any truth, even the hardest. Human beings have faith in themselves only when they conceal nothing, when they know everything about themselves, even the most unfavourable possibilities, and yet feel that they can say: In spite of everything . . . Lenin helps the working class to a full knowledge of every decaying and decomposing element of its own existence, and yet enables it to say in the end: I am His Majesty the Proletariat, the future ruler and creator of life. This is another factor in Lenin's greatness.

On this day of the 25th anniversary of the Party, which not

only bears the responsibility for the destiny of the sixth part of the globe, but which is at the same time the main lever of proletarian victory, the Russian Communists, and every revolutionist among the proletariat of every country, are filled with the thought and the wish that this Moses, who has led the slaves from the land of bondage, may pass with us into the promised land.

The Sverdlov University

THE RUSSIAN COMMUNIST PARTY & WORKING-CLASS EDUCATION

By WM. JOSS

[The writer of the following article is well known for his splendid work on behalf of Marxian education in the West of Scotland. During a recent visit to Russia he made a special study of the Marxian educational and agitational work of the Communist Party, and was deeply impressed by the wonderful methods adopted at the Sverdlov University in Moscow. We are afforded a glimpse, by Comrade Joss, into one of the spheres of agitational activity in which the Russian Communist Party has proved itself to be the leader of the international proletariat.—ED. OF THE COMMUNIST REVIEW.]

THE educational work carried on by the Russian Communist Party in the dark period of Tsardom and extended during the period of the Revolution, now finds its latest expression in the Sverdlov University, the first Communist University of the world. The experiences of the Russian comrades in the field of education are worthy of study by all those who are interested in the future of the working class, and a survey of their work and methods should materially help those comrades whose work it is to spread the teachings of Marx amongst the working class of Great Britain.

Before the Revolution the educational work of the Party was carried on in groups or illegal secret "circles" and in schools abroad. The groups in Russia which met under the shadow of Tsardom, and led by the revolutionary Marxian students for twenty years, drew the workers from the factories and villages and provided them with the equipment for battle, arming them with the weapons that experienced proved to be useful in welding the Party into a single-minded force, disciplined, organised, and with a clear view of their objective—the destruction of the bourgeois State. They approached the problem of education from the Marxian basis and found in practice that the workers became more clear-sighted and class-conscious and resolute when they acquired first a knowledge of, and then a distinct Marxian outlook in certain subjects of study, viz.—Economics, Industrial History, and Political Science first and foremost.

"The workers must be taught the rudiments, the foundations," was their slogan; so in their groups and classes they learnt Economics and History, which were to be vitally important to them in the period of revolution when the problem of retaining the cohesion of the working class and to become successful and

efficient fighters for the Workers' State. Their success in 1917 and the consolidation of their work during the past five years has shown that their methods and work demonstrated in the school of experience have not been found wanting. One of the text-books written by Comrade Bogandoff, which was used during that period, was ably compiled, and the subject matter is infinitely superior to anything in the text-books of the British movement. Lack of space prevents lengthy quotations, but a summary of the chapters will explain the outlines of the book, which is entitled, "A Short Course of Economics":—

Introduction:

1. Definition of Economic Science.
 2. The Methods of Economic Science.
 3. The System of Exposition.
- Natural Self-Sufficing Society.
1. *Primitive Tribal Communism:*
 - (a) The Primitive Relations of Man to Nature.
 - (b) The Constitution of the Primitive Family Group.
 - (c) The Rise of Ideology.
 - (d) Forces of Development in Primitive Society.
 2. *Authoritarian Tribal Communism:*
 - (a) The rise of Agriculture and Cattle-breeding.
 - (b) The Development of Productive Relations in the Gens.
 - (c) The Development of Forms of Distribution.
 - (d) The Development of Ideology.
 - (e) Forces of Development and New Forms of Life in the Patriarchal-Tribal Period.
 3. *Feudal Society:*
 - (a) The Development of Technique.
 - (b) Production and Distribution Relations in Feudal Groups.
 - (1) The Agricultural Group; (2) The Rise of the Feudal Lord; (3) The Individualisation of the Priest Class.
 - (c) The Development of Ideology in Feudal Society.
 - (d) Forces of Development and their Tendency in Feudal Society.
 - (e) General Characteristics of Self-Sufficing Societies of the Past.
 4. *Development of Exchange:*
 - (a) Conception of Exchange Society.
 - (b) Three Forms of Exchange.
 - (c) Money.
 - (d) Labour Value and its Significance in the Regulation of Production.
 5. *Systems of Slavery:*
 - (a) The Origin of Slave-owning Organisations.
 - (b) Inter-group Production.
 - (c) Ideology.
 - (d) The Cause and Process of Decline of Slave-owning.
 6. *Serfdom:*

The Town Handicraft System.

 - (a) The Development of Technique.
 - (b) The Development of the Towns.

- (c) The Towns and the Formation of the New Political System.
 - (d) The Forces of Development of the Mediæval Towns.
 - (e) The Main Features of the Ideology of the Pre-Capitalist System.
7. *Merchant Capitalism* :
- (a) The General Conception of Capitalism.
 - (b) The Technical Relations of Production.
 - (c) The Expansion of the Power of Merchant Capital over Production.
 - (d) The Decay of Small Enterprises and the Development of the Class Struggle.
 - (e) The Rôle of the State.
 - (f) Ideology and Forces of Development in the Period of Merchant Capitalism.
8. *Industrial Capitalism* :
- (a) *Primitive Accumulation*.
 - (b) The Development of Technique and Large Scale Production.
 - (1) The Extension of the Sphere of Activity of Merchant Capitalism.
 - (2) The Origin and Essentials of Manufacture.
 - (3) The Development of Machine Production.
 - (a) The Origin of the Machine; (b) What is a Machine? (c) The Extension of Machine Production.
 - (c) The Process of Capitalist Production.
 - (d) The influences of Developing Capitalist Enterprises on backward Forms of Production.
 - (e) The circulation of money.
 - (f) The Distribution of the Social Product among the Classes under Capitalism.
 - (1) Profits; (2) Ground Rent; (3) Wages; (4) Taxation.
 - (1) Form of Wages.
 - (2) Magnitude of Wages.
 - (3) The Reserve Army of Capitalism.
 - (4) Labour Organisation.
 - (5) Labour Legislation.
 - (g) The Main Tendencies of Capitalism.
 - (h) The Conception of Markets and Crises.
9. *The Epoch of Finance Capital* :
- (a) Credit.
 - (b) Joint Stock Companies.
 - (c) Private Capitalist Monopoly.
 - (d) The Banks as Organising Centres of Industry.
 - (e) Imperialism as the Politics of Finance and Industrial Capitalism.
 - (f) The Path to the Collapse of the Capitalist System.
 - (g) The Ideology of Industrial and Finance Capital.
10. *Communist Society* :
- (a) Relation of Society to Nature.
 - (b) The Social Relations of Production.
 - (c) Distribution.
 - (d) Social Ideology.
 - (e) Forces of Development.

We have given a very brief outline of Bogdanoff's wonderful text book, which, as we have said, transcends anything we have in this country for tutorial work. The only volume in the British movement that attempts in any way at presenting the historical data in the Marxian manner adopted by Bogdanoff is Comrade W. Paul's *The State: Its Origin and Function*. The Russian work, however, is much bigger, and, being more comprehensive, is in our opinion a better book.

The nearest approach to the educational work carried on in the Sverdlov University that can be traced in this country was the economic classes conducted by the old S.L.P., several years ago, on the Clyde. To-day similar work to that carried on the Clyde, is being performed by the Plebs League and the Labour Colleges. The mistake made by the old S.L.P., and in the Marxian educational organisations of to-day, is the truth which has been irrefutably demonstrated—that the very best education influences the will very slightly. What is also needed is the organising of the emotional life in order to create the will to struggle and to arouse the revolutionary spirit of daring. The old S.L.P. by its sectarian attitude towards the political movement of Labour, turned Marxian education into barren and doctrinaire channels; the Plebs League and the Labour Colleges lack the driving force and impulse of a revolutionary political organisation always on the alert, always challenging the present system and ever battling for the everyday needs of the masses. Marxism is emasculated when it remains purely theoretical or educational. And it must be the task of the Communist Party, while sympathising with every effort aimed at spreading theoretical Marxism, to insist that real Marxism demands something more than tutorial work; it demands that emotional enthusiasm which only can be generated by a party that is bone and marrow of the active class struggle. The Communist Party must examine this aspect of the problem very carefully.

The creation of that will and fighting spirit in the educational work of the Russian Party no one doubts after the five years of suffering and struggle which the active workers in Russia have undergone; but in this country the numerous workers who have come in contact with the educational movement do not reflect that spirit to the same extent. And it is this readiness to struggle and suffer that is *the factor* on which we have to build. We must apply our teachings to the everyday needs and conflicts of the working class in the factories and workshops and demonstrate in actual fact the process of exploitation which takes place every minute. In every proletarian home we must apply our knowledge to the solution of the problem which affects every working woman—how to make both ends meet. Only in that way will we spread that fighting spirit in our educational work.

To return to Russia. After the period of the Revolution, the educational work of the Communist Party changed in response to the needs of the moment, and on every occasion their organisation and talent has not failed them. In 1918, when the civil war commenced, the intellectuals and bourgeois rallied to the other side of the barricade and commenced an obstinate sabotage. Again and again the Russian workers won through, led by Jacob Mikhailovitch Sverdlov, a man of tact and an organiser of talent who revived the propaganda experience of the Party and founded

courses of agitation and propaganda; these were the corner-stone of what is now the Sverdlov University. Comrade Sverdlov, like thousands of many brilliant Russian Communists, threw himself so fiercely into the work of the revolution that he died—burned out. It is now over four years since the school started, and the tasks of the school have changed according to the different phrases of the revolution, and were as follows:—

1. *Courses of Agitation and Propaganda.*

The courses were of 15 days' duration, and their efficiency was marked in the rallying of the working class to the defence of the Soviet State against the counter-revolution.

2. *Courses for the Instructors of Militant Rural Workers and the Poor Peasantry.*

The success of these courses was demonstrated in the struggle against the rich peasantry, who had rallied to the side of the counter-revolutionary forces.

3. *Courses for Organisation of Soviet Work in Workshop, Districts, Government, and Rural Organisations.*

After the period of the counter-revolution, the organisation of labour and other problems arising out of the destruction of 1918-20 and the need of efficient workers was greater owing to the fact that the best Soviet workers were in the van of the Red Army, and suffered accordingly. Readers of *The Russian Information and Review* will mark with pride the growing economic reconstruction which has taken place during 1920-22 in Russia.

4. 1922. The courses and work have developed, and now, in their educational work in the school of the Communist Party, "The Sverdlov University" is a laboratory for preparing the Communist elements of the working class with the basic essentials of Communist Instruction.

H. N. Brailsford, in the book, *The Russian Workers' Republic*, tells us: "The Sverdlov University is in effect a Labour College—the college in which the new ruling class is training its civil service. Here, about one thousand young men and women drawn from the working class receive a rapid course of instruction in political science. They study for six months, taking courses in political economy, the history of civilisation, Russian history, statistics and the history and doctrines of Marxism."

After this first general course, each student specialises in some one department of practical administration, food, education, agriculture, production in general, etc.

The University prepares specialists in five groups or types:—

1. Militants who specialise in the work of the Party, secretaries of government committees, regional committees, and delegates of the Central Committee of the organisation.

2. Leading functionaries of Soviets—president of committees, executive of Soviets in the government and regional organisations, and for members of the executive committees of the separate Republics.

3. Trade union, syndical, and State trust organisations, control of production, transport and electrification.

4. Teachers attached to the schools of the Party having the direction of study groups, with the assistance of responsible local workers.

5. Specialists in all branches of scientific thought.

The unity of administration of the University is complete and the control is on the basis of democratic centralism. The professors, students, auxiliary workers, trade unions and the State control the work, methods and administration of the University.

There are six chairs:—

1. *Natural Sciences*, with sections of physics, chemistry, biology, astronomy, mathematics.
2. *Literature*, with the following sections: Russian Language, Foreign Languages (English, French, German), and Literature.
3. *Economics*.
4. *Law*.
5. *History*, with the following sections: Russian History, World History, History of the Russian Communist Party.
6. *Marxian Philosophy*.

The work of the college is interesting and is a complete break from the old traditional methods of teaching. Lectures are almost taboo, and discussion groups and study circles play an important part in the educational work. The results mark a definite step in advance of the old methods. The groups participate in conferences, debates, literary matinees, excursions, concerts, and dramatic performances. In all, there are about forty groups, divided into eight sections:—

1. *Section of Production*: (groups) (a) Metalworkers, (b) Agriculturists, (c) Electricians, (d) Transport.
2. *Auxiliary Scientific Section*: (groups) (a) Biology, (b) History and Philosophy.
3. *Literature*: (a) World Literature, (b) Russian (old and new), (c) Journalistic Work.
4. *Oratory*: (a) Orators, (b) Declaration, (c) Technique of Language, (d) Grammar, (e) Dramatic Art.
5. *Sports*: Gymnastic Swedish Drill and other sports.
6. *Music*: Instrumental and Singing.
7. *Painting and Sculpture*.
8. *Organisation of Clubs, Stenography, etc.*

The plan of the groups renders possible the creation in the shortest possible time of capable trained workers to further extend the educational work of the State. After a six months' course, most of them become circle or group leaders, and thereby assist the spread of education. This is rendered necessary by the shortage of trained workers in all branches of State work and production in general, plus the fearful demands on the part of the Russian proletariat and peasantry for enlightenment.

The Russian Information and Review,* in its issue of February 24th, 1923, gives an idea of this demand in the article on "Life in Soviet Russia" regarding books and reading. The following table shows the works published by the State Publishing Agency (Goresdat), proves that in 1922 the Russian reading public is reading in earnest, and their reading is, in general, rather solid stuff:—

* A copy of this weekly journal should be in the hands of every worker interested in the creation and building up of the Soviet Republic; it only costs 3d., and may be supplied to order.

Textbooks for Schools and Universities	289	5,264,370
Poetry and Fiction	182	1,126,620
Social and Economic	167	1,746,700
Various Sciences	115	604,200
Popular Science	83	1,231,600
Periodicals	69	715,000
Children's Books	39	1,251,000
Art (Reproductions, etc.)	4	18,000
Miscellaneous	55	665,000
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	1,003	12,623,490
	<hr/>	<hr/>

A comparison of the above with the tastes of the reading public of Great Britain is worthy of comparison; test it with the next publication of your library issues.

Measured by the number of copies sold, the second place on the list is taken by works on politics, history, economic and social studies, which are sold in the ordinary way, through ordinary shops and commercial agencies, at prices which range high in comparison with wages.

To revert back to the work of the Sverdlov University, there are five libraries with 300,000 volumes. On the walls of the libraries are a series of charts which I should like to see used in the educational work of this country. There are Laboratories for biology, chemistry, physics, astronomy and mineralogy; diagrams and charts relating to economics and history; lantern slides and cinema; in fact, all the equipment that we poor teachers of the working class movement in Great Britain lack. The attendance for the years from 1918 and the students who passed through were as follows:—

Year.	Students.
1918	2,000
1919	2,800
1920	1,130
1921	1,250
1922	1,250

The courses, of three years' duration, are as follows:—

1st Year—

1. Mathematics.
2. Physics.
3. Chemistry.
4. Biology.
5. Geography, Physical and Economic.
6. Statistics.
7. History of the development of Social forms.
8. Natural Forces and the Production of Russia.

2nd Year—

1. Astronomy.
2. Geology.
3. History of the World.
4. History of Russia.
5. History of the Working-Class Movement in Russia and the World.

6. Political Economy of Soviet Russia.
 - Agrarian Relations in Russia.
 - Organisation of Work.
 - Industrial Economics.
 - History of the Russian Working Class.
 - Philosophy.
 - Theory of Political Economy.
 - Finance Capital.
 - History of Political Economy.
 - Contemporary Economics of Russia.
 - Finances.
 - Studies of Law and the State in General.
 - International Relations.
 - History of Literature.
 - Plus three Languages: English, French, German.

This course is continued in the third year, but specialisation takes place in four divisions, as follows:—

(1) Party Workers, (2) Soviet Workers, (3) Teachers, (4) Professional and Industrial Workers.

The number of students who were in attendance in the winter of 1922 was 954, 755 women and 199 men, who belonged to the following social groups:—

Workers, 556; peasants, 167; other social groups, 237.

The fragmentary outline which I have written on the work of the University does not cover the whole of the activities. What has been said, however, should determine the workers in this country to make further progress in the field of education so that we also in Great Britain will be able to set up our Communist University. But first things first. Let us first lay the foundations, the rudiments, and create that *will to fight* for the triumph of the working class. We have the material here in the working class, and the lessons before us of what has been achieved in that field by our Russian comrades should spur us on to greater efforts in extending and deepening that class-consciousness which will ultimately lead to victory. The Sverdlov University is not the only work of the educational movement in Russia. In the workshops there are factory clubs, and in the villages the workers and peasants of Russia are extending the educational work. The war upon illiteracy by the Soviet Government is one of the finest achievements in the whole history of the working-class movement. The work in the Red Army, the trade unions, and the peasantry is still going on. Trotsky, in 1915, emphasised the greatness of the creative tasks awaiting the constructive energies of the revolutionary workers, and showed that the struggle between competing imperialisms, whatever its immediate issue, would bring the capitalist world face to face with the alternative of permanent war or revolution.

Well, comrades, in Russia they have had *their* revolution and are now engaged on their creative tasks. And they are patiently waiting for us to move in this country. What have YOU to say about it?

The Political Situation in Great Britain

By J. T. WALTON NEWBOLD, M.P.

SINCE the commencement of the present session of the Parliament the Tory Government has suffered three very dramatic defeats at by-elections. In one case they lost a seat to a Liberal, and that in suburban West London, and in the other two cases two seats to the Labour Party, the one in the petit-bourgeois suburb of London at Mitcham, and the other in an industrial quarter of a city famous for religious and racial strife and consistent and continuous Toryism, the Edgehill division of the port of Liverpool. The causes of the defeats were twofold. First there was the customary habit of the British electorate to follow up a General Election with a series of rebuffs expressive of their disappointment with a new government, and, second, there was the question of the threatened increase of rents by reason of the decontrol of houses by the State—a temporary war measure. The houses more immediately threatened were those of the petit-bourgeois, who, therefore, voted Labour to frighten the Government into making and keeping a promise to delay decontrol until, from some quarter unnamed, new houses can be provided.

Again, there is profound but unintelligent discontent amongst the British bourgeoisie at the way things are going with the prestige of the nation, the dignity of the Empire, and the problems of taxation and trade. They want "Peace with honour." It is not peace itself that they mind about, but "economy." The Mesopotamia and Gallipoli campaigns have made any threat of war in those quarters very unpopular. It is unpleasant and unhealthy, even if honourable, to die for one's country on the hill slopes of the Dardanelles or in the river marshes of Irak. Besides, it is better to sell cotton goods in the Levant than to help a few cosmopolitan speculators like Baharoff to get oil with the aid of taxpayers' bombs and bayonets. Yet again, India *seems* to be willing to settle down and resume its normal relations with Lancashire if only the Government will not antagonise the Khaliphat movement. However, of course, no British bourgeois will evacuate the East under threat of expulsion. To do so would be to lose "prestige" and risk trouble with "the beastly natives" everywhere, don't you know. Again, everyone smarts at the indignity of the French handling of British interests in occupied Germany just as much as he is incensed at the thought of letting off "the Huns" who made the war and now refuse to pay for it. But the country has only one-third the aeroplanes that France has, and less submarines as well. To cap all, the new Government has made a most undignified capitulation to the American bondholders, and has burdened the taxpayer with yearly payments approximating £36,000,000 for eighty years.

Trade is not improving at all well, and taxation will not fall. The British bourgeoisie is a rat in a trap, and begins to be conscious of that disagreeable situation.

The Liberals have failed him. The Tories are failing him. Therefore he turns to the Labour Party for "Peace, Respectability,

Stability and Economy." Even so, he is perturbed. There are those "wild men" from Scotland, and some thirty-five others who object to their leaders fraternising with royalty. The leaders look and sound quite safe, but Snowden, though he may turn round and snarl at his supporters for cheering him too boisterously when attacking capitalism in his best parlour manner, and MacDonald, though he may tell the millionaire newspaper owners that his party has not one thousand millionth part of sympathy with Bolshevism, cannot restrain the avalanche that threatens from the back benches, impelled forward by the hopes their own oratory has awakened in the congested towns of the Clyde. The bourgeoisie wants a change—back to the old world before 1914. It must be remembered that in Britain the bourgeoisie, economic and ideological alike, is very big indeed, this being the home of the classical or competitive type of capitalism. Respectability is rampant. Religion has been more democratic here than authoritarian; this is the home of Nonconformist sectarianism. Even Catholicism here has been associated with the Liberals as against the State Church, and, amongst the Irish, has stood for the national revolt of the expropriated race against the alien and Protestant ascendancy. The State Church has, for more than half a century, but more with each succeeding decade, had bishops and clergy who were in idealist revolt against the Manchester school of political thought that inspired industrialism. There is, also, an enormous mass of floating religious emotionalism and idealism, with no doctrinal bias and no sceptic cynicism. There are ideological bridges and causeways innumerable connecting the bourgeoisie and the proletariat.

All this had its historic origin in the slow but very early development of bourgeois trade, bourgeois farming of land, and bourgeois industry in Great Britain.

The absence of a conscript army, the meeting of bourgeois and proletarian in the chapels, and the coming together of all classes on the racecourse have given to these gradations of class subdivisions a number of ideas and prejudices in common.

Again, the rebel elements, the adventurous personalities, have made their way to a colony or to the English-speaking United States.

British capitalism has, for three generations, been able to make its proletarians feel that their standard of life and comfort was continuously improving, and that they had a share in the government and profits of the common imperial heritage.

All this is now rapidly altering economically and fundamentally, but, psychologically and superficially, the change is very slow. The old traditions die very slowly away.

The Communist in Britain needs to have infinite patience, foresight and a willingness to seem a dreamer and to be ridiculed. He must remember that, traditionally and psychologically, he lives on an island of prosperity and of peace. He must equally realise and seek to make others realise, also, that economically and in the conditions of modern politics and war that insularity and privileged status have slipped away. Economically, Great Britain is riding at breakneck speed to revolution. Psychologically, her people think that everything in this country will be "the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever."

It has been unfortunate for comrades here and throughout the International, that, on the one hand, they have allowed enthusiasm and hopeful expectation to negate their Marxian interpretation of history when judging the prospects of a revolutionary crisis in Great Britain (and in certain other countries) and, on the other, that they have been unintentionally misled by engineers from the Clyde, with their views unduly coloured by local and occupational conflicts of a temporary, though very dramatic character, who, generalising from particulars, foretold a revolutionary rising of the masses and by other comrades from London where, almost alone in all Britain, the trades' councils and labour parties have been as much or more influenced by the Marxists than by the religious sentimentalists of the I.L.P.

The Clyde industrialists have foretold a Soviet Revolution. The London politicals have overlooked the fact that as the Labour Party ceased to be a federation of autonomous units and became a centralised party, the opportunities of Communists within its ranks would become less and less. Formerly, the Labour Party had no all-powerful junta. Now, it has a junta and a machinery of officialdom reaching down from the centre to the localities.

The bourgeoisie elements, discomfited and dislodged by the economic revolution, are coming into the Labour Party to strengthen it as an orthodox political machine and to saturate it still more with opportunism and the spirit of compromise. There may be a break inside the Labour Party. I think it will take the form of autonomy of organisation for the Scottish section of the Party but, as no Labour Party candidate can possibly secure selection in the whole of the West Coast area unless he is approved by, and is a member of, the I.L.P., that will not mean a union or even an early alliance with the Communists.

This re-organisation, made—in the interests of opportunism—to get moderate men's votes in Conservative England and extremist men's votes in Radical Scotland, there will, probably, ensue a Labour Government.

Then, the debacle will begin, and the wholesale disillusion and disruption of the Labour Party rank and file membership set in. At present and until that time, the numerically weak Communist Party can best stand firm in asserting the inevitable failure of opportunism, the inevitable collapse of imperialism, demonstrating the domestic failure of capitalism, pointing to the fissures in its political superstructure, fighting with the masses of the unemployed to improve their lot, helping the unions to resist the ever-increasing onslaughts on working conditions and wage-rates, battling within the local labour parties to maintain and strengthen its influence, learning in the rough and tumble of everyday conflict to use the information and instruction which its slowly but steadily recruited membership will receive from the Party and from the International.

From Kraal to Goldmine

By L. A. MOTLER

MUCH remains to be written concerning the dictatorship of the proletariat in relation to the component parts of the present British Empire. The present article is only a contribution of interest that may draw forth a more exhaustive study of the matters than I can only lightly touch upon here.

In what way do the Abantu—the heterogeneous collection of tribes referred generically to as Kaffirs—impinge on industrial organisation? Why has it been so difficult to organise black labour, especially north of the Cape Province? A slight knowledge of actual living conditions may help materially towards a study of the problem.

Let me then start with a quotation from *Secret Service in South Africa*, by D. Blackburn and Captain Caddell.

“Among the many points on which the general public hold erroneous and misinformed notions in regard to South African matters is that of the relationship of white and black. They cannot grasp the vital fact that, despite the existence of a teeming native population, only a very small percentage of the males will, or need, work. The public do not know that owing to the communal system under which the Kaffir lives—his access to free land and the surprising fewness of his material wants—the necessity for earning money only exists when forced upon him by artificial needs.”

It will be noticed that the authors make a confusion of the term “work.” It is hardly to be supposed that even free land does away with the necessity for labour of some sort. What the authors then mean by “work” is the civilised state of wage-slavery. By implication then, the access to free land is a hindrance to the development of “work.” But to resume the quotation.

“The Kaffir is born to the means of livelihood. He is born to a father who, by the law of natural increase, possesses growing wealth in the form of cattle. He has no rent to pay, the labour essential for the cultivation of the mealie patch and the herding of cattle is supplied by wife, or wives and children, and as each daughter becomes marriageable—as she does at fifteen or sixteen years of age, or even earlier—she brings as the price paid by her husband six, eight or ten oxen to swell the ever-increasing herd.”

These conditions, of course, apply in the kraals or collections of native huts, mostly in the native reservations like Zululand, Basutoland, etc., where purely native conditions obtain and where the main authority is nominally held by native chiefs with their indunas (or headmen), ruling under native laws and usage. Here the Kaffir lives in real simplicity as his forefathers did.

It must not be supposed, however, that these kraals are a sort of earthly paradise, oases in the arid waste of industrialism and land exploitation, free from the clutch of the white man's laws. The chief in reality is the tax-gatherer of the Government, for there are such incidentals as hut-tax, poll-tax, etc. And it is by means of these taxes that the wedge of industrialism enters.

The authors of the book I have already referred to assert that since the first battery started crushing on the Rand, shortage of native labour has even been chronic. Never has the supply caught up with the demand. The reason for this is that the native only goes to the mines to "work" when, through bad harvests or with rinderpest and nagana affecting his cattle, he is unable to find the wherewithal to pay the Governmental taxes.

Under these conditions, then, he enters the industrial arena as mine labourer, house or garden boy, and as general worker in the shops of the towns and dorps. A percentage also goes on the farms of the backveld.

The difficulties of organising this floating mass of native labour, ever in a state of flux, lie in the fact that as soon as he can the native returns to the kraal. He is seldom in the industrial market as a proletarian, but is there mainly to raise a minimum amount of money for immediate needs. If he stays at all for a considerable time it is only with the view of being able to buy the necessary cattle for acquiring a wife.

Apart from these difficulties of native law and usage, there are the Governmental regulations controlling native labour and the old Boer laws, still extant, touching on the relations of whites and blacks. How these complicate matters will be seen.

In the first place, when a native sets out to find "work" he finds he has to wade through a mass of forms and other documents. A pass from the kraal to the dorp or town is first necessary. Then a permit to roam round, looking for a situation. These permits contain the name of the native, his "work name" (a concession to the inability or disinclination of white employers to pronounce native names, the work names varying from the simplicity of "Jim" to the dignity of "Sixpence"), the name of his chief or father, the location of his kraal and the place where the tax is paid. The name of his tribe or race (Zulu, Basuto, Pondo, Swazi, Shingaan, Fingo, etc.) is also entered. This permit is only valid for seven days, however, and would-be employers are warned against engaging natives with permits more than seven days old.

Let us suppose, however, that our Sixpence has been fortunate enough to convince a baas of his abilities. The baas takes his papers from him, writes out a pass for the native to go to his "location" (or barracks), and Sixpence has to walk there, the trams being (in the Transvaal at least) barred to him. He has to rise betimes and walk to the house of his new baas, arriving there at seven in the morning.

What are his conditions of labour? I must here confine my remarks to actual knowledge acquired in Johannesburg. His wages are paid monthly, and a cook would command £5, a houseboy, £4 10s. and a garden boy up to £4. (The term "boy" refers to an adult native, youths being "umfaans" and native boys being "piccanins.") As to these native domestic servants, to whose conditions my knowledge is unfortunately confined, they are lodged in outhouses on the estate or, in smaller houses, in the yard or back part of the premises. They are hardly ever, if at all, lodged in the house itself.

A food allowance is made, this consisting of mealie (native maize, their staple food), sugar, meat, tea and native bread. The working hours are, for houseboys and cooks, from an hour before the morning tea to the washing up of dishes after the white man's dinner or evening meal. For garden boys, from the same hour in the morning till dusk. The meals are for them usually three per diem. On Sundays they are usually allowed the day out from the forenoon, and have to be provided with a special pass to their destination by the baas, the hours of absence being entered.

The baas, on taking each boy into employment, has to go to the Native Pass Office and pay two shillings for a kind of licence, this being renewable monthly. The name of employer, rate of wage and date of entry into employment are then inscribed on the work permit of the native. The employer can also write out special passes for the native should he desire to go out on any week-day evening, the hours of absence always being entered, so that the native police, who roam in couples armed with assegai, knobkerry or simple staff, may ascertain that the native is not staying out of hours.

The native is thus not only harassed with papers and documents, to which are attached penalties, but he is subject to the caprice of his employer, being liable to imprisonment should he leave his employment suddenly, his papers always being retained by the baas until the employment is mutually terminated. A native without papers is in the position of a man at home "without visible means of sustenance."

The segregation of whites and blacks, especially in the Transvaal, is not confined to the matter of domicile and being barred from the use of the tramways (unless accompanied by employer). In the towns "locations," usually a collection of perpetrations in corrugated iron, are set apart for town boys engaged in shops or industrial undertakings. In some cases they are "housed" in the back part of engineering and other works. Mine boys are invariably lodged in "locations," but in Johannesburg what are called "barracks" are available.

The natives, however, being as it were exiles from home who expect to return to the kraal within a certain period, do not seem to find any serious drawbacks in these havens of rest. And for the same reason it is difficult to organise them to improve their conditions of employment. There is some sort of native organisation with educated natives at the head, but these gentlemen will eventually be found accepting with alacrity Governmental positions at such time as these may be thrown open to them.

It must not be supposed, however, that there is no strong movement among the class-conscious elements of the South African workers, white or native (or among the so-called "coloured," who are chiefly in the Cape Province). The purpose of my article is not to go into this however, but if I have given my readers a rough idea of conditions as between whites and blacks, this will be enough. I leave it to a better-informed South African to fill in the hiatus.

The Reaction in Bulgaria

By CH. KABAKCHIEV

(Translated by P. Lavin)

THE reactionary policy of the old bourgeois parties united in the so-called bourgeois *bloc*, as well as that of the Agrarian Government, becomes more pronounced from day to day. In spite of the failure of all their previous attempts to effect a *coup d'état* (they made such attempts with the help of the Wrangel generals and the Officers' League), the old bourgeois parties continue to push their preparations in that direction, and at the present time they are directing all their blows against the Communist Party. The bourgeoisie are creating illegal Fascist organisations, and are organising and preparing for the same Fascist rôle the existing legal bourgeois youth and touring organisations and others of a similar character, as well as the unions of reserve officers and under-officers. They are establishing under the most varied designations other unions, and are arming and equipping these unions and organisations for the struggle against the Communist Party. They have already delivered a series of such attacks, as, for example, in the last elections in Dupnitza, Stara Zagora and other towns.

The Agrarian Government not only tolerates these Fascist organisations, but actually protects and supports them. The demand of the masses in the towns and villages that the bourgeoisie and their organisations be disarmed, is being met by the Government by the wholesale disarming of the urban masses—precisely those who are capable of proving the strongest and most determined bulwark against the reactionary designs of the old parties. It is perfectly obvious that the Government is in this way making smooth the path of the bourgeois reaction.

During the municipal elections which took place on February 11th, the Government organised an all-round terror against the Communist Party. It organised nocturnal armed attacks by policemen and masked men on the quarters of the Communist Party in Russe and other towns. On the day of the elections it arrested hundreds of Communist electors and candidates and committed the commonest forgeries and frauds. In this way the Government is assisting the town bourgeoisie to capture the towns in order to plunder the municipal resources in conjunction with them. But in spite of all this, the Communist Party emerged from the last elections with an increased vote in almost every town, and captured the municipalities of Samakov, Lom, Dupnitza, Kalofer, Klissura, Yambol, Nova Zagora, Brazigovo and Gorna Dschumaja. In Sliven, the centre of the textile industry of Bulgaria, where in the last election the Communist Party polled 3,610 votes as against 1,942 votes recorded for all other parties, the town council was dissolved in a very brutal manner, and the Government did not issue writs for a new election.

A few weeks ago a crisis occurred in the Agrarian League and in the Agrarian Government. A few Ministers, led by Turlakoff, Minister of Finance, resigned from the Cabinet. These Ministers

represent the so-called "Right" in the Agrarian League, which consists of the old village bourgeoisie, the members of which are inclined to form a coalition with the cliques of the old bourgeois parties. Stamboliski, who remained at the head of the Government, represents the so-called "Left" of the Agrarian League. But this "Left" does not represent nor protect the interests of the lower and propertyless masses of the League. It consists of the newly-enriched village bourgeoisie, that is, the medium and well-to-do peasants, who are utilising the enhanced prices of agricultural products, as well as the State power, to increase their land and capital by trade, usury, consortiums and syndicates founded with national funds, the operation of bank credit, and the undisguised plundering of State and municipal resources. The newly-enriched village bourgeoisie desire to govern independently, and to still further utilise the power of the State and its attendant advantages exclusively for their own aggrandizement. In the means they employ for their enrichment the bourgeoisie are greedy, daring and reckless. They are equally so in their politics, and in their behaviour towards the working class. But in order to attain to independent government, the "Left" of Stamboliski and of the newly-enriched village bourgeoisie continues its policy of demagoguery and conciliation in relation to the small and propertyless peasants, because it needs their support.

This "Left," which emerged victorious from the crisis in the Agrarian League, is now embarking upon a still more recklessly reactionary policy against the Communist Party. The latest action of the "Left" is an alteration of the electoral law, by which the electoral system is almost abolished. By this law more than 100,000 Communist electors will be without representation in Parliament.

The explanation of the reckless reaction, and of the bitterness of the Stamboliski Government against the Communist Party, is to be found in the circumstance that, apart from the above-mentioned "Left," dissatisfaction with the policy of the old and the new village bourgeoisie is increasing every day amongst the mass of the small and propertyless peasants, who constitute the overwhelming majority of the Agrarian League. The Government sees that the ground is beginning to crumble under its feet, and that the village masses are hearkening more and more to the voice of the Communist Party. The organisation and the power of the Communist Party is growing steadily in the villages, and by the influence of our party the oppositional struggle of the village masses is strengthened against the village bourgeoisie and the Government. The Government is therefore organising a wide and reckless campaign against the Communist Party.

But with this campaign the Government is approaching the old cliques more and more. It is discrediting itself in the eyes of the working masses of town and country, and is preparing the conditions for the extension and the strengthening of the United Front of the proletariat of the towns and the working masses of the villages. The slogan of the "Workers' and Peasants' Government," which was raised by the Communist Party, is causing anxiety and confusion in the ranks of the bourgeoisie, and especially in the ranks of the village bourgeoisie and their leaders; and it is this slogan which is aggravating the bitterness and the brutality

of the Government against the Communist Party. Still the slogan is being taken up enthusiastically by the broad working masses in town and village. We shall return to this slogan in a special article.

The bourgeoisie have recently taken another victim from the ranks of the Communist Party. The burgomaster of the Communist municipality of Dupnitsa, Comrade Kosta Petroff, was murdered in an ambush.

The Communist Party is organising thousands of demonstrations and meetings throughout the country against the growing reaction and against the disfranchisement of hundreds of thousands of workers and peasants. It threw amongst the masses the slogan of self-defence with every means against the armed onslaughts of the Fascist bands.

INTERNATIONAL REVIEW

Against Fascism

THE Executives of the Communist International, the Red International of Labour Unions and the Communist Youth International have decided to launch an extensive international campaign against Fascism.

An *International Fighting Fund* must be created in every country, for the purpose of combating Fascism by word, pen and deed. In the first place, efficient support should be given to the Italian labour organisations.

The statute for the collection and administration of the International Fighting Fund against Fascism has already been published in No. 16 of the English *International Press Correspondence*, (Feb. 15, 1923).

The International Committee for the administration of the Fighting Fund and for the organisation of the international campaign against Fascism has been provisionally established in Berlin. Comrade Klara Zetkin is chairman of said committee.

The Provisional International Committee has addressed an open letter to the executives of all the international proletarian organisations, with the request that they join in the struggle against Fascism. We recommend that you request every proletarian organisation in your respective country to participate in the creation of national committees. In any case, you must *at once* create provisional national committees (according to the decisions of the Comintern and R.I.L.U.) which are to organise the necessary money collections.

Needless to say, the anti-Fascist campaign is not to confine itself to collections. The national committees

should *at once* take up the fight against Fascism—in the press, in meetings, in the factories and trade unions. They are to be in constant touch with the International Committee and report to it on their activities.

As soon as the Provisional International Committee will have overcome the first technical difficulties, it will send detailed instructions and plans to the various national committees, on the organisation of the fight against Fascism.

We request you to get to work without delay.

With Communist greetings.
The Provisional International Committee for Combating Fascism.

Klara Zetkin (Chairman).

Italy

THE great anti-communist offensive has passed its apex; the mass arrests have not yet ceased, but the average number of daily arrests no longer amounts to thousands. The prisons are so crowded that they cannot accommodate another guest. On the other hand, despite three weeks of continuous arrests, house searches, and deeds of violence, the government has not yet succeeded in discovering the very slightest proof of "the great Bolshevik conspiracy," and even in the bourgeois camp sceptic voices may be discerned as to the existence of a plot. Here and there it is already being pointed out that the arrest of over 8,000 citizens, not for any demonstrable offence or at the behest of the legal authorities, but at the

commands of the police, is quite disproportionate to the charges brought up against them. Even bourgeois circles are beginning to observe the very slight respect in which the life, property, and liberty of the individual are held, especially on the part of the new *National Militia*, which are but an ill disguised replica of the former bands of black shirt robbers. And much surprise is expressed that, after two years of murder of workers and destruction of the labour movement, and after four months of "active work" on the part of the dictatorship, there still exist thousands of communists conspiring against the state.

The legal authorities have now taken up the matter; for the "Fascist revolution" has not yet altered the legislative apparatus to such an extent that political opponents can be sentenced by the police (but we expect that this will be the case presently). In the hands of the legal authorities it became immediately apparent that Mussolini has acted with incredible irresponsibility; many hundreds of communists have had to be set free again.

But no comrade occupying any office in the Party, of however slight importance, has been set free; this reveals the goal of the government; having recognised that it is impossible to exterminate the class consciousness so firmly rooted in the workers, it is now applying every imaginable means to prevent the workers from uniting and organising a powerful fighting instrument, a Communist Party.

When the arrested communists are released, the authorities demand their signature to a promise never again to take active part in party politics or trade union work.

The Fascist government is accompanying this great anti-communist offensive with another action, not so conspicuous, but more despicable; it deprives the workers and employees who are hostile to it of their means of livelihood. Thus the railway authorities discharged fifty communist, socialist, and anarchist railwaymen, without notice or compensation, with the official declaration that these were leaders of the Red railwaymen's union.

Similar measures are being taken by all public authorities with regard to those of their employees who have been victims of the mass arrests of the last few days, and this, before the legal authorities have given any verdict regarding actual guilt. As there are a considerable number of followers of the Communist Party

among the Civil Service employees, hundreds of workers have thus been thrown on the streets during the last few days. And some women teachers, who have been counted among the most active party members for years, have been obliged to give up their positions.

The Fascist dictatorship is doing its utmost to break the resistance of the Italian proletariat by means of prison and starvation, and to destroy the Communist Party down to the very roots. But it will never attain this object. It is true that the Communist Party was condemned to a few days of inactivity, after the severe blows dealt it in the first days of February, but now it has so far recovered that it has been able to resume its political and organisatory activities. And the masses of workers let no opportunity pass of showing upon what ideals they set their hopes. The behaviour of the Trieste workers is especially worthy of admiration; they have succeeded in publishing the *Lavoratore* daily for three weeks, although all the editors had been arrested. Here plain workmen have suddenly sprung into the places of editors and newspaper administrators. Two episodes of the last few days show how entirely erroneous is the idea—especially prevalent abroad—that the Fascisti have the general sympathy of the population on their side.

On the 18th February, eleven of those arrested in Venice were released again. Among them were four railwaymen. From the prison they proceeded all together straight to the station; on their arrival they were received by a warm demonstration of sympathy, by workers of all parties, and by many non-partisans.

Last week, in Turin, the factory commission was elected for the Scat undertaking. The Fascisti prevented other lists than their own from being sent in, and the Red trade unions therefore took no part in the election. The result was as follows: 800 electors out of 1,200 took part in the election; 500 gave in blanks, 100 gave in Fascist ballots scribbled with accusations against the Fascisti, and only 200 really voted for the Fascisti.

The Italian workers are thus offering resistance against the offensive taken up by their enemies. Robbed of freedom to hold meetings, of free press and speech, bleeding from fresh wounds every day, abandoned as spoil to its hereditary enemies, the Italian proletariat groans beneath the heavy yoke, but it clings to its faith, and does not permit itself to be robbed of its class consciousness.

Whenever the workers have an opportunity of expressing their true sentiments, they demonstrate unequivocally that they feel nothing but hatred and contempt for Fascismo.

The Italian workers are offering an admirable resistance in the waiting position into which they have been pressed back; if they are to be enabled to take their places in the foremost ranks again, they need the active solidarity of the international proletariat.

Germany

BY HEINZ NEUMANN (Berlin).

IT has been known for a long time that the Italian Fascisti maintain close relations, not only with Russian monarchists and Hungarian White Guards, but also with German counter-revolutionists. In 1922 Mussolini made a personal journey to Berlin in order to consult with Wulle and others of the German Nationalists.

Now it turns out that the connections between German and Italian reaction extend far beyond a mere "community of ideas." The Italian Fascisti have formed regular fighting organisations in the German republic.

As early as the end of September, 1922, a "Fascist union" was officially founded at a secret session in Berlin; this is affiliated to the Fascist party of Italy, and was entrusted with special missions in Germany. Its object is the organisation of Italians residing in Germany ("tradespeople, manufacturers, nationally minded workers, students, newspaper correspondents, etc."). It receives the active help of the diplomatic representatives of Italy, and of the arch-reactionary Italian officers attached to the various Entente missions in Germany. A confidential circular calls upon all "reliable Italians" to found Italian Fascist unions and Fascist groups in every part of Germany.

After Mussolini's *coup d'état*, the Italian Fascisti in Germany extended their sphere of operations. They now receive ample funds from the Italian government. On the evening of January 19, 1923, a further secret meeting of the Fascist society took place. This session was participated in, amongst others, by the following Italian murderers of workmen; Captain Corrado Gustosa, Captain Chiaffredo Mastrella, Alessandro Mosca, Engineer Luigi Sordi, Dr. Guiseppe Zeni. Gustosa was elected political secretary of the Fascist Union in Germany, and Zeni as organisa-

tory secretary. At this meeting a circular from Mussolini addressed: "To the Italians abroad," was read amidst enthusiastic applause. This circular, which is highly interesting as showing the plans of international counter-revolution, contains the following words:—

"Italy does not cease to exist at her frontiers. (!) Italy is everywhere where there are Italians. The Fascist national party appeals to the Italians scattered all over the world, and steadfastly loving their native country, to assemble their forces for the greatness of Italy, and immediately to establish fighting unions everywhere."

In this circular the "tasks of the Fascisti abroad" are further explained. The affairs of foreign countries are not to be interfered with: "Every country deals with its communists as it thinks best." The Fascisti would only make themselves unpopular if they "carried civil war into the countries granting us their hospitality." But at the same time every band of Fascisti is called upon to "combat communism and all other harmful phenomena."

Further information on Fascist plans is offered by another circular issued by the Berlin Fascist society. This circular is in our possession. It lays down the following main lines:

"To add to the greatness of Italy."

"To gather all Italians together, to form them into a bloc."

"To correct the ideas being spread abroad with regard to Fascism. To carry on Italian propaganda."

"To take interest in all economic, financial, and political (!) phenomena in the land of residence."

In order to carry out this program, the last point of which is of special importance, various service bureaux are formed on precisely the same pattern as the German secret societies—unlimited funds being at their disposal; these are as follows:

Service Bureau I.: Support service. This department works with the great corruption funds, finances the founding of further unions, induces a friendly attitude by the German bourgeois press towards Italian Fascism, and spreads its influence.

Service Bureau II.: Propaganda. The propaganda service of the Italian Fascisti consists of the closest co-operation with German counter-revolution. They are for instance well connected with the Berlin *Lokal-Anzeiger*. Their working program also intends to include: "denial of false news, enlightenment, publication of appeals and pamphlets,

meetings, exhibitions, etc." The Fascist Professor Lombardo is shortly giving a series of lectures to German students, on the "new era in Italy."

Service Bureau III.: Technical department. Service Bureau III. of the Italian Fascist society in Berlin occupies itself mainly with political spying. It "ascertains" the whereabouts of the revolutionary refugees living in Germany, and delivers them over to the murderous Italian "justice" with the aid of the German police. The Berlin political police ought to make a domiciliary visit to this wonderful "technical department," and ascertain in how far traffic in arms is being carried on, and what relations the department maintains with the prohibited German secret societies.

A few weeks ago a Fascist meeting was held in the Rheingold Hotel, under the cloak of the "Italian Philanthropic Society," and attended by the Italian Ambassador in Berlin. This gentleman, Count Bosdari, a confidant of Mussolini's, is involved in more than one obscure transaction. On February 9 he sent the Berlin Fascist Society a letter expressing his "great joy" at the founding of the society, and went on to say: "I am convinced of your keen patriotism, and shall be happy to grant your enterprise the very greatest possible support." Thus the Italian Ambassador in Germany abuses his diplomatic immunity for organising Italian murderers in the German republic. What has the government of the German republic to say to this? Will it put a stop to Count Bosdari's proceedings?

The Fascisti have also founded their first organisations outside of Berlin. In Hamburg, the General Consul Giacchi is working in co-operation with the Hamburg German Nationalists. His assistant is the Fascist Jesuit priest Don Mozzicarella, who was living in Germany before the war. These people held a meeting in Hamburg a short time ago. In Cologne the Fascist confidence man is a certain Dr. Pertille, "Royal Italian Emigration Councillor." He spies among the Italian workers in the Ruhr area. The Italian General Consul Mayoni stationed in Munich is closely connected with the Bavarian government, and these relations have only been somewhat troubled by the Ruhr events. Mayoni has held frequent consultations with Hitler and other leading national socialists.

The Fascisti are now quite openly publishing a newspaper in Berlin, with government money. This paper

is called the *Gagliardetto* (The Banner). It is published by the Leonardo Publishing Co., 49, Lützow Street, Berlin, W.35. This periodical, which bears on its front page the symbol of the Fascisti, an axe with rods, conducts the wildest nationalist reactionary propaganda. It lauds the part played by Italy in the great war, and extols the anti-German irredentists. The persecutions of communists in Italy are described in detail under the headline: "Energetic suppressive action on the part of the Government against the underground agitation of the Bolsheviki in Italy." Besides this, the decisions of the "Great Council" of the Fascisti are published regularly and their decisions recommended. The paper reports on a "Meeting of Italian patriots" which took place in the Teachers' Club House under the chairmanship of a Signor Biagi.

These few facts suffice to show how closely the network of international reaction is woven. The thousandfold murderers and executioners of the Italian proletariat dare, active and organised, to put in an appearance in Berlin. They form "German service bureaux" in the German republic. The Ambassador Bosdari participates in this organisation of conspirators. Consular officials co-operate with the German national unions endeavouring to overthrow the republic.

What has Herr Severing to say to this? When does he intend to prohibit Fascist unions in Germany? When does he intend to confiscate their reptile newspaper? When does he intend to arrest those spies and murderers working with Entente money, Corrado, Gustosa, Zeni, and their companions, and to expel them from the country?

The German workers will have to interfere in this matter. They will reply to the meetings and demonstrations of the Italian Fascisti as they reply to the provocations of Wulle and of Cudgel-Kunze. They will not tolerate the appearance in their midst of the murderers of their Italian brothers.

Spain

BY ANDRES NIN.

FOR three years, the Spanish proletariat has been the victim of the most unbearable persecutions. The slender guarantees of the constitution have been discarded and, with them, the freedom of assembly, of speech, and of propaganda. The trade unions have been outlawed. The Communist Party has developed

its propaganda under the greatest difficulties. Thousands of comrades, syndicalists, anarchists and communists, have been imprisoned, hundreds deported, and scores assassinated by bands of Whites and by the police. Within the last few months the situation has slightly changed. The constitutional liberties have been re-established. The trade unions have regained their legality, and revolutionary propaganda can go on with a certain degree of freedom. The Governor of Barcelona, General Martinez Anido, and the chief of police, General Arlegui, two of the principal instruments of the White Terror, have been driven from their posts. Once more the Spanish proletariat begins to breathe freely after the tragic darkness of the last three years.

But it would be an illusion to suppose that all danger is past and that every reason for anxiety had been cleared away.

The bourgeoisie is busy organising Fascismo. The constitutional guarantees may be suspended again, on some pretext or other, and the militant revolutionaries again thrown to the mercy of the police prefects and the White Guards. We must not forget, that although a great number of comrades were released upon the re-establishment of constitutional rights, there are still many remaining in prison. During these three years of fierce repression, some monstrous criminal procedures have been worked up, thanks to confessions extracted by torture. The judiciary power, whose independence under the bourgeois regime we know too well, has become the instrument of the enemies of the proletarian class and has kept in prison and condemned dozens of militant revolutionaries marked for capitalistic vindictiveness. Many of them have already been sentenced to ten and twenty years of servitude. Other outrageous trials are still in process. In other countries it is impossible to realise how justice is administered in Spain. Only very recently, a worker from Bilbao was condemned to twelve years' imprisonment under the accusation of wounding a policeman, although everyone knew that he was entirely innocent and that the real author of the deed had escaped abroad. The military tribunal knew quite well that he was innocent; but military institutions with us are considered as something sacred and inviolable, and a punishment had to be administered as an example, even though the victim was entirely inno-

cent. In the same way in 1920, upon the assassination of two policemen, four men were shot although they were completely innocent. And less than a year ago two more workers were executed at Barcelona on the unfounded charge that they had assassinated an employer.

These examples, chosen from among a thousand, will prove to the revolutionaries of every country how justice is administered in Spain, and should move them to energetic action in favour of the hundreds of comrades who are in prison and whose lives and liberties are so seriously menaced. We call particular attention to the trial for the assassination of the government head, M. Dato. More than twenty-one comrades are under trial as authors of the deed or as accomplices. The condemnation of any one of these comrades should be prevented at all costs. The Spanish proletariat expects decisive action on the part of the working class of the other countries.

China

BY V. VILENSKY-SIBIRIAKOV.

ACCORDING to the latest news, the followers of Sun-Yat-Sen have occupied the capital of the one-time Chinese federation, Canton. This federation went to pieces last summer when General Chen-Tsiu-Min, the Minister of War of Sun-Yat-Sen's Southern Chinese Government, revolted, thereby beginning the Chinese civil war. The fortunes of war have now changed: to-day General Chen-Tsiu-Min has to flee from Canton as Sun-Yat-Sen had to flee some months ago. Chinese political circles are anxiously awaiting the issue; will Sun-Yat-Sen return to Canton, and will he again begin to mobilise the provinces of South China for a war against North China? For the present Sun-Yat-Sen declares that he has no intention of leaving Shanghai and returning to Canton. What can this declaration mean? Is it that he has no great faith in the military successes of his southern followers; or is it a sign that Sun-Yat-Sen has now formed a different estimate of the political significance of the South, having regard to actual present-day political conditions in China? In our opinion the latter is probably the case.

Sun-Yat-Sen is the greatest political personality of China to-day. He has not only had great political experience, gained in illegal revolu-

tionary struggles and in exile, and supplemented by eleven years of fighting since the proclamation of the Chinese republic, but he possesses an extremely fine political instinct enabling him to orientate himself rapidly in the most complicated questions of Chinese politics. Southern China undoubtedly plays a very important rôle, and will play a still more important one in the future, for it is the most liberty loving section of China, and has great revolutionary traditions. In the immediate past, South China was for Sun-Yat-Sen the great gathering place where he could concentrate the forces of the Gomin-dan party against the militarised North, of which Peking was the capital.

Sun-Yat-Sen appears to have grasped the fact that China can only be successfully transformed, if the changes are supported by the broad masses of China's teeming population, if political interest is awakened among the people and directed to actual problems. For this purpose, Sun-Yat-Sen needed Southern China, and it must be admitted that Sun-Yat-Sen fulfilled this task with all credit. Those political slogans which have spread all over China to-day, were first proclaimed by Sun-Yat-Sen in Southern China. But on the other hand, Sun-Yat-Sen's sojourn in the South must have shown him that, during the present stage of China's economic development, Southern China cannot compete with Central China, so that its significance is only relative. Further: In so far as economically backward Southern China takes action against industrially developing Central China, Sun-Yat-Sen's position is unfavourable, for in this case the growing Chinese bourgeoisie would, against its will, be opposed to him, although it is his natural ally when he proclaims himself as a nationalist, and issues as a slogan, the revival of China as a nation.

During his fight against Wu-Pei-Fu, Sun-Yat-Sen understood the advantageous position of the former, who is not only in the industrial centre of China, but is supported by the national Chinese bourgeoisie, which is able to provide the means required by China for fighting for emancipation from the foreign yoke. It is therefore not at all remarkable that Sun-Yat-Sen hastens to declare his intention of not returning to Canton. Canton does not suit him. On the contrary, he is of the opinion that his sojourn in the North will streng-

then his position in the South, just as the success of his southern followers more firmly establishes his whole political position and his influence in China.

A peculiar characteristic of the present Chinese political situation is the struggle of the reactionary bloc, and of the agents of international imperialism, against Wu-Pei-Fu. Should the latter be defeated, the triumph of reaction in China and the renewed kindling of a cruel war would be inevitable.

Up to now, Wu-Pei-Fu has maintained a very reserved attitude towards Sun-Yat-Sen, although he does not deny that the latter would doubtless be the most suitable president for China. We believe that the reason for this caution has been the reserve practised by the commercial and industrial bourgeoisie of Central China towards Sun-Yat-Sen, who regard him as a leader of the South, and therefore as a man infected with socialist ideas. We have every reason to assume that Sun-Yat-Sen, who is at present in Shanghai, the real capital of industrial China, has come to an understanding with the Chinese nationalist bourgeoisie, and that the latter is prepared to be reconciled to his socialist ideas, the more so, as these ideas do not contain anything in the least dangerous, for they are extremely moderate and agree very well with the national ideas and dreams of "great China."

There is no doubt whatever that if the imperialist bloc and its reactionary Chinese friends realize their plan, and threaten Wu-Pei-Fu with isolation, Wu-Pei-Fu will come to an understanding with Sun-Yat-Sen, and recognize him as president of China. Sun-Yat-Sen reckons precisely upon this, and his actions are based on this supposition. The occupation of Canton thus signifies the strengthening of Sun-Yat-Sen's influence in the North. It is not for nothing that telegrams report that political circles in Peking are carrying on lively negotiations with Sun-Yat-Sen regarding the reunion of China. The key to the reunion of Southern and Northern China lies more than ever in the hands of the "Father of the Chinese revolution," and we should not be surprised if the reports of his followers' successes in the South are immediately followed by the news that Dr. Sun-Yat-Sen has become the official head of the Chinese republic, and that he has been aided to this position by the troops of Wu-Pei-Fu.

France

A Programme of Action.

AS was proved in the case of the German Party, the best way of ridding a Party of internal dissensions and weaknesses of policy is the formulation *and carrying out* of a definite revolutionary programme of action. Not by debates, and speeches and resolutions but by daily participation in the class struggle can a proletarian Party of the masses be moulded. In view of the recent decision of the Left and Centre elements of the French Party to liquidate their internal crisis by the application of the measures proposed by the IVth World Congress, it is interesting to study the Programme of Action drafted by the Left, and receiving the support of the whole Party. The formation of a Committee of Action with the Revolutionary C.G.T. and the Delegation to the Ruhr to arrange common action of the Franco-German proletariat to impede the carrying out of Poincaré's reactionary designs (culminating in the arrest of Cachin, Monmousseau, Treint, etc.), shows that the French Communists are determined that the Programme should not remain simply on paper. The following précis outlines the main ideas of the Programme.

1.—Resistance to the Capitalist Offensive.

Organisation of the resistance of the Proletariat to the Capitalist offensive. The defence of the eight-hour day, the preservation of existing increases in wages, and the fight for all the daily economic demands to be the best platform for rallying the confidence of the workers.

2.—Factory Committees.

The Party should base its agitation not only on the action of the bosses, but also should agitate against Governmental measures connected with wage-leivies, Food tax, insurance, etc., active propaganda for the creation of Factory Committees embracing all workers in one establishment irrespective of their being politically or industrially organised, with a view to exercising workers' control over conditions of production.

3.—United Front.

Tactics of the United Front to be the general rule for mass action. For success of these tactics favourable conditions to be created by a wide preparatory propaganda in all working-class organisations. Rival industrial or political organisations to be frequently appealed to, and re-

fusals or propositions of Reformists publicly commented. Complete independence and right of criticism to be guarded. Party always to take initiative.

4.—Action in the Unions.

Formation of Syndical Commissions attached to Party federations and sections, formation of Communist groups in the big Capitalist and State establishments, Penetration of the Party into the working masses to increase Communist influence on the Proletarian movement. Syndical Commissions also to control action of Communists in Reformist C.G.T.

5.—Syndicalist Unity.

Syndicalist unity indispensable for victory of proletariat. Craft and local prejudices and anarchist ideology to be combated. The Party will indicate the necessity for centralisation and formation of great industrial Unions, and for co-ordinated strikes giving the workers confidence in their strength, instead of fruitless local action. In the C.G.T.U. the Communists to combat opposition to adhesion of the French Unions to the R.I.L.U. In the reformist C.G.T. they will denounce the Amsterdam International, and class co-operation.

6.—Mass Action.

Profit to be drawn from all large-scale mass movements for illustrating the political character of the class struggle, and for preparing slogans for the political struggle such as amnesty, annulment of the Versailles Treaty, evacuation of Rhine Army of Occupation, etc.

7.—Against the Versailles Treaty.

The foremost task of the Party should be the fight against the Versailles Treaty and its consequences. In order to realise solidarity between Franco-German proletariat against common bourgeoisie the Party should enlighten the workers and soldiers as to the tragic lot of the German toilers, the Allied demands only being satisfied by increasing their burdens, while German bourgeoisie is spared. Competition owing to decreased cost of German labour through depreciation of mark also menaces French workers. Special propaganda to be carried on in the occupied and devastated regions to denounce the two bourgeoisies as responsible for present evils. The Party to be in close liaison with the German Party for the better execution of the struggle.

8.—Labour Anti-militarism.

Systematic penetration of the Party in the Army. Anti-militarism to be clearly distinguished from bourgeois pacifism, and based on the principle

of armament of the proletariat and disarmament of the bourgeoisie. The Party to support all demands of the soldiers. Revolutionary anti-militarist agitation to be intensified when new classes called up.

9.—*Action in the Colonies.*

Party should support demands of exploited Colonial populations for national liberation from French Imperialist oppression. Fight for unrestricted political and industrial liberty of the natives and against their conscription.

10.—*Propaganda among the Peasants.*

Propaganda for gaining the peasants for the Revolution, and for winning the sympathy of the small proprietors should be accompanied by action for obtaining the best working and living conditions for the peasants and agricultural labourers. The Party to favour syndical and co-operative agricultural associations as against peasant individualism.

12.—*The Youth.*

More, sustained and methodical development of the Communist Youth movement. All Party organisations to establish reciprocal representation of the Youth, including on Central

Commissions. Party to aid existing groups and create new ones. Party to fight in the Unions for the demands of the Working-class Youth.

13.—*In the Co-operatives.*

Communist groups to be formed in the Co-operatives in relation with the Co-operative Section of the Comintern through a Central Co-op. Commission. The Co-op. movement to be used as an auxiliary to the working-class movement.

14.—*Communist Action in Parliament.*

Deputies and Communists on municipal bodies should carry on an energetic fight in close touch with the Communist and T.U. campaigns outside Parliament. Under the control of the Party, deputies, councillors, etc., should act as agitators and agents of the Party as per second Comintern Congress theses.

15.—*Marxist Education.*

It is necessary to develop the Marxist education of the members, and to increase the doctrinary courses in the Branches. Party schools to be opened, under a central commission of the Party Direction.

E. V.

Communism & the Labour Party

BY J. T. W. NEWBOLD, M.P.

The following brief note was sent to the "Evening Standard" in reply to a lengthy report which appeared in that paper dealing with Mr. J. R. MacDonald's contention that no members of the Labour Party had not the remotest sympathy with the policy of the Russian Communist Party. The "Evening Standard" refused to publish Comrade Newbold's statement.

IT is a very encouraging sign of the times that so much interest is being shown in the advance of the Labour Party to the goal of office as His Majesty's Government. Despite the differences of method that divide the Communist Party from our friends on the Labour benches, and which for the present occasion a certain amount of friction between the two elements which make up the Labour movement, we, who have at heart the eventual triumph of the working-class cause, cannot allow any pique at Mr. MacDonald or other officials of his party to cause us to relax our general support of the forces which he leads in the House of Commons. I say, and advisedly, "forces," for it is by no means a homogeneous body which, by a small majority on a very close vote, elected Mr. MacDonald as its leader. It is all very well for him to assert with a dogmatism usually absent from his utterances—for he generally leaves in every argument a loop-

hole of escape—that there is no member of the Labour Party with the very tiniest fraction of belief in Bolshevism. The statement simply is not true. Very many of the men who come from Scotland have at opportune seasons when feeling was running high, as on the occasion of the Forty Hours' Strike and more recently, avowed their Bolshevism in the most open manner possible. The fact that they have moderated their utterances and kept studiously aloof from official relations with the Communist Party does not necessarily mean that they have altered their opinions. There is not very much to divide at least four of the Glasgow members from myself when it comes to a question of the ultimate method that will require to be employed. What does separate us is a difference of opinion as to the desirability of announcing at this stage in the struggle for power our adherence in certain eventualities, which all of us believe will occur, to the method known as the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

Nothing could, however, be more absurd or more unjust to a man who in every fibre of his being is a constitutionalist, a respectable kirk-going citizen and a liberal-minded moralist, than to level the charge against poor Mr. Ramsay MacDonald that he is either a materialistic disciple of Karl Marx or a blood-thirsty colleague of Nicholas Lenin. Why, the whole doctrine and practice of these two men, neither of whom could claim Scottish antecedents nor Presbyterian upbringing, revolts him. Let me hasten to assure all and sundry that a most cruel injury has been done. Mr. Ramsay MacDonald has been a good bourgeois and a Liberal from his youth up and no power on earth can or will ever make him anything else. Such are the qualities which, together with a natural grace of manner, air of dignity and gift of eloquence, have made him the leader of a party whose chief ingredients are Nonconformist trade union officials and radical-minded bourgeois intellectuals who have steadily gravitated to the I.L.P. ever since the death of Keir Hardie released in that body all the middle-class influences which his sturdy proletarian personality kept under control.

Mr. MacDonald is now not only the leader of the Labour Party and of His Majesty's Opposition, but first favourite (in the public eye) for the first Labour Premiership.

There are, however, other aspirants, to wit, Mr. Thomas, Mr. Clynes and Mr. Henderson.

The Labour Party would, probably, prefer Mr. Henderson, but the question is not whom they prefer, but for whom will the King send. In the last resort, it is the King who will decide. Now, much as "the interests" have concerned themselves with the King's selection of one or other "defender of the faith" in private property, how much more will they seek to influence his choice of one who may commence an attack upon theirs, the one and only true religion of bourgeois society.

Mr. Clynes and Mr. Thomas would, either of them, be acceptable to "the interests." Mr. Henderson would be a compromise acceptable to the warring "interests" within the Labour Party. Mr. MacDonald, however, is, if one may say so, marked out by the whole course of British political history to be the first Labour Premier. He typifies "continuity."

Yet he is not secure in his succession. He must reassure the newspaper millionaires and the big business men that, despite the

obstreperous elements that elevated him to the leadership of the Labour Party, he is a "safe" man. They can rest assured that if Mr. MacDonald can fulfil his pledges to them he most certainly will. The Labour Party, so far as it remains under the leadership of Mr. MacDonald, will re-enact in English history the rôle of the Presbyterian majority in the Long Parliament. It will vacillate and compromise, compromise and vacillate, until finally, through intrigue, it goes over bag and baggage to the Counter-Revolution.

Yet, for all that, the Communist Party calls upon the workers, at present, to support it. We supported it at the last election. We are supporting it in the by-elections. We shall, generally speaking, support it, in all probability at the next general election, though we shall not be content with having only two Communists in the next House. We intend to put forward candidates in every great industrial area, so as to stiffen the political labour movement in the same way that in every industrial dispute we strengthen the masses in strike and lock-out.

We can afford to laugh at Mr. MacDonald and his repudiation of Bolshevism. He may seek to direct the forces of militant Labour into the channels wherein he thinks they ought to flow, but the great currents of history are infinitely stronger than the efforts of any politician or statesman, however able, can permanently control.

Mr. MacDonald is not a Marxist. So much the worse not for Marxism, but for Mr. MacDonald. Unhappily for him and for his place in history, he has been cast for a part not in the more tranquil days of the great Liberals upon whom he has consciously modelled his political self, not in the stately parliamentary period wherein Gladstone, Bright and Cobden made their speeches and fought their eminently respectable duels across the floor, but in the crisis of a revolutionary era when his thunderous perorations and his plaintive precepts alike will be as the twittering of sparrows amid the chimneys of the House.

VOLUMES ONE AND TWO OF THE
Communist Review

*Bound separately in strong cloth covers and indexed
 may be obtained, post free, for*

PRICE 5/6 PER VOLUME

Order from any Labour Bookseller

RED CALENDAR

March, 1923.

- | | | |
|----|-----------------|--|
| 1 | Italy | Arrest of Serrati, editor of <i>Avanti</i> , in Italy. |
| 2 | Hungary | Extension of metal-workers lock-out in Hungary to motor industry. |
| 3 | Britain | 4,000 building operatives strike in West Scotland. |
| 5 | Britain | East Willesden by-election result. Parliamentary Secretary to the Home Office beaten by Liberal (5,176 majority). |
| | Britain | Mitcham by-election result. Minister of Health beaten by Labour (833 majority). |
| | France | Adhesion of French C.G.T.U. to R.I.L.U confirmed. |
| | Belgium | Belgian miners resume work. |
| | Italy | Fusion of Fascists and Nationalists. |
| 6 | Britain | Edge Hill by-election result. Financial Secretary beaten by Labour (4,005 majority). |
| | Britain | Government gives private enterprise (i.e., Marconi) free hand in Empire wireless communication. |
| | Czecho-Slovakia | Tumultuous protests in Czecho-Slovakia House of Deputies on introduction of reactionary Defence of the Realm Bill. |
| 7 | Britain | Arbitration Court upholds unions in bookbinding dispute. |
| | U.S.A. | Department of Interior confirms decision to refuse oil land to alien (i.e., English and Dutch) companies. |
| 8 | Poland | Unemployed demonstrations in Warsaw. |
| | France | Loire miners strike: and return, having gained demands, on the 10th. |
| | Belgium | Forty Communists arrested in Belgium. |
| 9 | Kenya | Nairobi Indian send delegations to England and India, to press for "complete equality of status." |
| 10 | France | French C.G.T.U. proposes United Front to C.G.T. |
| | France | Fresh attacks on <i>Humanité</i> : raids on Communists. |
| | Italy | Italian eight-hour Bill passed. |
| | Japan | Japanese Factory Acts to be modified—hours to be reduced from 12 to 11, and child labour (up to 16) to be protected. |
| | India | Government use prison labour to break Ceylon coolies' strike. |
| 11 | Britain | Miners fined for breach of contract for striking against non-unionism without notice. |
| | Britain | Yellow Mining Union formed in Midlands |
| | Britain | Arrest of over 100 Irishmen in England and deportation to Ireland. |
| | Britain | Strikes against non-unionism among printers and French polishers. |

- 12 France Havre seamen's strike.
Ruhr Two Frenchmen shot at Buer. Seven Germans shot in street.
- 13 U.S.A. Arrest of W. Z. Foster and others.
Czecho- Strike of miners.
Slovakia
- Spain General strike follows murder of Syndicalist leader in Barcelona.
Ruhr Communists decline French offer of control of factories conditional on ensuring Reparations payments.
- 14 Britain Agricultural labourers locked-out in Norfolk for refusing wage reduction and hours increase.
Ireland Four more Republican prisoners executed in Ireland.
- Austria Conference of Communist Party.
15 Britain. Scottish building operatives reject wage reduction by 3 to 1 majority.
France Moselle miners' strike in sixth week; police repression.
- 16 Britain Government offers £6 per house per annum subsidy to local authorities.
Britain Joint deputation to Premier by farm labourers and farmers gets no assistance.
- 17 Germany German deputy arrested at Communist meeting in Paris.
Poland Strike of miners and metal-workers in Upper Silesia in protest against employment of White Guards.
- 18 Britain South Wales non-unionism strikes spread; 17,000 miners stop work in Mid-Glamorgan.
Britain C. T. Cramp (Industrial Secretary N.U.R.) declares that "miners' leadership was rotten from beginning to end of the 1921 dispute."
Germany Frankfort International Workers' Conference meets.
Russia All-Russian Congress of S.R.'s decides on liquidation of the Party and formation of a United Front with the Russian C.P. in the Soviet Government.
- 19 Britain Shipowners demand further wage reductions of 20 to 25 per cent.
Britain South Wales Miners' Federation delegate conference instructs executive to demand termination of agreement.
Britain London vehicle builders locked out for demanding shop committees.
- 20 Britain Norfolk County Committee of Agricultural Labourers' Union demands 30/- for 48 hours (winter) and 40 (summer); Farmers' Federation imports blacklegs.

- Britain Second conference of 29 metal trade unions adopts group scheme as step to amalgamation.
- Britain Builders' ballot announced; for acceptance, 42,606; against, 140,952. No federated union in favour.
- Germany Frankfurt Conference names International Committee of Action.
- France Martial law declared in Moselle miners' strike—repressive measures increase.
- 21 Germany Workers' Government in Saxony—United Front of Communists and Social Democrats.
- 22 Britain Mid-Glamorgan strike against non-unionism completely successful 17,000 strikers return.
- Britain 30,000 jute workers locked out.
- Britain Scottish building contractors withdraw wage reduction notices.
- Britain Drug and fine chemical employers announce wage cut.
- Poland Upper Silesian strike against Fascism becomes general: 40,000 workers out.
- France Meeting of Paris metal-workers' shops congress.
- 24 Britain 60,000 pottery workers receive one month's notice for refusing wage cut.
- 26 Britain General farm stoppage throughout Norfolk.
- 27 Britain Miners' Federation of Great Britain Delegate Conference refuses to press for termination of agreement, but hold another conference.
- Britain National Maritime Board cuts seamen's wages £1 a week.
- 28 Britain N.U.R. Delegate Conference instructs executive to call general strike if shopmen's wages attacked.

The

WORKERS' WEEKLY 1d.

INCORPORATING "THE COMMUNIST"

¶ The weekly newspaper of the workers issued by the
Communist Party of Great Britain

The Workers' Own Paper

¶ For subscription rates and terms to agents write to Business Manager,
Workers' Weekly, 16 King St., W.C.2