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Review of the Month

A Winter of Discontent

MANY people imagined when the communists foretold, a few months ago, that the coming winter would be a severe one both for the masses, and for capitalism, that we were nothing more nor less than miserable pessimistic prophets. We warned the working class what was in store for them at a time when the moderate trade union leaders, Labour parliamentarians, and the press were assuring everybody that trade was picking up and that everything would soon be better than well.

Capitalism has passed into a chronic crisis. It is being ripped up by its own inherent contradictions. So desperate are the hungry masses that here and there they have forcibly attempted to get food. In several of the large industrial centres riots have taken place. Arising from the poverty stricken condition of the country the active members of the Poplar Council are now in prison for their illegal conduct in refusing to levy rates. Councillors in other districts may soon find themselves in the same place.

It is not correct to say that the Government has made no preparations to meet the great calamity that now faces the masses of this country. The Government is quite ready to meet every emergency that may arise. It has indeed made its first move. In a truly chivalrous British manner it has set in motion its machinery to the tune of "children first"—by reducing their milk supply!

The Government uses every crisis to test the timidity of the masses and the servility of the labour leaders. It reduced the unemployed dole and nothing happened. It then felt emboldened to plan a gigantic offensive against the best organised industry in the land. It manipulated the miners lock-out. It challenged the Triple Alliance and found that it was a mere balloon. It battered the miners, and many other powerful unions, down on to their knees and nothing happened. It is now ready to turn the screw once more. It intends to continue this policy until it has so broken the spirit of the workers that they will neither have the will nor the wish to fight for decent conditions. The Government hopes to so emasculate the masses that they in their apathetic servility, will desire nothing better than to be led industrially by a J. H. Thomas, or to be represented politically by an I.L.P. Mayor, like Mr. H. Morrison, who counsels them:—

"One day Labour will be responsible for law and order, and Labour men are bound to demonstrate that we are not lawbreakers."

Let law-breakers like Mr. George Lansbury and his Poplar colleagues put that in their pipe and smoke it. This admission that the I.L.P. is prepared to uphold *capitalist law and order*, rather than fight for the hungry masses in such terrible times as these, demonstrates to the Government to what depths of constitutional servility that party is prepared to submit. We assure the ruling class, however, that while it has every reason to smile at the cowardice of the I.L.P. (as was vividly demonstrated by the shameless and abject climb-down of the National Labour Press to the Government recently) it must not imagine that the workers are going to peacefully submit to the hell of starvation during the coming winter. Within the next few months the Government may make the startling discovery that when starving people are out for food they do not conduct themselves precisely in the same way as do middle-class intellectual prigs out for parliamentary careers.

The Vicious Vortex

WHEN we say that capitalism is now in a chronic crisis we mean that it is floundering in the morass of imperialism. To-day war is the *normal* condition of capitalism. "Peace" is merely a temporary and armed parley in order to enable the combatants to get new wind, make new alliances, elaborate fresh policies, and organise new wars. These breathing intervals enable the imperialists to tune the press, mobilise the intellectuals, educate the labour leaders in the need of saving the Empire, and to work up the necessary atmosphere to mobilise the masses as soldiers. Thus while sheer economic and physical exhaustion enforces "peace" the conditions of "peace" automatically create war. Here we have a contradiction.

Capitalism cannot extricate itself from its various contradictions. The rapacity of the national financial cliques forces them to fight each other to maintain their economic interests. The different nationals in doing this have to depend upon their national armies and navies. Thus each group in striving to preserve their *capitalist interest nationally* are in reality uprooting capitalism *internationally!* Here we have another contradiction.

The great financiers in the capitalist nations become violently *ultra-nationalistic and patriotic in the measure that their main economic interests pass outside the territory of their nation.* In the early days of capitalism patriotism meant the defence of the nation's territory, which was then the geographical area wherein lay the principal economic power of the ruling class. Modern patriotism, under imperialism, means that the great financial interests of the propertied class have shifted to some other part of the world, and have to be defended there by the armed power of the nation to which the financiers belong. In a word: imperialism means that national capital has become international, and in order to maintain its international character it must be defended nationally! This is the vicious vortex into which capitalism has plunged. Within the present system there is no way out. Communism is the only hope of the masses—all else is illusion. The class war alone can end national war. The Communist revolution is the only thing that can deliver the workers from the miseries of capitalistic evolution.

The Lesson of History

IT may be urged that the international capitalist class can see the folly of destroying each other nationally, and thus destroying their system internationally. Classes within propertied systems do not act according to the laws of reason and logic, but in response to their immediate interests. Commonsense never dictated the Versailles peace. Reason never sanctioned the indemnities now being torn from Germany. These were determined by what a covetous and rapacious ruling class in France and Britain imagined were their interests.

Since the rise of private property that institution has ever created divisions in society. It makes a separate division for every separate interest it brings into existence. Even where there may be a superficial unity of interests it will be found that there are so many shades of interests that the slightest thing splits up a seeming solidarity of aim and purpose. The operation of this law, well-known to every Marxian, is vividly illustrated in the international attack of the capitalist nations upon Soviet Russia. They were agreed that the existence of a Soviet Republic, in which the Communist Party was the actual driving force, was a standing menace equally to all of them. Very well, they united to attack Russia. But in planning their general attack each group attempted to so conduct its campaign that it fitted in with some particular and immediate national interest. Thus France, always hungering for coal, attacked through the Crimea, one of the nearest starting points for the Donetz coal basin. Britain, hankering after oil and

platinum, struck through the Murmansk coast, and hoped to reach the Urals, while her fleet kept greedy eyes upon the oil wells adjacent to the Black Sea. America and Japan paralysed each others efforts in the Far East, in attempting to use the Pacific coast against each other. The reactionary Russians who took part in every one of the campaigns were not inspired by the interests that impelled the various capitalist nations to attack Soviet Russia; these elements wanted to destroy the revolution and re-establish the monarchy in order to restore the conditions which suited them. Thus, there was a lack of unity in the attack upon Russia because the ruling class could not sacrifice their national to their international interests.

On the other hand, Soviet Russia, weak, hungry, ill-clad, poorly armed, smashed all the imperialist armies. She was not defending property but the common interests of the common masses. The communal character of her struggle created solidarity of purpose, of will, and determination and final victory. The propertied interests of her imperialist opponents produced disunity, corruption, internecine quarrels, chaos, lack of will, and final defeat.

Private property means division. It means class divisions and national divisions. Within the classes there are a whole series of divisions based upon propertied divisions. There are several grades in the propertied class itself—all fighting and struggling among themselves. There are hundreds of divisions in the working class. The very method of paying wages, in one factory, with its skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled labour; the differing wages rate for the different trades and crafts erects barriers between workers. Within the smallest groups there are similar divisions. Thus from top to bottom through the whole gamut of capitalist society, there is nothing but strife and struggle, jealousies and hatreds.

Communism won't make men and women angels, by any means. But it will, by destroying private property in the means of wealth production, make for human solidarity. It will create the conditions wherein may be developed—humanity.

MacDonald and Indemnities

ONE of the greatest swindles in the world is the economic fallacy that the workers in Britain can be materially assisted by collecting an indemnity from Germany. But an even greater swindle, so far as the masses are concerned, is the attitude of the Labour Party on this subject. It still clings to the jingo and anti-international falsehood that Germany can be made to pay for the war. Even if this were true it could only mean that the German working class would have to pay. The thing is so simple that only a knave or a fool dare breathe a word in favour of the theory of indemnity—especially in the international Labour movement.

Germany can only pay in gold or goods. Were she to pay in gold it would so react upon the market that prices would shoot heavenwards. But she can't pay the whole sum in gold, she can only pay mainly in goods. Any goods which enter Britain for which no equivalent has been given in exchange, undermines the

economic stability of this country. If Germany sends rails, ships, coal, engines, machinery, to this country, and gets nothing in return, these things throw ironworkers, shipworkers, miners, engineers, etc., on to the scrap heap. No one, in the Labour movement, can justify the indemnity theory and justify his sanity at the same time.

Nevertheless, the indemnity theory is still advocated by Mr. Horatio Bottomley and Mr. Ramsay MacDonald. That is perhaps the most damning thing that could be urged against it. Whatever doubts may linger in one's mind in favour of the theory is instantly swept away by the fact that it is supported by these two "statesmen." We are not, of course, surprised at Mr. Bottomley. As the unchallenged leader of the lowest dregs of extreme reaction; as the champion pulveriser of the Hun, and the guardian of unadulterated jingoism, Horatio is in his proper place. But the other gentleman is an internationalist. He is a leader in the Labour movement and the intellectual asset of the I.L.P. He is comrade-in-chief to Mr. Snowden, the eloquent though senseless advocate of increased production. Do our I.L.P. friends ever consider the economic stupidity contained in the MacDonald advocacy of indemnities on the one hand and the Snowden demand for increased production on the other? Try and put both into practice at once. They paralyse each other!

We are, therefore, pleased to note that the editor of the moderate Labour journal, *The Forward*, has once again attempted to try and teach Mr. Ramsay MacDonald a little lesson in elementary economics. The reason why he sticks so gamely to this almost hopeless task is because he is buoyed up, no doubt, by his wonderful sense of humour. In *Forward* (September 10th, 1921), he uses the one argument that may help to make MacDonald abandon the indemnity theory—that is that the capitalists are now opposing the indemnity themselves, and that the cry of making Germany pay can no longer win "ballot for majorities." His actual words are:—

"Indemnities are economic suicide for the receiving nation and so obvious has this become to the financial press, to the *Manchester Guardian*, the *Glasgow Herald*, the Glasgow Chamber of Commerce, and to every thinking section of the community, that the proposer of economic suicide is not now rewarded with patriotic hurrahs and ballot box majorities."

How well the I.L.P. editor of the *Forward* knows how to appeal to his great leader! He does not emphasise the economies of the case so much as he seeks to show that the indemnity stunt is no longer a vote-catching slogan. Oh, subtle one!

A Wonderful Party

ON the same page in the *Forward* in which the editor tries to show Ramsay MacDonald the criminal stupidity of advocating indemnities, there appears a short but pithy article showing how the indemnity reacts against the British working class. The title of the article is "To the Unemployed: Why are You Hungry?" Then follows a series of concrete illustrations,

so simple and elementary that they look as though they had been specially selected to interest Ramsay MacDonald and to enable him to follow the drift of the argument. After proving that indemnities produce starvation and are the result of sheer reaction, the article calls upon the workers to vote for Labour! Directly beneath that article there appears a statement by Ramsay MacDonald in which he denied "that the Labour Party were opposed to Germany paying." And even the editor of *Forward* has to ruefully admit that "the Labour Party has *not* formally repudiated indemnities from Germany."

Never mind. The Labour Party is tolerant. It can tolerate everything and everybody, from the most reactionary renegade down through J. H. Thomas to Ramsay MacDonald. But it is a broad Party. It is broad enough to hold pacifists and bellicose jingoes; free traders and protectionists; labourers to millionaires; indemnity maniacs to their opponents—in fact, it is broad and tolerant enough to include everybody but the straightforward and sincere Communist Party.

Democratic Dictatorship in Germany

WE beg to draw the attention of our readers to what is happening in Germany. There we see a social democratic party as the dominating element in the parliamentary institutions of the country. The democratic leaders of the moderate groups in the German Labour movement believed, as Wallhead and J. H. Thomas believe, that parliamentary power is the only cure for dictatorship tactics. The development of the concrete realities of social existence in Germany has forced the democratic republicans of the Labour movement to use dictatorial tactics against the extreme reactionaries of the Right and against the Communist revolutionaries of the Left. All the declamations, gestures, and phrases against dictatorship have collapsed in front of the cruel facts of human experience. The immediate problem for the masses is not, as the Labour Party contend, between a parliamentary democracy and a Communist dictatorship. The vital problem is whether we shall have a capitalist dictatorship masquerading in the name of liberal-labour democracy, or a bona-fide working-class dictatorship using every ounce of its power to suppress capitalism—with its war, unemployment and starvation. The history of Germany since the middle-class revolution, which dethroned the Kaiser, has demonstrated beyond all doubt that wherever the class struggle exists political power can only manifest itself in a dictatorship.

The Labour democrats are dreamy and dozy Utopians who peacefully slumber in a realm of sentimental abstractions. The Communists draw their philosophy, their tactics, and policy from the world of actual living realities. We scorn to mislead the masses. We declare to the whole world that as long as classes are in existence, dictatorship is the driving force in political action. We are out, therefore, to replace the dictatorship of Capital by that of revolutionary Labour. And there is no other way.

Capital's Death Agony

IT is false to say that the strike weapon has grown unpopular. The strike is not something that varies in fashion like a lady's hat or some trade union leaders' price. The masses shall always be compelled to strike so long as capitalism exists. It is not a question whether the strike weapon is popular or not. It is a tactic forced upon the masses by the pressure of the conditions under capitalism. When capitalism undergoes a period of expansion it can yield to its wage-slaves rather than face a strike. But to-day capitalism is finding it most difficult to conquer new markets and find new outlets. This compels the employers to cut down expenses by cutting into wages, and the working conditions of Labour. We have here the explanation why the class-struggle is keener to-day than at any period in recent times. So highly charged is the industrial struggle with revolutionary possibilities at the present moment that moderate labour leaders like Mr. Thomas, Mr. Snowden and Mr. R. MacDonald are striving to side-track it into the parliamentary reform plane where it can easily be misled for some little time.

Let us now quote a few figures to show that the industrially organised masses, in spite of timid leaders, are fighting desperately on the economic field.

STRIKE AND LOCK-OUT MOVEMENTS IN THE SECOND HALF OF 1920.

<i>Country.</i>	<i>Persons.</i>	<i>Lost Workdays.</i>
1. England	3,207,666	47,754,984
2. Germany	2,012,349	25,316,869
3. Italy	712,100	8,711,600
4. U.S.A.	476,600	7,580,300
5. France	366,800	4,427,300
6. Spain	627,200	4,166,800
7. India	150,000	3,178,000
8. Belgium	277,700	2,787,400
9. Austria	201,200	1,995,000
10. Balkan Countries	123,810	963,670
11. Ukraina	58,200	543,500
12. Norway	15,300	531,400
13. Argentine	44,500	473,000
14. Poland	59,740	325,040
15. South Africa	7,000	196,000
16. Czecho Slovakia	23,200	137,600
17. Holland	18,900	127,000
18. Switzerland	7,550	102,400
19. Sweden	8,000	93,700
20. Denmark	6,100	86,200
8,403,915		109,497,763

During the same period, that is, in the last six months of 1920, the following industries were involved in strikes and lock-outs:—

<i>Industries.</i>	<i>Persons.</i>	<i>Lost Workdays.</i>
1. Mines	1,642,600	26,342,200
2. Iron and Metal	926,960	11,214,000

3. Textile	...	...	...	262,950	...	3,975,800
4. Timber	...	...	...	143,410	...	1,790,580
5. Stone, Cement, Pottery	...	...	...	122,315	...	1,513,965
6. Leather, Paper and Rubber	...	...	...	106,334	...	1,564,776
7. Building	...	...	...	326,550	...	3,894,150
8. Clothing, Laundries, etc.	...	...	...	193,688	...	2,312,556
9. Food	...	...	...	321,830	...	3,691,010
10. Printing and Publishing	...	...	...	204,712	...	3,168,732
11. Commerce and Transportation	...	...	...	2,033,916	...	17,134,224
12. Chemical	...	...	...	173,200	...	2,595,300
13. Municipal Aid, State Under- takings	...	...	...	235,100	...	2,617,600
14. Hotels, Restaurants, Artistical Professions	...	...	...	95,500	...	1,036,000
15. Agriculture	...	...	...	1,614,850	...	26,646,870
				<u>8,403,915</u>	...	<u>109,497,763</u>

These figures demonstrate the intensity of the class-war. That the masses did not achieve the victories which their valour deserved was due to the betrayals by the Amsterdam school of trade union leaders—the labour lieutenants of the capitalist class, as Daniel De Leon called them.

Capitalism is rushing headlong to its destruction. It is futile of the master class politicians, the press, and the modern labour leaders to prate about stabilising industry. The class-struggle means that 109,497,763 days, in which social wealth might have been created, are lost in six months. These figures only refer to the actual participants in the struggle. When it is remembered how strikes react upon other industries which are thus compelled to limit production; when to these are added the unemployed; and when we recognise the wanton waste and industrial chaos caused by imperialist wars, then we begin to get a faint glimmering of the sheer impossibility of capitalism ever struggling back into a condition of stability.

The above figures also demonstrate that capitalism in its dying phase is rending the very social fabric. National wars and class struggles are paralysing the productive forces of society. In self-preservation the masses will have to step in and conduct the industrial processes. Our figures further prove that modern revolutionary situations and upheavals are created by the death struggles of capitalism. It is nonsense to suggest that the Communists are the direct cause of all the strikes and lock-outs indicated by our statistics. We can prove that we are not responsible. Had we the power and the influence over the masses to give them the will to strike, we would have used that power, influence and will to have destroyed capitalism, to have instituted the proletarian dictatorship, and to have set up in the countries mentioned a federation of Soviet Republics. No! We regret we were not the driving force in all the strikes we have tabulated.

But the majority of the strikers were led by the leaders of the Amsterdam Trade Union International and tottering capitalism is still swaying.

W. P.

Rosa Luxemburg

Her Life and Work

By EDEN and CEDAR PAUL

ROSA LUXEMBURG was born in Warsaw towards 1870. While still no more than a schoolgirl she began to take an active part in the Polish revolutionary movement. At the age of sixteen, being in imminent danger of arrest and exile to Siberia, she was smuggled across the German frontier in a barrel. She made her way to Zurich, and studied jurisprudence and philosophy, taking a doctor's degree in both these branches. At the International Socialist Congress, held at Zurich in the year 1893, she acquired a position in the left wing movement which she retained to the day of her death. Always her activities were concentrated in the attack upon militarism and imperialism, as the chief embodiments of the evil genius of capitalism; throughout life she endeavoured to quicken the sluggish pace of the German Social Democratic Party and of the adherents of the Second International. At the Congress of Paris in 1900, speaking to the resolution on Peace, Militarism, and the abolition of Standing Armies, she uttered the stirring appeal: "Proletarians of all lands, while awaiting the hour when you will join forces for the decisive struggle against the capitalist order, unite for the daily battle with militarist and political reaction." Nineteen years later she was to lay down her life in this daily battle with militarist and political reaction, and in what may yet prove to have been a phase of the decisive struggle against the capitalist order.

The best personal description of "Red Rosa" we have come across was published not long ago in the *Liberator* (New York). The writer of the article had lived in Germany for many years, and had been personally acquainted with most of the revolutionary leaders. He describes the four signatories of the manifesto of the Spartacus League, Franz Mehring, Clara Zetkin, Rosa Luxemburg, and Karl Liebknecht. "None of them are really Germans except Mehring. Rosa Luxemburg is a Polish Jewess."

"What is she like personally?"

"Well, she is too busy to be human. She is very, very efficient, and the most brilliant debater in Germany."

"What does she look like?"

"She is short, stout, and lame. When she comes out you think she is going to eat you up. That is the first impression. She has not time to say, 'How are you?' She is too busy. She starts talking."

"Isn't she like Emma Goldman?"

"Well, something like. Rosa Luxemburg is like Emma Goldman in that she is one of those intense people who are all absorbed in the cause; but she is less emotional than Emma Goldman, more logical."

"Has she any humour?"

" Oh, yes, she has humour, but she has no time for it. . . . She is an artist, too. When I went to see her for the first time she was busy painting. She said: " That is how I spend my spare time.' "

" Painting pictures? "

" Yes, a landscape. When I gave her a letter of introduction from Liebknecht, she looked around twice, carefully; then she read the letter, and then she let me in. She was spied upon so much by the police."

" How old is she? Is she a grey-haired woman? "

" No, about forty-eight. She married a Dr. Luxemburg, with whom she never lived, merely to get his name."

" A passport marriage? "

" No, it was because she would have been deported from Germany if she had not been a German. In Germany no foreigner could agitate for socialism. They are so strict that if a foreigner is found reading a socialist newspaper he may be deported. I fancy the authorities have often wished they could annul the marriage, and make Rosa Luxemburg Polish again."

[It is interesting to note in passing that Emma Goldman is one of the four hundred odd " foreign agitators " who, towards the end of 1919, were deported from the Land of Liberty to Soviet Russia. The writer of the *Liberator* article from which we quote, found it expedient to withhold his name!]

Rosa Luxemburg was a frequent contributor to the socialist press, but in her life of action she was " too busy " to write many books. At the time of her death there were only two works by her in the British Museum Library, one in German and the other in Polish. The first of these, published at Leipzig in 1898, deals with " The Industrial Development of Poland," and is of little interest to-day. The second, published at Cracow in 1905, is a symposium on the Polish question in general, and Polish socialism in particular, edited by Rosa Luxemburg, and containing a long preface, together with several contributions by the editor. Her chief other writings, apart from newspaper and magazine articles, and apart from pamphlets which may have been overlooked by the compilers of the standard German book catalogue, would appear to have been: " The Prussian Electoral Struggle and its Lessons "; " Social Reform or Revolution," Leipzig, 1899, reprinted 1908; " The General Strike, the Party, and the Trade Unions," Hamburg, 1906; and " The Accumulation of Capital, a Contribution to the Economic Elucidation of Capitalism." The last-named, a work of 450 pages, was published the year before the war by the Vorwaerts Press of Berlin.

The most interesting of Rosa Luxemburg's contributions to periodical literature are those published in the *Neue Zeit* (New Times), the weekly organ of the so-called revolutionary wing of the German Social Democratic Party. The magazine is edited by Karl Kautsky. Rosa began to collaborate in the middle nineties, and her last essay was published in the issue of September 5th, 1913. The early articles dealt with Polish socialism and other aspects of the Polish question. Then comes a contribution entitled

“Back to Adam Smith,” and a review of Paul Lafargue’s book on “Socialism and the Conquest of Public Powers.” A year or two later there is a series of articles on the achievement of socialist unity in France, and there are one or two minor contributions, such as an article on the question of socialists voting against the budget, and one on a phase of Belgian socialism. This brings us down to the year 1902, when there is a pause for a couple of years. But in 1904 and 1905 Russian questions naturally attract Rosa Luxemburg’s attention. She leads off on July 16th and 23rd, 1904, with two articles on “Problems of Organisation facing the Russian Social Democracy.” (This was a year after the celebrated split into menshevist and bolshevist sections). In January and February, 1905, there followed four articles upon what, before 1917, we were wont to term the Russian revolution. Plehve, the Russian Premier, had been assassinated in the summer of 1904. War is commonly the handmaid of revolution; and this assassination, and the mass revolutionary movement that followed was in large part the outcome of the dissatisfaction and the economic changes resulting from the unsuccessful war with Japan. As far as the working class is concerned, the mass revolutionary movement dates from the procession of St. Petersburg operatives led by the pope, Gapon. Reinforced by some of the social democrats they demonstrated in front of the Winter Palace on January 22, 1905. They went in peace; but were dispersed by the imperial troops, with considerable slaughter. To the Russian workers the day has ever since been known as Bloody Sunday. The first of Rosa Luxemburg’s articles, “The Revolution in Russia” was published on January 28th. The other three, “After the First Act,” “The Problem of the Hundred Nations,” and “The Procession of the Proletariat,” appeared in weekly succession. It is obvious that we are moving towards the questions that are of burning interest to-day, and on October 27th, 1906, she published an article on “The Two Methods of Trade Union Policy.” It seems almost superfluous to add that these two methods are, industrial peace or social solidarity, on the one hand, and the relentless waging of the class war, on the other. It would certainly be superfluous to explain which method finds favour with Rosa Luxemburg!

Nearly two years later, in the *Neue Zeit* for July 24th, 1908, we find an open letter to Jean Jaurès.” This earlier victim of the daily battle with militarist and political reaction had contended that the entente between England, France, and Russia, was a force making for world peace. All but the blind know better to-day. Many of us knew better in 1908, when we were already vigorously protesting against the legend of “Edward the Peacemaker,” when we were demonstrating against the Anglo-Russian understanding. Rosa had little difficulty in showing that the entente was a mask for the capitalist interests of particular national groups, and a prop of the Russian reaction against the revolution.

The position of the German Social Democratic Party had been anomalous for more than twenty years before the war, when its members were to lead the way in the repudiation of socialist principles in favour of “a war of national defence.” Nominally divided into two wings, revisionist and revolutionary, respectively

represented by the Bernstein trend and the Kautsky trend, it was in reality revisionist through and through. With the phrases of revolution on their lips, Bebel and Kautsky, no less than Bernstein and the revisionists, and like Jaurès and the French socialist parliamentarians, practised a policy of compromise and acceptance of nominal palliatives. With the phases of the class struggle on their lips, the German parliamentary socialists, like the French, chased the glittering bubble of social solidarity, sought industrial peace and ensued it. But by 1910, though the revolutionary hour had not yet struck, there was in Germany no less than in France and in Italy, no less than in England and in Russia, a truly revolutionary group, much influenced by the ideas of the French and Italian syndicalists. Of this group Rosa Luxemburg was, and to the day of her death remained, the most brilliant among the intellectual champions. Necessarily, therefore, she came into sharp conflict with Kautsky and his school. Early in 1910, Rosa had written eloquently in the "Dortmunder Parteiorgan" of the general strike as a practical revolutionary tactic. On April 8th and 15th, Kautsky replied in the *Neue Zeit* under the caption "What Next?" Having replied, he was naturally compelled to give space to a rejoinder in the pages of his own periodical. On May 27th and June 3rd, appeared two articles over the signature of Rosa Luxemburg, entitled *Ermattung oder Kampf?* The idiom is not very easy to translate. Literally it means "Exhaustion or Battle?" A freer but better rendering would be "Faintheart or Strongheart?" The articles are a pæan in favour of the unflinching pursuit of the class struggle as a means leading up to the social revolution. The war had still to come, and the Russian revolution, clarifying all our ideas, and simplifying all our problems. The soviet as yet existed only in Russia, and even there only in embryo. But the ideas expounded by Rosa in *Ermattung oder Kampf?* and in a further rejoinder to Kautsky later in the same summer ("Theory and Practice," *Neue Zeit*, July 22nd, July 29th, and August 19th), pave the way for the thoughts voiced in the speech she delivered a few days before her death. Rosa Luxemburg insists on the view that so long as the methods of the socialist parliamentarians prevail, socialism will remain confined to the field of theory; socialism, she says, can only be realised by the fighting proletariat trained in the school of action.

This controversy apparently culminated in a definite breach between Kautsky and Rosa Luxemburg. Tempestuous as ever, Rosa complained that Kautsky was delaying the publication of her articles, and was grudging her the necessary space. Kautsky plaintively replied that an editor had other interests to consider than those of one particular theme of dispute; that as Editor Kautsky he had felt he was, in the matter now in debate, perhaps giving Contributor Kautsky too much space; that Comrade Rosa Luxemburg had occupied more than a third of several recent issues. . . . Enough, the close of this controversy marks the close of Rosa's contributions to the *Neue Zeit*, the only series of her periodical writings we have followed with intimate attention. The silence is broken but once, on September 5th, 1913, by an article on "Official-Ridden Theory," a fifteen-page eulogy of the general

strike, a defence of direct action, and an attack on Kautsky's policy of "nothing-but-parliamentarism." During the war, no word from Rosa Luxemburg. But one thing at least the reader might have anticipated—a reader who fails to reckon with the intensity of partisan feeling. We, at any rate, desiring to verify the date of Rosa Luxemburg's murder, searched the file of the *Neue Zeit* for the expected obituary notice. We did not find it. Franz Mehring, another noted Spartacist, and an even more assiduous collaborator on the *Neue Zeit* than Rosa, died on January 29th, 1919. Mehring died in his bed. He was advanced in years, and had doubtless been somewhat more suave in his controversial methods than the other Spartacist leaders. The *Neue Zeit* of February 7th, 1919, contains a notice of Franz Mehring, with a brief but not ungraceful reference to his separation from the Social Democratic Party. Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg were butchered in the streets of Berlin on January 15th, 1919. Will it be believed that the file of the *Neue Zeit* from that date to May 23rd inclusive (the issue for March 28th is missing from the file) contains only the most casual references to "Spartacus week" in Berlin, and but one passing mention of the deaths of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg? So frail a thing, alas, is socialist comradeship!

Before dismissing Rosa Luxemburg's earlier writings, and passing to brief consideration of the activities that led up to and followed the last great speech of her life, two quotations may be useful, showing that her revolutionary trend was no chance product of the influences of the two November revolutions, that of Russia in 1917, and that of Germany in 1918. In the appendix to the before-mentioned "Social Reform or Revolution" (1899) she wrote: "In this atmosphere of bourgeois parliamentarism, which is so foreign to the essential nature of socialism, the social democracy, involuntarily and unconsciously, has assumed many of the characteristics of parliamentarism, characteristics which harmonise ill with the democratic characteristics of socialism. . . . The appearance of the parliamentary group as a closed corporation . . . may lead to grave inconveniences." Seven years later, in her book "The General Strike, the Party, and the Trade Unions," she penned a no less trenchant criticism of "the professional leadership of the trade union officials." Initiative and capacity for decision tended, she said, to become what might be called a professional specialty, while for the rank and file there was left the passive virtue of discipline. "There can be no doubt that this seamy side of officialism involves serious dangers." Do we not see here plainly foreshadowed the need for what has of late become known as "the unofficial movement," or, to put the matter in even more recent terminology, the need for Sovietism as the cure for parliamentarism and as the ginger for trade unionism?

In England during the war it was difficult enough for a revolutionary, an internationalist socialist, to keep out of gaol. In Germany it seems to have been practically impossible. Every one of the four best known Spartacist leaders had ample experience of prison life. Karl Liebknecht was liberated by the November revolution, to perish little more than two months after he had

imagined that the day of the people had come. Rosa Luxemburg suffered two long terms of imprisonment, being under duress throughout the early years of the war for having publicly accused certain officers of brutality to subordinates. Released in 1917 at a time when Franz Mehring had been incarcerated, Rosa carried on the series of "Spartacus Letters," and was then placed under preventive arrest. But she was at liberty at the date of the revolution.

No attempt can be made here to supplement the information conveyed in her last speech concerning the happenings between November 9th and the close of the year 1918.* She explains clearly why the revolution proved abortive—as the Allies obviously wished it to prove. The last thing they desired was a successful repetition of the Petrograd November revolution of 1917. A genuine socialist revolution to consummate the political revolutions throughout Germany, or a successful issue of "Spartacus week" in January, 1919, would doubtless have been made the excuse for an immediate occupation of Berlin by the allied armies. But, as we now know, the reconsolidation of the bourgeois power began from the very hour when the obsolete vestiges of German feudal aristocracy had been cleared out of the way; the workers were not ready to seize the reins of power; and, judged by results, the movement of Spartacus week was unquestionably premature. The rising of January, 1919, was a spontaneous attempt, in numerous and widely separated German towns, on the part of revolutionary groups of workers, of soldiers, and of sailors, to recapture the lost opportunity of the previous November. There is nothing in Rosa's speech of December 30th to show that she thought a renewal of the real revolutionary impetus at hand. She desired to push forward with the proper organisation of the workers' committees; to carry on propaganda in the army and the navy, and among the ex-service men; to await the ripening of the revolutionary situation. Such at least is our reading of her speech; and such is the lesson we would apply nearer home. But it was inevitable that the impetuous Liebknecht, and hardly less inevitable that the better balanced yet no less revolutionary Rosa, should, when the call came, promptly take their places in the forefront of the battle. Revolutionists who think the coach is going too fast may have to play the somewhat repugnant part of brake—but once the tocsin sounds, they must take their chances of failure or success. Human foresight is limited, and, as the artist in *Rasselas* sagely remarked, "Nothing will ever be attempted, if all possible objections must be first overcome." But when the artist put his flying apparatus to the test, he incontinently fell into the lake. The time was not ripe for aviation in the days of the Prince of Abyssinia.

What Rosa Luxemburg thought of the chances of Spartacus week she herself tells us in the last words she ever wrote. This article appeared in the *Rote Fahne* (Red Flag) on January 15th, 1919, the day of her death. Summing up the events of this

*This now famous speech appeared in issue No. 5 of THE COMMUNIST REVIEW. Copies may be obtained from the Communist Party, 16, King Street, Covent Garden, London, W.C. 2. Price 8d., post free.

frustrate insurrection, she wrote: "There was no chance of upsetting the Ebert-Scheidemann combination; there was as yet no chance of a successful revolution, owing to the backwardness of the movement among the soldiery, itself a symptom of the general unripeness. . . . The defeat of "Spartacus week" was partly due to the fact that the attempt was premature, that the ground had not been adequately prepared. It was partly due to the weakness and half-heartedness of the leaders. But the masses *will* throw up new leaders, and will march forward to victory." Thus Rosa Luxemburg was fated to fall in the aftermath of a revolutionary attempt which she had recognised to be premature, but from which she was temperamentally incapable of dissociating herself. On January 15th, outside the Eden Hotel, she met her death in circumstances which even yet have not been fully elucidated. Her very body vanished for a time, to be recovered five months later from the waters into which it had been cast. On June 13th, those who had enjoyed for five additional months the blessings of a capitalist peace and the privileges of a socialist-cum-bourgeois régime sitting on bayonets, were able to follow her remains to their last resting-place. Her mutilated body lies in Friedrichshof cemetery, but her spirit lives on in brothers and sisters ready to defy the kings of capitalism. "Not a grave of the murdered for freedom but grows seed for freedom, which the winds carry afar and resow, and the rains and the snows nourish."

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Weekly

Capitalism in the Near East

By J. T. WALTON NEWBOLD

FOREWORD.

[With this issue we publish the first of a series of highly important articles which have been specially prepared for the COMMUNIST REVIEW by J. T. Walton Newbold. Each article, while complete in itself, will deal with a special phase in the operation of international finance-capital. Comrade Newbold will unmask the foreign policy and actions of the various imperialist States, and will show how these were dictated by the clique of money lords who now run the capitalist world. Newbold's analysis of pre-war international finances, which he embodied in his book, "How Europe Armed for War,"—the most brilliant study yet written of the economic origins of the 1914 war—will be continued in the articles which he has been commissioned to write for the COMMUNIST REVIEW. These articles, however, will be written with a greater and riper knowledge gained as a result of several years of additional industrious research work, reinforced during a period of unparalleled historical development.—Editor.]

EVENTS at Athens since the Armistice, particularly the exile of Venizelos the Cretan, and the triumphant restoration of King Constantine and the resumption by the latter in an even more dramatic manner of the policy of the former, have drawn attention to the fact that in the Mediterranean generally and in the Levant in particular, there is a strong divergence of opinion and of policy between the British and the French Governments.

During the war, and as long as the influence of the German Emperor continued paramount at Constantinople and the Greek Court, the interests of Britain and France remained in apparent unison. Both Powers supported Premier Venizelos in the establishment and maintenance of what was, in reality, a republic and, in name only, a constitutional monarchy. When, however, the war was over, and the military might and diplomatic intrigue of Germany were eradicated from the East, there came into view once again the centuries old antagonism of the Mediterranean Powers, Britain and France.

The latter had yielded, with an ill grace and tacit reservations against a day yet to come when circumstances might be more favourable, the political and economic position which she had occupied in the Near East. Only her preoccupation with the Prussian menace had prevented France, during forty years, pressing her historic claims to Egypt and other outlying provinces of the decaying Ottoman Empire.

The Genesis of the Eastern Question

FROM the 17th century onwards, from the days of the great Colbert to those of Napoleon the Little, France had contested, and with considerable success, the endeavours of the Turkey and old Levant Companies and the London merchants who fell heir to their commerce, to engross the trade of Constanti-

nople and Smyrna. Long forgotten enmities, the quarrels of the Bourbons of France and the Hapsburgs of Austria-Hungary, had made for an entente between the Ottoman Turks and the French Government. In the traditional rivalry of France and Austria was born the diplomatic orientation of French policy towards Poland on the one hand, and Turkey on the other. This was the determining factor in French statecraft in the East from the time of Louis XIV. to the fall of Napoleon I. During the next half century, the Empire of the Czars, which had suffered least of the States on the Continent from the ravages of the Napoleonic campaigns, made continuous onslaughts, diplomatic or military, upon the northern provinces of the Ottoman Empire. France made her contribution to the cause of Turkish defence in the form of loans which were readily forthcoming from the bankers of Paris and Lyons. Jewish finance was markedly friendly towards the Ottoman Empire, an element which reflected itself in the subsequent policy of Benjamin Disraeli. Britain and France, their statesmen joining forces to check the advance towards the Mediterranean of Russia, the enemy of the bourgeois whether as republican apostle or as Indian merchant, their bankers and men of commerce lending money to the spend-thrift and corrupt autocracy at Constantinople, stood together against Russia. Britain was pre-occupied at this time in enlarging her dominions in India and her trade with China. Her merchant ships still went to the East round the Cape of Good Hope and not by way of the Mediterranean. The Suez Canal had not yet cut across the friendship of the two Mediterranean Powers.

The Bondholders Enter Turkey

THIS was the period when the Turkish Government issued the firman of 1863, establishing the *Imperial Ottoman Bank*, which was "authorised to issue notes which are legal tender throughout the Ottoman Empire, and to receive the revenues of the Government, to manage the debt and to carry on a general banking business." (*Statist*, International Banking Section, October, 1919).

It was in its inception, and is to this day, a Franco-British institution. It was formed to administer the debt which Turkey incurred to her gallant allies of the Crimean War.

At the present time, it has upon its London Board two representatives of the old London banking firm of *Glyn, Mills, Currie & Co.*, and one each of the *Goschen, Stern, & Rothschild* groups, and, upon its Paris Board, representatives of: *Mirabaud & Cie.*, *de Neufville & Cie.*, *Mallet Frères, Hottinguer et Cie.*, and *Heine et Cie.*—the chief private bankers of France.

In the "sixties," however, a rift appeared in the friendship, if so we may call this fiduciary alliance, which, for some years, had held together Britain and France. The advance of money to any state with an incompetent government and extensive dominions has always been the signal for its disintegration and the absorption of its territories by the governments representing its creditors. The setting up of a premanent administration of the debt in the form of a bank, issuing, as the Imperial Ottoman Bank

has done, loans on the security of provincial customs and taxes, meant in Turkey, as later in Persia, an acceleration of the processes of disruption.

Meanwhile, civil engineering had reached that degree of perfection which made it feasible to cut a canal through the Isthmus of Suez as well as to construct a railway across it. This the French commenced to do, and appeared destined to come into early conflict with the owners of India.

Both French and British financiers, as even a superficial study of Egyptian credit and mortgage banks will show, had been lending heavily to the Khedive of the Turkish province of Egypt, who, maybe, relied on the growing antagonism of his creditors one to another, to keep him from falling too completely into their clutches.

Britain versus France

THEN came the Franco-German War of 1870-71. France emerged battered and broken, always fearful lest Britain should consent to allow Germany to make a further attack upon her and, in consequence, never able seriously to dispute the resolute will of her predatory competitor. Britain, through the secret agency of N. M. Rothschild & Sons acquired control of the majority shares of the *Cie Universelle du Canal de Suez*, and availed herself of France's weakness to bring the province of Egypt more and more under her domination.

In the "eighties," France, more and more at the mercy of Britain in her career of overseas expansion, checked in Asia and forestalled in Africa, menaced by the ever increasing military might of Germany in alliance with Austria and Britain's naval satellite of Italy, drew closer to Russia, the adversary of Britain in Asia, the barrier to Germany in Europe.

The field of investment which Russia presented to the French bankers, as collectors and distributors of the available funds of the small-scale but very numerous class of investors in the Republic, deflected them, for some time, from other major areas of possible development. South Africa and China were secondary fields of French investment during the "eighties" and "nineties." About this time, indeed, the international financiers interested in railroad building were endeavouring to push ahead their several projects for a railroad or railroads across Asia Minor from the shores of the Bosphorus and from Smyrna towards Syria. They were a cosmopolitan congeries of interests, equally at home in Paris, Brussels, Antwerp, Rotterdam, London, and Frankfurt.

Pre-eminent amongst them was the great financial house of L. Hirsch & Co., then presided over by Baron Hirsch, a veritable giant in the realm of international investment, and in which J. de Gunzburg, of the great *Crédit Mobilier Français*, is now one of the principal partners. The de Gunzburgs wielded immense influence at Petrograd under the Czar and were inter-married with the Sassoons of Bombay and London, who had an equivalent favour with the late King Edward and the Unionist Party.

In that shadow-land where the Cassels, Meyers, Rothschilds, and their kind flitted between London, Paris and Berlin, these concessionaires and bankers intrigued with the rival chancelleries of Europe for control of the various sections of the Bagdad Railway.

Commencing in 1888, there ensued a keen competition for rights of lease over existing lines, and of construction of new extensions from Ismidt or from Haidar Pasha or from Smyrna up into the hinter-lands of Asia Minor. In every case the railway companies borrowed money in sterling, francs, or marks through West and Central European houses, and obtained security for the payment of a minimum annual income per mile from the administration of the Ottoman Debt by the attachment of the titles of the provinces through which the lines were to run. For the most part the control of the finances of these schemes rested with the stockholders of the Imperial Ottoman Bank, *i.e.*, with the great banking houses of London and Paris. They were, however, concerned rather with the interest upon and security of the loans which in 1890, 1891, 1894, 1896, 1902, 1903 and 1908 they issued for the Ottoman Government than with the profitable operation of the railways which their money was supposed to be used to develop.

All during this time and up to the Young Turk Revolution of 1908, the Ottoman Empire was a field of unproductive exploitation by the form of money-lending capitalism which is characteristic of France. The French investor is a sucker. He does not care to develop his own estate, but prefers to have a mortgage on someone else's.

Who Financed the Young Turks?

BUT, in 1908, the government, subservient to the cosmopolitan moneylenders of London and Paris, fell, and gave place to a régime of Nationalists.

These new rulers, accustomed to the bourgeois thought and practice of Western Europe, had not the same sense of responsibility for their national trust as their predecessors, and were prepared to bargain with foreigners anxious to develop the natural resources of their country. It is, indeed, reputed that they disclosed to the enterprising mining prospectors who thronged to Constantinople the secrets regarding the mineral riches of the Near East, locked away in the archives preserved from the days of the Byzantine Empire. Certainly, German and Austrian agents were quick to solicit privileges of mining from the new government.

In 1909, the Turkish Government sanctioned the establishment of another banking institution, *viz.*, the *National Bank of Turkey*, with its headquarters and its administration in Constantinople under the direct control of Turkish subjects. This new institution was in the nature of a trade bank, and was in no way connected with the Ottoman Debt. It was to emancipate Turkey, by financing its economic development, from her complete dependence on the bondholders associated with the administration of the Debt and incorporated in the Imperial Ottoman Bank. It was to give a solid

material support to the principle of Nationalism. In the circumstances, it became, inevitably, a bank with German tendencies. But as the Entente released Italy upon Turkey in 1911 and that unhappy country has been at war practically ever since, the National Bank had very little chance to fulfil its destiny.

Again, in 1911, the British Government, through the medium of Messrs. Vickers and Messrs. Armstrong Whitworth, obtained control of the programme of naval construction of the Turkish Government and secured the building of the "Reshadieh" at Barrow-in-Furness. Her armament was made in Manchester, and under the supervision of British Admiralty inspectors who, we have reason to believe, placed upon it their own Government's stamp. Needless to say, neither the "Reshadieh" nor the "Sultan Osman" was allowed to be completed in time to join the Turkish Fleet, but were incorporated in the British Navy in 1914, one in August and one in October, as the "Agincourt" and the "Erin." Also, in 1912 or 1913, Vickers, Ltd., obtained an extended lease of the Turkish Navy Yard at Constantinople and commenced to "renovate" its equipment, and to "repair" the ships in the Turkish Navy.

About the same time, a syndicate of British engineering and constructional firms was formed for the purpose of carrying out public works and soliciting orders for engineering materials in Turkey. The same group of Manchester, Sheffield and Tees-side firms formed similar companies for trade with Siberia and Egypt. The British Government and the contractors upon its approved lists were going single-handed to the Near East, and not in association with France and her manufacturers. In fact, these engineering interests were almost as opposed, at any rate in an economic sense, to the Sterns, Rothschilds, Goschens, and their French money-lending colleagues, as were the German industrialists operating financially through the Deutsche Bank.

With the Flag to Constantinople

THEN came the war, when, of necessity, Britain and France had to present on the military and naval front a union of forces as complete as their money-lenders upon the financial front.

But, whilst the conflict was in progress, the British, at any rate, were preparing the economic landing party which should follow the Flag to Constantinople. At home and in Paris they were taking steps to make absolute their control of the Near East, and to complete on the Eastern Mediterranean as well as on the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf coasts the co-terminous boundaries of the protectorates that should make Britain's Empire continuous from the Cape to the Malay States.

Temporarily, the star of French political influence and ideological suggestion was in the ascendant in Athens. The prestige of General Serrail and the dapper little officers of the Army of the bourgeois Republic of France prevailed over the grim and not too pleasant impression of the ever-present British Navy, exerting an

intangible but merciless blockade of the Ægean. Britain was, moreover, the patron of Italy, which coveted the sacred isles of Ionic heroism and independence and nationhood.

Little Greece was dreaming age-old dreams, older dreams than plagued Serbia and tormented Bulgaria. France was a republic. Italy and Britain were Kingdoms. Greece was the classic home of Republican Liberty. Venizelos recalled the memory of Pericles and the great days of the Athenian Empire.

But there was a Greek greater than Venizelos. There was Basil Zaharoff. That Levantine master of intrigue, that friend of Russian Grand Dukes, returning insolvent from the Casinos of the Riviera, was the agent of Vickers, Ltd., in Paris. Much in Paris, also, before and during the war, was Sir F. Barker, described formerly as "European manager" of Vickers, Ltd., another gentleman with a romantic career down the coasts and in the troubled waters of the Ægean.

Colonel Repington, in his "Diaries of the First World War," reports a conversation he had with Maurice de Rothschild concerning the vast fortune and great power which Basil Zaharoff had acquired during the war, but as this individual has had all particulars regarding his activities guarded from publicity for many years, we can only locate him—like a submarine cruising below the surface—by the oil streak he leaves, literally as well as figuratively, on the face of the political waters.

He is to be found in one of the Walford Lines—the group which owned the "Jolly George"—which is a link between Vickers and France.

Basil, Sir Basil, as Mr. Lloyd George has had him made for his rich endowments to aeronautical science at our universities, has floated new banks in France. He is behind, so it is generally understood the *Banque de la Seine* and the *Banque Transatlantique*. He is, also, interested in shipping as in *La Société Navale de l'Ouest*, which, last year, formed a company in conjunction with the *Anglo-Persian Oil Co., Ltd.*, to import oil from Syria and to distribute it throughout France.

It was his bank, the *Banque de la Seine*, which, in 1919, formed the *Banque Commerciale de la Méditerranée*, to promote trade between France and the Levantine end of the Mediterranean. This concern is also in league with the *Banque de Paris et des Pays Bas*—the most powerful trade bank in France and the Netherlands—and with the *Imperial Ottoman Bank*.

Sir Basil Zaharoff has every appearance of being a financial collaborator with the British Foreign Office, in much the same way as the first Lord Rothschild was in the "seventies," in that little deal in Suez Canal shares.

It is he who has the credit of manipulating the puppet, Venizelos.

Enter the F.B.I.

MEANWHILE, in Britain, as early as 1916, Vickers, Ltd., and other great iron and steel masters, together with other capitalists were forming the *Federation of British Industries*. In 1918-19 its President was Sir Vincent Caillard, formerly on the Administration at Constantinople of the Ottoman Debt on behalf of British, French and Dutch bondholders, and now a director of Vickers, Ltd. The first notable achievement of the F.B.I. was their fathering on the Government of the Farringdon Committee to enquire into credit facilities to British exporters after the war, and subsequently, the incorporation, on April 21st, 1917, by royal charter, of the *British Trade Corporation*, to carry out the recommendations of this Committee.

Lloyd's, Barclay's, the National Provincial and Union Banks, and the National and Standard Banks of South Africa, together with the River Plate Bank on the one hand, and Vickers, Armstrong Whitworth, Cammell Laird, Birmingham Small Arms Co., and sundry other firms and magnates on the other, subscribed the capital of £2,000,000 paid up.

Sir Vincent Caillard and Sir W. H. N. Goschen, of Goschens, were appointed to the board of directors.

Scarcely was the war finished than the British Trade Corporation bought up the National Bank of Turkey.

The manager of the former became chairman of the London Committee, whilst a gentleman of the suggestive name of de Belinski became chairman at Constantinople.

Sir Henry Birchenough, of the Inter-Allied Trade and Banking Corporation, Ltd., and of the British South Africa Company ("the Chartered Millions"), represented the quintessence of Capitalist Imperialism and Mr. Gulbenkian, the "Shell" group of oil interests on the London board.

Though the paid-up capital is only £250,000, the interests behind the National Bank of Turkey can only be described as tremendous.

In 1919 the British Trade Corporation organised the *Levant Company, Ltd.*:—

"to promote and develop trade of all kinds; and trade and financial relations between Great Britain, her dominions and Colonies, and dependencies on the one hand, and the Levant, Balkan States, Greece, Turkey, Asia Minor, Armenia, Persia, Mesopotamia, Palestine, Syria, Arabia, Egypt and the Soudan on the other side."

The paid-up capital was and is £600,000.

The chairman appointed was Sir Maurice W. E. de Bunsen, British Ambassador at Vienna from 1913 to the outbreak of War. They could have chosen no one with a greater inside knowledge of Balkan politics. Other directors were, Sir F. Barker of Vickers, Ltd., and the Assistant-Director of the Federation of British Industries. At the same time, the British Trade Corporation founded an auxiliary with little capital but great connections, viz., the *South Russia Banking Agency, Ltd.* It had only £40,000 of

capital, but it was held in equal parts by the British Trade Corporation, the London County Westminster and Parr's, the National Provincial and Union, and Lloyd's Banks.

Meanwhile, the Federation of British Industries, in harmonious co-operation with the Department of Overseas Trade, offspring of the Foreign Office and the Board of Trade, was appointing Trade Commissioners abroad in connection with its Overseas Service. Its first appointment was that of a Commissioner at Athens for the Near East, with a Sub-Commissioner at Constantinople.

The selection of Athens as the venue of the first Trade Commissioner is significant, in view of subsequent developments and the fact that French interests are very considerable in the *Banque d'Athènes* and generally, in the trade of Greece.

The British Trade Corporation is supported at Constantinople by an even greater force—the British Army is in occupation. Britain quietly encourages Greece but sits tight in Constantinople, the goal of Greek aspirations. Italy is the faithful friend of Britain, and the covetous neighbour of Greece, whilst the *Banco di Roma*, the *Banca Commerciale Italiana*, and above all, Barclay's ally, the Marconi venture, the *Banca Italiana di Sconto*, are all ensconced at Constantinople.

The French Counter-Offensive

NEEDLESS to say, France does not view with equanimity this relentless activity of British industrial finance in a quarter where, hitherto, her less efficient, but equally grasping, mortgage holders' finance has been pre-eminent.

True, she has acquiesced so far as not unduly to hinder British advancement in return for a comparatively—everything is comparative where the "dear Allies" are associated in the tasks of civilisation, and the mission of forwarding Democracy a comparatively free hand in Central Europe.

The Schneider-Creusôt Company appears to have taken over the old Navy Yard at Constantinople, which was formerly an appanage of Vickers, Ltd., and to have been using it for repair work in connection with naval and military operations in South Russia. At the same time Count Ostroroz, presumably the same man who is with Vickers in Poland, is with them in Constantinople and, as in Poland, Vickers and Schneider have been collaborating in the manufacture of war material, it would seem that they have been acting in collusion at Constantinople, for we have never known Vickers to give up anything they have once held.

In everything wherein French capital is concerned in the Near East, pushing the interests of French imperialism, we, always, find *Schneider et Cie.* They are as ubiquitous, in their way, as Vickers, Ltd.

Eugene Schnelder is on the board of the *Crédit Lyonnais*, of the *Banque de l'Union Parisienne*, and of the *Union Européenne Industrielle et Financière*. Comte Saint de Sauveur, who married into the Schneider family, and represented the firm in Petrograd, was associated with the Poutiloff Company and, now, appears to

have a roving commission for Schneider et Cie, all over Central Europe.

We find Schneider and the *Banque Française pour le Commerce et l'Industrie* in control of the Company for the working of the Orient Railway, which runs into Constantinople from Belgrade. Schneider and the *Messageries Maritimes*—the French equivalent of the Cunard—together with the *Banque de l'Union Parisienne*, have formed the *Cie Française du Levant*, to do for France what the Levant Company is doing for British trade.

Then there is the clique of irreconcilable enemies of Russia encamped at Salonica and Constantinople.

At the head of these is the *Russo-Asiatic Bank*. This is "an associate bank" of the *Société Générale de Paris*, and it, in turn, is the creature of the *Crédit Mobilier Française* and the *Banque de Paris et des Pays Bas*, and the great armament company, *La Société de la Marine et d'Homecourt*.

In the same grouping as the Russo-Asiatic Bank is the *Banque de Salonique* and the newly formed *Banque Franco-Polonaise*, which looks like Schneider in combination with a re-shuffling of the Russo-Asiatic Bank.

This group has various subsidiaries at Constantinople amongst them a Schneider "associate," the *Société Commerciale et Industrielle et Financière pour la Russe*.

The impression one gets of French capitalist endeavour at Constantinople at the present time is one of retention of existing interests and their defence against a more dynamic form of capitalism operating mainly from Britain and Italy. France, also, appears foiled by and undecided in her attitude towards her defaulting debtors, the Ottoman Turks and the Soviet Republic of Russia. She nurses her grievances and laments her losses whilst the vigorous commercialism of Britain scouts around looking for trade and keeping a vigilant eye open for some field of permanent investment with a view to development of natural resources.

At Athens, also, it is the inevitable Schneider group which one finds standing for a trade in the implements of war.

America takes a Hand

MORE formidable as competitors with the British in the commerce of the Near East and in the development of the resources of the territories formerly included within the Ottoman Empire, are the Americans. These first commenced to open up the market in these parts in 1911, when the American Chamber of Commerce for the Levant was formed, an association which now has branches in Greece, Bulgaria, Roumania, Smyrna, and representatives all over Turkey.

Last year there appeared at Constantinople that colossus of American finance, the *Guaranty Trust Company* of New York, one of the world's most powerful banks, and an associate of the Morgans and the Rockefellers. This bank is heavily interested in financing the world's cotton crops, and, as such, has an interest in the Levant. Then, there is the equally formidable *American*

International Corporation, which is an associate of the great National City Bank of New York, performs for American business equivalent functions to those of the Union Européenne Industrielle et Financière for France and the British Trade Corporation for Britain. It is heavily interested in shipping, shipbuilding and public works contracting as well as, and this has an important bearing on Levantine commerce in dried fruits, oranges and lemons, the fruit trade.

The *American Foreign Trade Corporation*, again, has "undertaken business on a very large scale, hiring big stores in the Golden Horn at a high rent for storing their goods; they have also purchased a big plot of land at the Golden Horn, in order to build stores, and have a high-class garage and works." (Report of Department of Overseas Trade on *Trade Conditions of Turkey*, Jan., 1921). Other American syndicates are the *American Express Company* (Vanderbilt group), the *Central European Corporation*, the *Export Steamship Corporation*, and, of course, the *Singer Sewing Machine*, and *Standard Oil Companies*.

This last named concern is, needless to say, interested in the eventual fate of Armenia, Georgia, Azerbaidjan, Mosul and other republics, and would be republics whose rock-strata ooze oil in commercial quantities. It is keeping a watchful eye upon the "Shell" and the Anglo-Persian Oil groups in the whole of the Near and Middle East.

Within the last few months it has participated in the organization of the American Chamber of Commerce in Athens to advance American interests in Athens in rivalry with the established agency of the Federation of British Industries. The vice-president of the new body is the Athens representative of the Standard Oil Company.

This in itself is ominous, particularly in view of the correspondence between the British and U.S. Governments concerning oil in the Near East, the statement made in the very influential paper, the American "World's Work," in 1917, to the effect that "the future of America lies in the Balkans," the activity of American missions and philanthropy at Constantinople, and the care with which Washington has chosen its diplomatic representatives in Turkey from the ranks of "big business," and its hacks.

The capitalism of the United States has been steadily "penetrating" France, Italy and Turkey at the same time that it has been ingratiating itself into India. It has been helped by the great influx into the U.S. of emigrants from the countries of Southern Europe and the Balkans and the connections thereby established with the Mediterranean peoples.

Britain was able to detach Egypt from Turkey at a time favourable for herself and her projects of absorption and monopolist exploitation. She has not been equally successful in respect of the remainder of the rich spoil which, during decades and generations, she has marked out for her own as a means whereby she might round off her African and her Asiatic domains, connecting them together and knitting them into one vast scheme of Empire.

Report on Communist Party of Great Britain

Submitted by T. Bell to the E.C. of the Third International.

UP to last year's session of the International Congress, the movement for Communism in Great Britain was still divided. Discussion had been going on for nearly two years between the different parties and sections before it was realised that fusion could not be achieved through the agency of the officials or leaders but by some other avenue. A *via media* was finally found in a rank and file conference, which was charged to pass final judgment on the outstanding questions of differences and bind the contracting parties to its decisions. This conference was held in London on July 31st, 1920, and was a great success. It revealed a striking unanimity and determination for a Communist Party that would bring the British revolutionary movement into line with the Third International of Communism, while its decisions upon the outstanding differences in tactics and the acceptance given to such decisions by the conference as a whole showed that the rank and file had learned much from their experience of the old Socialist parties in the way of discipline.

The principal tactical difference which had prevented unity and given rise to the conference was the attitude of the new party to the Labour Party. One section was in favour of affiliation, and the other was against. It was argued by the former that affiliation to the Labour Party would give the Communists a wider platform and bring the party into closer contact with the masses, and that no restrictions would be placed on our freedom of criticism. The advocates of non-affiliation, on the other hand, held that since the Labour Party was a bourgeois opportunist outfit, association with that party would deceive the workers and lame the revolutionary movement. Further, that the independence of the Communist Party from the Labour Party would help to close the ranks and consolidate the revolutionary elements throughout the country, and that the Communists were strong enough to stand on their own legs. The conference decision went by a small majority in favour of seeking affiliation, which was formally done immediately the new executive got to work.

But it was found that the question was not to be settled by the Communists alone. The Labour Party itself had to have a say, and on this question they were quite emphatic. There could be nothing in common, said Arthur Henderson, speaking for the Labour Party Executive, between the Communist Party and Labour Party, i.e., between the Third International and the Second International. Our application for affiliation was accordingly rejected. Immediately this decision was taken, a tremendous struggle began in the local Labour parties against the action of the Executive in breaking from the traditions of the party and excluding the Communists simply because they stood for a revolutionary policy, while at the same time they admitted non-proletarian elements. Many sections repudiated the National Executive and refused to exclude

their comrades whose bonafides were above question. The leaders remained adamant. The Communist Party, in the meantime, carried the struggle a stage forward during the by-election at Woolwich last February (where Ramsay MacDonald was the Labour candidate). The Party openly opposed MacDonald as the apostle of opportunism and the Second International. He was defeated by 600 votes, and there can be little doubt that the Communist Party demonstrated to the Labour leaders that they had to face a foe of different metal from the old Socialist Parties in the past.

The experience of these few months of struggle with the Labour opportunists had a tremendous influence in clearing the atmosphere and solidifying the party. It paved the way for the January Congress at Leeds, at which final steps were taken to gather in the remaining elements that stood aloof from the August conference. There is not now two opinions among the Communists as to what is the correct policy towards the Labour Party. Here it should be pointed out that with the new constitution of the Labour Party which has broadened the basis of membership to include individual members, the driving force has passed out of the hands of the leaders of the Independent Labour Party (I.L.P.) to the petty bourgeoisie and black-coated suburbanites. These latter, groaning beneath the burden of taxation of the Lloyd George Coalition, are turning to the Labour Party as the party of "Peace, Retrenchment and Reform," and "ordered progress," and against the Party of Communism and revolution. The success which has recently attended this coalition of the petty bourgeois elements with the proletarian sections of the Labour Party is causing some uneasiness in the ranks of high finance. It is not to the liking of the latter that the gains of the Labour Party are steadily increasing. And so to split the petty bourgeois elements from the Labour Party no effort is spared by the powerful press of the Coalition to identify the programme of Labourism with Bolshevism. We even get the Prime Minister going out of his way to lecture his coupon-holders in Parliament on the approaching danger. This danger he finds revealed in the fact that in the election of 1918, the Labour candidates polled half the Coalition votes, while taking a survey of the by-elections of 1920-21 he said, "A change of four per cent. in voting would give the Labour Party the majority in the House, and that there was a percentage of from 15 to 20 in the electorate that abstained from voting."

The present anomalous situation where a candidate in a three-cornered contest is elected though his opponents' combined votes outnumber him, is not likely to be tolerated by the bourgeoisie if it is giving the Labour candidates the seats. The continuation of such a method may be favourable for the chances of a Labour Government, but assuming the bourgeois element are unable to unite against Labour, there yet remains the "reforms" in the electoral method which would remedy such an evil (for the ruling class) of a simple majority election.

A few words here on the composition of the Labour Party will prove serviceable to many Continental comrades not conversant with it. At its annual conference in Scarborough, 1920, it reported a delegation of 3,709,000. This number was made up of representations from 139 trade unions, with 3,398,000 votes, 246 local

trades councils and Labour parties with 258,000 votes, and six Socialist societies with 53,000.

So far as the trade union representation is concerned, they are seen to be in the overwhelming majority, but it has to be realised that these numbers do not indicate in any way the actual weight which the unions pull on matters of political policy. Many of these unions are affiliated by a simple majority which has often been achieved without 50 per cent. of the membership voting. Thus the value of the nominal adhesion to the Labour Party is more financial than anything else, with the result that many of the members supposed to be affiliated are found to be voting Liberal and Tory at election.

The same with regard to the Socialist parties affiliating. These parties pay affiliation fees out of all proportion to their actual membership, merely to get votes at the congress. Small wonder the party lacks either fire or driving power.

The Communist International has laid it down as one of the most important tasks of a genuine Communist Party to preserve constantly the closest contact with the widest masses of the workers. There is probably no other country in the world outside Great Britain where such a task is rendered so easy to accomplish. For that reason we make bold to say the Communist Party of Great Britain has done more in this direction proportionate to its numerical strength than most of the parties adhering to the Third International. The principle of large proletarian but non-partisan organisations for immediate political objects is native to the soil of the United Kingdom. Perhaps the most outstanding illustration in recent times being the "Hands Off Russia" Committee Movement.

Since the March Revolution of 1917 in Russia the agitation against intervention in Russian affairs has never wavered in Great Britain. Conferences of Trade Unions, political parties, co-operative groups, etc., have been held by the thousand in all parts of the country, and considerable influence has been exercised upon the masses generally by the demonstrations held and contact established. On the other hand millions of leaflets and circulars have been distributed focusing the attention of the workers generally upon the machinations and trickery against Soviet Russia adopted by the Government from time to time.

This movement undoubtedly got its driving force from the revolutionary elements of the former Socialist Parties and shop stewards, now centralised in the Communist Party. That driving force has not abated.

It was just such a movement which paved the way for the famous but now defunct "Council of Action"—another of those non-partisan bodies which are peculiar to Great Britain, but which, nevertheless are of tremendous importance for our revolutionary work. That the formation of the "Council of Action" was largely the outcome of our Communist agitation cannot be gainsaid. And though it is true to say the element of war weariness played an important part, the predisposing factor that gave rise to such a spontaneous rally against Churchill's threat to go to war against the Soviet Government was just the "Hands off Russia" agitation inspired by the Communists. Combining as it did, all the elements.

of the Labour Movement, the Council of Action formed the basis for that general staff of Labour which had been talked about for so long in Trade Union and Labour Circles by the leaders and writers.

The Trade Unions and political Labour Parties were united in the single determination to prevent war. Local Councils sprung up in all centres and an unprecedented wave of solidarity passed over the entire world of labour. Everywhere the Communists were to be found inspiring and encouraging workers to go forward and not merely remain passive. The Party urged the leaders during the vacillating period of negotiations to "fix a date" and strike. But the Labour Leaders recoiled before the prospects of an open conflict with the government, and temporised. So manifest, however, was the opposition of the masses to another war that the Government was compelled to stay its hand. Immediately the prospects of war vanished the labour leaders proceeded to explain that since the object for which the Council of Action had been called into being had been achieved, it should be dissolved. In vain did the Communist Party urge for the retention of the new body, and after a few weeks it fell away and died out.

Not the least important side to this movement was the demonstration as to how far the fundamental proletarian organ of the Soviet had caught on with the masses. Various districts had different ideas of the kind of machinery to be erected, but the following proposals for a Council of Action by the Merthyr Borough in South Wales indicates the general trend of opinion behind the whole movement.

It was proposed by this Borough to form a Central Council composed of 24 representatives from the organisations affiliated or eligible for affiliation to the Trades Council. They must be appointed by mass meetings of the workers, under the distinct understanding that the representatives have the right to call the workers out of work or instruct them to work, as the Council shall determine.

The Central Council shall be made up as follows:

GROUP.	NUMBER OF REPRESENTATIVES.
1. Miners	6
2. Railway workers	3
3. Steelworkers	3
4. Building Industry	3
5. Shop Assistants and Bakers	2
6. General	3
7. Co-operative Guilds and Women	3
8. Labour Press	1

These representatives were to be appointed at mass-meetings of the respective industries or trades and were to be controlled by a General Council of three delegates appointed by each society affiliated, or eligible for affiliation to the Trades Council, who must meet each month, or any shorter period to be decided by the Central Council.

Any delegates absent from two consecutive meetings (except in the case of illness) shall be reported to his society by the Central Council, and a new delegate must be appointed.

The Central Council shall set up from among its own members Committees of which the following are immediately, counselled:—

1. Transport Committee.
2. Propaganda Committee.
3. Finance and Economic Committee.
4. Social Welfare Committee.

The British bourgeoisie has not escaped from the industrial sickness and paralysis that has crept over the capitalist imperialism since November, 1918. As with their competitors in America and the "Far East," where the ravages of war did not interfere with the technical apparatus for production, the armistice for the British capitalist was the signal for a return to that deadly struggle for markets which had resulted in the holocaust just closed. And for a time hopes ran high. Intoxicated by the victory over German Imperialism, and the acquisition of the latter's colonies, the cry went forth for more and more production to capture the expected new markets. The wildest speculation prevailed, especially in textiles, etc. Thus intensifying the artificial demand. A tone of confidence was assumed and paradoxically the workers were urged to speed up their output to ensure the continuation of the "boom" period. But it did not last long. At the close of 1919 the enthusiasm for increased output began to weaken. Murmurs began to be heard of a failure in demand, and in the last part of 1920 there appeared definite indications of a collapse. Since then idleness has continued, resulting this year in one of the most acute crisis in the annals of British industry, the coal, iron and steel, shipbuilding, and textile industry being at the present moment at a stand still. This colossal failure of capitalism to recover itself is one of the most important features of the general situation in Britain. It proves beyond a shadow of a doubt that the "boom" period was fictitious and represented but the final spasm of the artificial conditions that prevailed during the war. The technical advantage of the boom offset for the bourgeoisie was that general uneasiness created by the closing of the munition factories and the demobilisation of the troops, but the resort to "doles" and schemes for dealing with the unemployed problem has not by any means been successful. There is no question about it that the situation to-day is more revolutionary in its potentialities than any period since the armistice. Putting aside the effects of the coal strike, and taking numbers which have managed to filter through the bureaucratic sieve of the labour exchanges there is an army of over 3,000,000 unemployed. Added to the miners dispute, 5,000,000 represents a fair estimate of industrial derelicts during the first two weeks of June. In other words nearly one half of the population is reduced to a state of beggary or the status of vagrants. As to whether a resumption of coal getting will solve the problem or not, in face of the depression in America, where there is no coal stoppage and where prices have been lowered; not even the yellowest gutter rag of the capitalist press dare assert that.

Such a situation was bound to provoke class conflict. The bourgeoisie had expectations of a world revival of industry with potentialities for piling up huge fortunes from the results of its

barbarous policy of destruction. As soon as it realised these expectations could not be fulfilled, it proceeded to use the occasion for an attack on all labour organisations. It is no mere accident that the miners were chosen as the first union to be attacked. A defeat for the miners was to be taken as a precedent for dealing with other industrial organisations. Such has always been the policy of the British bourgeois class that knows the weakness of its opposition. There was only one road to success for the working class and that was to close up the ranks with the miners, assume the offensive and challenge the power of the capitalists. That this policy was not adopted was not the fault of the rank and file. The sacrifices the workers have made since the capitalist conspiracy began leaves little doubt on that score. But the group of traitors who manipulate the Labour Unions are afraid of revolution, and though the Communists, everywhere urged forward the policy of a general offensive, we were not strong enough to overcome the treachery of the labour leaders, and so the result of the trade union policy of relying on their banking account has brought about the financial collapse of nearly every Union.

If however the bourgeoisie in Great Britain think their present policy of strangulation and the mailed fist will save them or bring industrial peace they are making the mistake of their lives. The financial minds of the bourgeoisie can only think in terms of £s.d. It imagines if it breaks the financial back of the unions it will have everything its own way when the commercial machine begins to run again. It little reckons with the accumulated resentment sullenly being nursed by a working class little prone to forget the trickery and deception practised upon it since 1914. Instead therefore of looking forward without hope, the situation is rather the reverse. There is bound to accrue from the bankruptcy of the leaders, plus the financial bankruptcy of the Unions, a plethora of unofficial strikes. The problem before the Communist Party must be to co-ordinate these activities and lift them above the conservative trade union standard on to the revolutionary plane of the struggle for power.

A most gratifying feature in this respect is the unification of revolutionary workers' committees into a single organisation—the National Workers' Committee Movement. On the other hand the Communist Party has already given proof of its vitality and capacity for revolutionary activity amongst the masses. So much so, that the government has thought fit to launch a vendetta against everything identified with the name of Communism and the Third International. Since January of this year from 70 to 80 of our Party members have been imprisoned or are presently in jail; the Party headquarters burgled by the police and the national Secretary arrested and charged with sedition. This record alone is the best proof of the Party's worth.

The British bourgeoisie has thrown off the mask. It no longer relies upon its hypocritical policy of compromise. It looks now to armed force for its defence. Can it complain if the workers are thus driven to reply to it with its own weapons? The Communist Party declares that there is NO alternative but to wage the class struggle and to facilitate the rapid transition from organisation and agitation to an open conflict for the conquest of power.

The Communist Party Conference at Jena

By M. PHILIPS PRICE

IN order to understand the crisis, which arose this summer in the German Communist Party, it is necessary to take a glance back into the history of the "left wing" movements in Germany during the last few years. Communism, as a practical force in Germany began to crystallise first in the so-called Spartakusbund—that small group of clear thinkers within the old Social-Democratic Party. The first congress of the Spartakusbund in January, 1919, however, showed that not only was it afflicted with all the infantile diseases that proletarian parties are heir to, but that even at that time, the party was in reality little more than a sect without any connection with the masses of German labour. The disillusionment, however, resulting from the failure of the November Revolution to bring any appreciable improvement in the lot of the workers was not long in rescuing the Spartakusbund from its comparative isolation. Within the Independent Socialist Party there grew throughout 1919 and 1920 a large body of opinion, which decided in October of the latter year, to break with sentimental pacifism and with barren anti-militarist phrases and to throw in its lot with the Communist Party. At the first congress of the United Communist Party of Germany in December, 1920, for the first time in Germany history, the Communist idea was incorporated in a mass party of nearly half a million workers.

But this influx of revolutionary elements from the masses did not result in strength. The smooth course of the first congress was in this respect deceptive. The new additions created new weaknesses. The material, which had been thrown together, did not mix. A large bulk of the elements which had left the Independent Socialist Party had done so for purely negative reasons. They were dissatisfied with Reformism and with Pacifism and that was all. They carried with them into the new party the lack of discipline which existed in the old. No small number of them, moreover, were prone to "syndicalism" and "putchism." The old Spartakusbund had already, in October, 1919, at the Heidelberg Conference, weathered a crisis, in which the syndicalist element had been expelled. Now the whole problem of infantile disorders had appeared again and came last month before the Second Congress of the United Communist Party at Jena.

The Third Congress of the Third International devoted no small attention to the German Party. Germany, with its teeming millions of industrial workers—all feeling on their own bodies the pressure of the indemnities and reparations, by which Entente capital hopes to save itself from post-war bankruptcy—is obviously a most favourable ground for the spread of the Communist idea. Not the least important aspect of the crisis in German Communism was the question of tactics adopted by the party in the March action, and of the so-called "offensive theory." The history of

the March action and of this theory is broadly as follows. Early in this year a body of opinion within the German Communist Party began to crystallise round the personality of the brilliant chairman of the Central Executive, Paul Levi. This group objected to the tactics of the Executive of the Third International in making the continuance of Serrati and of other leaders of the Italian Socialist Party in the Third International contingent upon their immediate renunciation of all connections with the Reformist Italian Trade Union leaders. This attitude of the "Levites" involved important tactical problems of how to deal with large bodies of wavering elements, who hang on the border-line of Communism. It was not the first time that a difference of this kind had appeared in the German Communist Party. Early in 1919 tactical divergences had appeared between Rosa Luxemburg and Leo Yogisches, on the one hand, and the Hamburg followers of Karl Radek on the other, on the question whether the situation in Germany was such as to enable the Spartakusbund to declare all power to Soviets without the active support of the masses. The crisis, which in consequence threatened the Spartakusbund in January, 1919, and was delayed by the long period of illegality during the Noske Terror, broke out in full force after March, 1921. It was precipitated by certain agents of the small bureau of the Moscow Executive, who, exceeding their mandates, had begun to interfere in the internal affairs of the German Party, and to spread the idea that the international position of the Russian Soviet Republic made an "offensive at all costs" obligatory for the German Party.

How far the March action was caused, as Paul Levi alleges, by the activities of these agents, spreading the "offensive at all costs" theory among the unsteady elements of the young German Communist Party and how far it was the result of the provocation of the agents of the "Orgesch" and of the Pan-German counter-revolution, using the Majority Socialist, Hoersing, as a tool, is difficult to say. In all probability both interpretations are partly correct. But in any case, the results for the party were disastrous, not only because of the resulting break in the legal work of the party, but because of the moral effect, which it had on the leaders. Thus the military occupation of the mining districts of Middle Germany was used as an excuse by the Executive of the German Party, from which Paul Levi had by this time resigned, to declare an armed rebellion for the overthrow of the German Government. A purely local issue, on which it was impossible to rouse the masses in the rest of Germany, was artificially expanded into a national issue with of course the disastrous results that both collapsed. Not content with this lesson the German Executive announced in a series of theses the so-called "offensive theory," whereby it was solemnly laid down that it was the duty of Communist parties to assume the offensive even when in a minority, in order by defeat to rouse the masses from passivity. Shades of Babeuf and Louis Blanc! Certain doctrinaires of the Spartakusbund had united with the unclear heads of the rank and file—legacies of the Independent Socialist Party—and had finally brought the crisis of the German Party to a head. It is no exaggeration to say that after March of this year till the Third World Congress in Moscow, the Communist Party of Germany has been reduced to virtual impotence by

the defeat. Indeed, only since the Jena Congress have signs of healthy growth appeared again.

The process of healing the party's wounds has been made much more difficult by the tactics of Paul Levi and his followers. Levi had, after March, a magnificent opportunity to expose the fallacies of the "offensive theory." Unfortunately, he showed his incapacity for leadership by starting a campaign of extraordinary virulence and personal rancour against those who were responsible for the disaster. He has thus placed himself outside the party and his career is at least for the time being checked. Moreover, judging from his latest writing in his organ, *Unsere Weg*, he is showing unmistakable signs of sliding down the slippery slope into "opportunism" and "Menshevism."

Nevertheless, the Moscow Congress, in its thesis on tactics, justified the attitude of Levi on the March action, though it approved his expulsion for breach of discipline. The Congress called the German Party sharply to its senses, told it to come down to earth again and in future actions to prepare the ground more carefully by unceasing propaganda and contact with the masses in all existing mass organisations. And the Party Congress at Jena has adopted with qualified approval these Moscow decisions. This qualified approval is due to the fact that the protagonists of the "offensive at all costs" still have some following in the Berlin and Hamburg branches of the Party. The leaders of this group, while ready to admit the failures of last March, seem anxious to cover their retreat, and to use every future occasion to return to their previous interpretation of the offensive. For they were strong enough to insert in the Congress resolution on tactics a protest against certain aspects of Moscow's criticism of the March action, on the grounds that "Comrade Trotsky had failed to see that the mistakes last March were due not to the offensive philosophy but to the passive attitude of the former party leaders."

The difference of opinion within the Communist International over the theory of "offensive at all costs" is not a doctrinaire dispute between hair-splitting theorists. It has a deep-rooted cause particularly affecting all Communist parties in Western Europe. For it concerns at bottom the question of the nature and rate of development of the world revolution. It is not pure accident that has caused the German Communists to appear as the impatient war-dogs, straining at the leash and the Russian Communists as the restraining hand. For it was noticeable also in the discussion on the world economic situation at Jena that two theories were contending for the mastery. The difference of opinion on world economics, like that on tactics, is nothing new. It goes far back into pre-war days, when Lenin and Rosa Luxemburg were disputing in Switzerland over the latter's "reproduction theory." Rosa Luxemburg in her "Accumulation of Capital," which, by the way, ought to be translated into English, since it is now a classical work on the Continent, projected the view that capitalism in the highly industrially developed countries by penetrating the colonial areas with surplus values, prepares a revolutionary psychology in the masses of the areas penetrated. Capitalism, in fact, in reproducing itself, reaches a point, when its further development is arrested by the

growing resistance of the colonial peasants, coolies and serfs, who do not need to pass through the school of the industrial revolution as in Western Europe, to reach the stage in which they can acquire the control of production. This theory is incidentally a perfect justification of the Russian Communists' concession policy to Western capitalism and of their reliance on the psychology of the proletarian layers of the population in Russia to make the development of capitalism in this colonial area impossible. It is an irony of history that Lenin, who opposed Rosa Luxemburg's "reproduction theory," in Switzerland before the war, and who wrote on the eve of the October Revolution a book entitled, "Imperialism, the Latest Phase of Capitalism," representing a theory entirely different to her's, should be the very man to carry her's out in practice in Russia to-day.

Still more remarkable is the fact that the Russian Communists have always up to now taken as their Bible the work of the arch-Menshevist, Hilferding, on "Finance-Capital." Like Luxemburg, Hilferding starts out with the theory of the export of surplus values to the colonial areas. But after starting with this premise he diverges from Luxemburg in holding that the colonial areas must first pass through the stage of industrial capitalism before becoming ripe for the social revolution. The social revolution, he holds, will be precipitated not by the revolt of the slaves in the colonial areas but by the internal crises within capitalism, causing competition for spheres of influence among the banks and consequent wars. During one of these crises, it is assumed, Labour will come into power automatically by the mechanical collapse of capitalism. The Menshevist theory thus assumes a purely objective development and decline of capitalism: all subjective factors, such as the reactions on mass psychology are left out of consideration. Yet the Russian Communists are accused by many of their German comrades of inconsistency. For, it is said, when they came into power in Russia, they carried out in practice the "reproduction theory" of Luxemburg, but now they are in power they see the world economic situation through the spectacles of Hilferding.

Thus at the Jena Congress Trotsky's economic thesis came in for sharp criticism on the grounds that it admitted a certain stabilisation of capitalism in Europe since 1919, and further, that it seemed to show that this process of stabilisation and apparent prosperity must be passed through till capitalism mechanically enters upon a new crisis, precipitating another imperialist war. Particular exception was taken to Trotsky's attempt to forecast with precision an Anglo-American War for 1924. The nature of these criticisms are seen in the following passages in the debate on the economic thesis at Jena. Thus Schmidt (Hanover): "The Russians do not sufficiently consider the impossibility of the reconstruction of capitalism in Western Europe without an increasing exploitation of the masses, whose resistance must stiffen. Trotsky particularly neglects the increasing class tension in Germany, and pays too much attention to the possibilities of new imperialist conflicts. His thesis might be interpreted to mean that revolutionary mass psychology and action resulting therefrom is only possible after 1924—the year of the probable new Anglo-American War. We say that the apparent and temporary improvement in the

capitalist position must not be made an excuse to relax efforts to rouse the consciousness of the masses." Again Heinrich (Cologne): "We have a right to criticise Trotsky's thesis and to say, 'Is not the time come when German capitalism can produce no more surplus values for accumulation? Can reparations be any longer paid without exhausting the reservoir of surplus values.'"

That much of this criticism was not justified is seen from the passage of the speech of Heckert (Berlin), who sat with Trotsky on the Economic Thesis Commission in Moscow: "What Trotsky meant," said Heckert, "was that it is not true that only in periods of breakdown of capitalism can there be a revolutionary wave. In periods of capitalist consolidation this is also possible, as witness the growth of the revolutionary movement in Russia in the period of capitalist development between 1905 and 1917." Again to the charge that he based his thesis solely on the Menshevik philosophy of Hilferding, Trotsky can reply by quoting that passage in his speech at the Moscow Congress, where he said: "We, Communists, unite the dialectical with the practical, the subjective with the objective. We not only rely on the subjective desire of the masses but take into consideration the fact that the revolution will come, because the objective economic conditions are a pledge of this." In view of this, it is clear that much which was said at Jena, was said without full knowledge of the Russian Communist attitude (the full stenogram reports not having all come from Moscow). Nevertheless, the debates at Moscow and at Jena have shown the existence of two tendencies within the Communist International, one emphasising the apparent recovery of world capitalism since 1919 and the other holding that the breakdown of capitalism in Europe is already there, and that it is impossible to re-establish an economic equilibrium even for a temporary period. The German Communists who, in the main, represent the latter tendency, have more than once in the past over-estimated their powers in attacking their native capitalism. The Russian Communists, who represent the former tendency, unacquainted as yet with the theories of the Rosa Luxemburg school, may, on the other hand, have under-estimated their own strength in their present struggle with world capitalism.

It was Rosa Luxemburg, with her almost uncanny wisdom and insight, who found a way to combine a Communist outlook on the development of the world revolution (her "reproduction theory") with a tactical line of mass action, which renounces "offensives at all costs." Had she lived, much would have been made clear in the discussion between the Russian and the German Communist points of view at Jena. But the Pan-German reaction knew what it was doing when it murdered that great woman.

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EVERY THURSDAY

Lenin's Letter to the Jena Congress

THE Communist Party in Germany is in a difficult situation. On the one hand the international situation in Germany has intensified the revolutionary crisis, and pushed the revolutionary to the immediate taking over of power. On the other, the German and International bourgeoisie having drawn experience from events in Russia, and being admirably organised and armed to the teeth, has thrown itself with hatred against the revolutionary German proletariat.

Since 1918, the German revolutionary movement has followed a difficult and tempestuous course. But it marches forward no less.

One can assert that the German working masses have clearly taken a step to the Left.

The K.A.P.D.

The difficult situation of the V.K.P.D. is complicated by the opposition from the K.A.P.D. and the Levi-ists

For what it is, we allowed the K.A.P.D. to participate in the Congress of the C.I. We consider that so long as parties are not yet solidly organised, semi-anarchist elements can be useful.

In Western Europe the transition from revolutionary mentality to revolutionary activity is a very slow and tedious process. The anarchist tendencies, and the contradictions that arise within these very tendencies must be left to develop themselves. But there should be limits to this tolerance.

In Germany we have tolerated the semi-anarchist elements for a very long time. The Third Congress of the Comintern at last has given them a time-limit. If they exclude themselves from the C.I., so much the better. We must let them die a natural death. The infantile malady of radicalism will pass, and as the Communist movement grows so will it totally disappear.

The Case of Paul Levi

We all act inconsiderately in the polemics we wage against Paul Levi. Nothing suits him better than to continue the dispute with us. After the decisions of the C.I. we must forget him, and concentrate all our forces to a peaceable and objective activity without polemic, without dispute, and without a return to the past. I consider that Comrade Radek, by his article appearing in July in the *Rote Fahne*, Nos. 14 and 15, and entitled "The Third International Congress, the March Movement, and the Ulterior Tactics of the Party," has erred against the decisions adopted unanimously by the Congress. This article is specially directed not only against Paul Levi, but against Clara Zetkin. However, Clara Zetkin has herself, so as to seal the Party unity, concluded during the Third

Congress an agreement with the Central Committee of the V.K.P.D. which has been sanctioned by us all.

Radek has pushed things to inaccuracy when he infers that Clara Zetkin "wished to hold up all general action of the Party until the day the great masses would be with us." In writing such words he has rendered Paul Levi a signal service. For the latter has no other object than to see the Party more and more divided, and finally, to expel Clara Zetkin. Radek has given a striking example of how the Left can aid Levi.

I agree with a good number of Levi's criticisms on the March movement (of course, excluding from the very first the appellation of "putsch" given by him to this movement).

But Levi has given to his criticisms a noxious form. And he who preaches prudence and balance so much to others has acted like a schoolboy in throwing himself hastily and blindly into the fray, so that he lost when he could have gained.

By the series of stupid errors he has made, Levi has drawn away attention from the very thing that is of importance, that is, the use of the errors committed during the March movement, and their *mise en point*. These errors are very instructive.

To repair and correct these errors, which no one considered pearls of Marxism, it was necessary at the Congress of the C.I. to place oneself on the Right. Otherwise the line of the Congress would have been false. It was my duty to do this so long as I found myself in the presence of comrades who only enunciated words of reformism and centrism, and who did not wish to recognise the mistakes made in March. Such people transform revolutionary Marxism into a caricature; the fight with Centrism is a sport.

The German Communists could do no better than to put an end to internal discussions as soon as possible, and forget the case of Paul Levi on the one hand, and the K.A.P.D., on the other, and to set themselves resolutely to positive work.

The Role of the Third Congress

The Resolutions voted at the Third Congress represent an immense progress. It will be necessary to make every effort to put into practice what has been decided.

Communists should, to commence with, promulgate their principles in the face of the world. That is what the first Congress did. Further, the work of building up the organisation of the Communist International had to be done, the fixing of the conditions of admission, and the establishment of a clear line of demarcation between Communists and Centrists, that is to say, between Communists and all those direct or indirect agents of the bourgeoisie who still find themselves mixed up with the workers' movement.

That was also the work of the Second Congress. The Third Congress could at last commence definite work. We have throughout the whole world a Communist army, which, it is true, is still

badly educated and organised. We must work at perfecting it. It must be put to experience in the different operations of tactics, and the lessons one can gather therefrom must be examined with the greatest honesty.

The stumbling block in the International situation of the Communist movement, during the year 1921, is found precisely in the fact that certain of those who belong to the élite of the Communist International have not quite understood the task that confronts them, that they have somewhat exaggerated the fight with Centrism, and that they have rather overstepped the line of demarcation that separates fighting from sport, and they have reached a point where there is a risk of compromising revolutionary Marxism.

They have not broken bounds to a very great extent, but the dangers of their exaggeration is immense.

If this exaggeration had not been fought, the Communist International without doubt would have perished. No one in the world is in a position to prevent the victory of the Communist International over the Second International and the "Two-and-a-Half" International, so long as the Communists themselves do not hinder victory. To exaggerate the fight with the Centrists means to save Centrism, strengthen its position, and increase its influence on the proletariat.

The Fight Against Centrism

In the period that has elapsed between the Second and Third Congresses, we have learnt to wage a war with Centrism crowned with success in relation to the International Movement. That has been proved by facts. This fight—the exclusion of Levi and of Serrati's Party—we shall pursue until the end. But what we have not learnt, is to fight against misplaced exaggeration in the battle against Centrism. However, we have recognised this default, and precisely because we have recognised it will we be able to free ourselves from it. Then we will be invincible, for without the support of the proletariat itself (by the intermediary of the capitalist agents operating in the Second and Two-and-a-Half Internationals) the bourgeoisie of Europe and of America will not be able to maintain power any longer.

Let Us Go to the Masses!

The essential task is the conquest of the masses of the proletariat. It is true we do not conceive the conquest of the majority in the same manner as the champions of petit-bourgeois democracy united in the Two-and-a-Half International. If, in the month of July '21, at Rome, the whole proletariat—including the workers belonging to reformist unions and Serrati's Party—support the Communists in the fight against the Fascisti, this fact is equivalent to the conquest of the majority of the working class for our cause.

Such a fact, it is true, does not yet signify a decisive conquest. It was only a partial victory, but in point of fact it was a conquest of the majority. This conquest is going on throughout the whole world without anyone being able to stop it. We want to prepare the fight in this sense in a systematic and profound manner, giving to it all the necessary reflection. We let pass no serious occasion for using the revolutionary situation the bourgeoisie is creating at this moment. We must learn to estimate at their correct value the occasions which are offered to us for fighting in concert with the proletariat.

Thus will victory be assured us. Our tactics and strategy seen from the international point of view are far from being up to the level of those of the bourgeoisie, for which the experience undergone in Russia has been an advertisement. But we are incomparably richer in effectives. We will be able to acquire the art of strategy and tactics.

In ending, permit me to express the wish that the Jena Congress puts an end to the petty squabbles between the Left and the Right. A truce to the disputes that are rending the Party! Down with all those who in one way or another are prolonging this fight. Let us consecrate all our energies to perfecting the Party organisation and gaining a more and more intimate contact with the masses. Let us work for the perfection of working class strategy.

LENIN.

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Send for a Card To-day

The Problem of Communist Organisation

By GEORG LUKACS*

In Lukács' article the March rising in Germany and the expulsion of Paul Levi are made the texts for a discussion of the psychological problems involved in Communist Party organisation.

FROM the time of the conflict over the Serrati question down to the acute crisis in the Party over the Levi affair after the March rising, the United Communist Party of Germany has been passing through a crisis. This crisis was the logical outcome of the 21 points, of the conditions of admission to the Communist International adopted at the Second Congress. These conditions, if they were to be taken seriously, could not be fulfilled by the simple act of adoption, by the determination to realise them in matters of organisation. They could only serve to set in motion the process which must ultimately lead to the formation of genuine Communist parties. All the opportunists of the Third International from Serrati to Levi, had a sound instinct when they opposed the 21 points. This is why these opportunists were inclined to echo the howl of rage uttered by the Centre, although the echo came at first pianissimo. The demand of the Centrists and opportunists that adherence to the Third International should be determined by the political situation, implied that no steps were to be taken towards the formation of Communist parties. It implied that mass parties were to be formed out of pseudo-communists, that is to say, out of the general mass of the workers who have no definite communist principles, however revolutionary their sentiments may be, and who can be led by the nose by the opportunists. This false route was definitely closed by the resolutions of the Second Congress. But these resolutions could merely begin the process of directing the movement into the right road. The Party crises which have occurred everywhere during the interval between the two congresses show that the process of clarification, though well advanced, is still far from complete. The task of the Third Congress will be to make a comprehensive use of the experience gained in these crises, and to carry a stage further the development which has been thus happily begun.

Among these experiences, those of the March rising occupy an important place, mainly because, in Germany, party and revolution are in an advanced stage of development. It must be obvious, even to outsiders, that there was no effective centralisation of action; this revealed that the centralisation of the party existed only on paper. We have also seen that the rank and file of the party, with true revolutionary instinct, was quick to perceive this defect of organisation, round which the discussions of the March rising have centred. We are therefore justified in hoping that improvements will take place.

*Translated from *Die Internationale* June 15th, 1921, by EDEN and CEDAR PAUL.

The defects in organisation existed before March. Why was it that they did not become manifest until the March rising? In my opinion, the reason is that organisatory centralisation and the tactical initiative of the party are mutually determinative ideas. This reciprocal action is primarily technical. On the one hand, every attempt at initiative made by the party must remain a paper proposal, must remain mere phrase-making, unless there exist so perfectly centralised an organisation that all segments of the party, persons and institutions alike, are as ready for co-ordinated action as the limbs of a healthy individual. On other hand, a well-established system of centralisation cannot fail, in virtue of its own internal energy, to impel the party towards activity and initiative. In the Kapp affair the feeling and the knowledge of weakness in matters of organisation paralysed the activities of the Spartacus League and were mainly responsible for the irresolution of its tactics. But a type of organisation that has been thoroughly systematised in the revolutionary sense will serve of itself to activate the tactics of the party.

This leads us to consider the psychological ties between tactics and organisation, between initiative and centralisation. A high level of class consciousness is an essential pre-requisite to capacity for revolutionary organisation, to an adequate understanding of its importance. An emotional, an instinctive readiness for revolutionary activity does not suffice. It is not even enough if we clearly recognise that the final crisis of capitalism has now begun. In addition, we must be absolutely convinced that the moment for action has arrived; that we are at the decisive hour when the devotion, the self-sacrifice, the complete voluntary subordination of every revolutionist, has become a matter upon which the fate of the revolution turns. Revolutionary organisation is no merely mechanical affair. In the absence of the requisite psychological conditions, the most splendid resolutions (like the acceptance of the 21 points) remain no more than resolutions. In such circumstances, with the best will in the world, those who vote the resolution will lack a real understanding of its significance and of its consequences. Almost everywhere, this has been characteristic of the adoption of the 21 points. Doubtless we should welcome the decision of the U.C.P. of Germany to take the offensive. Unquestionably those who initiated this decision are right in believing that in no other way can the vanguard of the workers exercise a decisive influence upon the whole proletarian class. But we have reluctantly to admit that the vanguard itself is inadequately organised for the fulfilment of the desired rôle. Its inadequacy in this respect simultaneously serves to show that in the psychological field it is not yet competent for its tasks.

The foregoing criticism must not be interpreted as implying disapproval of the offensive. In an earlier article I gave theoretical grounds for my unqualified acceptance of this tactic. When, however, we are concerned with the practical details of action, we must not blink matters. Not only must we be careful that no individual defects are glossed over. In addition, it is essential to discuss the general significance of every defect. I cannot here go into details, but I may point out that both groups of those who have criticised

the March rising, leaving Paul Levi out of account, have been guided by a sound instinct. The Executive is right in pointing to a lack of discipline in action as the main cause of failure, and is right in its desire to take stern measures against such indiscipline in the future. But the adverse critics are equally right when they say that, alike in the preparations for the rising and during the rising, the central organs of the party were at a loss. Both criticisms amount to the same thing. It is right to insist upon discipline; but discipline can only be effective if the central authority which demands discipline is unified in spirit, if it is animated by a definite aim, and if the conditions exist through which its definiteness of aim can secure expression. No attempt should be made to conceal the deficiencies that were disclosed in these matters. Beyond question, in the March rising, definite aims must have been present at times in the minds of those who were directing the movement. To maintain the contrary is to distort facts maliciously; it diverts attention from the problems of organisation concerning which we have still much to learn; and it leads to futile controversy as to the personal merits of this individual or that. But we are certainly entitled to doubt whether the central Executive could command the organisatory means by which it might have been empowered to give unambiguous expression to its aims, by which it might have been able to diffuse throughout the party a definite understanding of these aims. Now the existence of such organisatory means is an essential pre-requisite of party discipline.

It is often contended that the U.C.P. of Germany has passed from the propagandist phase to the phase of action. If this is not to be an empty phrase; we must interpret it in the sense of giving increased importance to propaganda, of undertaking its effective organisation. As long as the party remains on the defensive, circumstances will see to it that the defects in the organisation of propaganda shall remain hidden. What a defensive attitude really means is that, however powerful the revolutionary sentiments and consciousness of the party, the active manifestations of party life do not originate in the party itself, but are determined by the behaviour of the counter-revolutionaries (social democratic or bourgeois). We may admit that the boundary line between initiative and enforced reaction is indefinite. The most powerful of mass parties, animated by a determination to take the offensive, has its actions and decisions partly determined by the behaviour of hostile groups. Conversely, however weak a group in point of numbers, the extent to which its actions are forced upon it by circumstances will largely depend upon its will and resoluteness. But though the boundary is thus indefinite, the difference cannot fail to be reflected in matters of organisation. As long as the behaviour of the party has a defensive character, imposed by circumstances, the aim of propaganda must be to draw attention to the doings and omissions of the counter-revolutionary powers (open or concealed). The aim of such propaganda is to hasten the development of revolutionary class consciousness, and thus to contribute to the utilisation of the political and economic situation for the release of spontaneous mass activities. Now, however necessary a psychological and tactical uniformity in the doings of the Communist Party may be for this

kind of propaganda, it is not here that its complete lack of organisation will be disclosed. Since the defensive tactic is imposed on the party from without, the propaganda and the activities of the Communist Party are diffused and lack concentration (and would exhibit these characteristics in such circumstances even if its organisation were a great deal better). There is little hope of overcoming this lack of concentration as long as the party is still in the phase when increase in membership is the chief aim. It is compelled to turn in one direction after another, to attract simultaneously energies of the most varying degrees of intensity and ripeness, to seize every opportunity for appearing in the limelight. The party is forced to welcome spontaneously originating movements, so that in this phase there is little chance of realising what proportion of such diffuse activities is the outcome of tactical purpose, and what proportion is the outcome of defective organisation. Above all, as regards propaganda, it is possible that the party organs, working quite "independently," may achieve wonders. If they merely follow the tactical line of unmasking the counter-revolution and that of favouring spontaneous outbursts, they can do much—within certain limits—to further the movement.

Organisation of such a character, typical of almost every Communist Party (outside of Russia) in the early stages of its existence, is far from being all that might be desired. But it involves dangers that are positively catastrophic at a time when the movement and the party have grown so strong that action has become possible, and is essential to the further progress of the revolution. It is true that propaganda has still to be directed towards the same ends as before; but its function has been transformed, and it must be guided by an inner purposiveness. I do not wish to imply that henceforward the Communist Party will be in a position to set the pace for the revolution. It must, however, create by its propaganda, the psychological conditions requisite for unified, resolute and continuous action on the part of the Communist Party, the workers' vanguard. It must do this, not only by reacting in a revolutionary way to all the doings of the counter-revolution, but also by seizing every opportunity which seems appropriate to the party for resolute intervention in matters of tactics and organisation. In this connection, one of the first tasks of organisation is to prepare and intensify propaganda. The apparatus must be so well in hand that the whole propaganda shall work like a unified instrument. This is where, in my opinion, many of the critics of the March rising go astray. It is an error to say that the action of the U.C.P. of Germany was misdirected, since it was not supported by the masses of the proletariat, and because the party has for this reason been isolated of late. For, first of all, the statement does not apply to all parts of Germany; and, secondly, if this were so, it would not be a decisive objection. The possibility must be foreseen that when the moment for advance comes, the action of the party may remain misunderstood, and that defeat will therefore be inevitable. But such a defeat may subsequently lead to a strengthening of the party, should there ensue upon defeat those economic consequences (reductions in wages and increase in the hours of labour in Central Germany) which the party had endeavoured to avert by its offensive.

To conceive that as a preliminary to action the entire proletariat must be prepared by propaganda, is opportunist utopism. Only by the lessons of repeated offensives (some of which will fail) can the workers as a whole be brought to understand their situation and to adopt the methods which their situation demands.

The main weakness in the March rising (I am talking not of "ideas" but of actions) lay in the failure of the revolutionary vanguard to act rapidly and vigorously enough. For the most part, the call to arms came "unexpectedly." I do not mean that it was not the logical outcome of the situation. But the propaganda apparatus was not properly designed and trained for the transmission of such orders. The watchwords of the Executive seemed to be foreign bodies in the party press. In their leading articles, their commentaries upon daily events, etc., the party papers continued to sound the old note. Doubtless there was a great deal of sabotage on the part of the editors. But there can be no question that it would be wrong to refer all the local failures to such sabotage. On the other hand, in so far as any widespread sabotage of the Executive's orders was possible, we must infer that the propaganda apparatus of the party worked automatically, that in matters of organisation it was not controlled by the Executive. The central organ of the party was hardly less backward than the provincial organs, and this shows that there must have been a radical defect in the psychological principle of organisation.

The essential thing, therefore, is, not merely to create an iron revolutionary discipline, but at the same time to produce in the general structure of the Party the psychological and organisatory pre-requisites for such discipline. Upon the degree to which this can be achieved will depend whether the U.C.P. of Germany will prove to have been strengthened or weakened by the March rising. If the party is able to grasp the idea of revolutionary organisation in all its bearings, and to deduce all its consequences, a victorious issue from the crisis will have been achieved. Otherwise, "the idea of the offensive" will remain a mere proposal, and a renewed attempt at realisation will only involve more aggravated crises.

Every Communist Party possesses, from its very nature, a higher form of organisation than any opportunist or centrist party. Since, however, this new type of organisation cannot be brought into existence merely by taking over the old apparatus and transforming it in conformity with the new aims, since the old organisation must be to a great extent destroyed and since the rank and file must be incited to revolt against the old party discipline, it inevitably follows that every Communist Party must pass through grave crises in the struggle for a new and higher type of organisation. The 21 points of the Second Congress have caused a number of such crises. *A genuine renewal of health in the party can only result if the conditions of adhesion are not merely accepted, but are put into effective operation. It is equally important that the 21 points should not only be recognised as demands of the International and "conscientiously" carried out, but that the whole psychological bearing of the points should be grasped—at least by the revolutionary vanguard.* In the U.C.P. of Germany, the process has begun. The

one thing now needful is that there should be no stagnation, that the process should be carried through to an end.

The fundamental distinction between the Menshevik and the Bolshevik forms of organisation was already manifest at the time of the original schism in the Russian Party. It is to be found in the claims that can be made upon the members of a Bolshevik party. At that early date, Lenin coined the notion of the "professional revolutionist," and his ideas were completely misunderstood by the non-Russian public. Without any want of respect for Rosa Luxemburg's memory, we are entitled to maintain that her opposition to Lenin in the year 1904 arose from a misunderstanding of his proposals. Even she, at that time, was thinking only of the old party structure. She regarded that structure (correctly, so far as Central and Western Europe were concerned) as tending to counteract revolution; and she appealed to the spontaneity of the masses as the motive force of the revolution. From this standpoint, she opposed Lenin's demand for centralisation; but she overlooked the cardinal point of the new type of organisation—the enlarged demands made upon the individual party member.

It is no chance matter that the opportunists, including of late Paul Levi, have continually appealed to the lowest instincts and the greatest weaknesses of proletarians. Since every tie to earth still has much power over the workers' minds, this, contend the opportunists, is a reason for passivity, for the condemnation of revolutionary activity. True, as Lenin phrases it, we have to make the revolution with the human material at our disposal. But the vital problem here is, what persons are admitted to the revolutionary vanguard; and above all, what work and what sacrifices are demanded from the comrades entitled to regard themselves as the vanguard? Gorter and those of his way of thinking are right in this matter, in the view they take of the ethical demands implicit in the Bolshevik conception of organisation. But they have hastened to corrupt their sound insight by an unduly mechanical logical consistency, and by a still more mechanical application of their ideas. To expect that such a nucleus of stalwarts shall come into existence, shall gradually extend its ranks by the force of example, and shall thus (as Gorter assures us) educate to revolution the proletariat which is not revolutionary to-day—is quite as utopist as the opportunist belief in the "mass parties" which in like manner are by degrees to extend until they comprise the whole proletariat or at least organise the majority of the workers, and thus bring about the revolution. For though the development of the Communist Party and that of the proletarian revolution determine one another mutually, nevertheless their growth is not a unified process and does not even display complete parallelism.

The separation of these two lines of development is of immense practical importance because opportunism, which, in any given set of circumstances is always able to rationalise itself by thinking out an appropriate "theory of evolution," constructs for itself here an organisatory line of defence. Taking its tactical start upon the ground that the intensifying economic crisis will "naturally and inevitably" revolutionise the whole of the proletariat (a theory

which the Communist Parties require to use for propagandist purposes merely, until the time comes for them to take charge of the spontaneous revolutionary movement), opportunism takes its organisatory start upon the ground that the origin and growth of the Communist Party is merely a sanction of the revolutionary situation of the respective countries. This organisatory opportunism is far more dangerous than tactical theoretical discussion of the relationships between organisation and revolutionary activity. Inasmuch as the importance of this relationship has not as yet penetrated the minds of the masses, opportunism in point of organisation is rarely recognised, and still more rarely exposed.

Opportunist concealment of the matter at issue, which operates tactically with the problem of the Putsch [ineffective rising], brings to the front in point of organisation a false dilemma of mass party versus sect. Organisatory opportunism makes, in this connection, a very adroit use of the ideas of Gorter and his adherents—ideas that are one-sided, anti-realist, and unhistorical. The problem is distorted in such a way as to give the impression that the only choice open is between an organisation of the Communist Labour Party type and an organisation of the party of Socialist Intellectuals type. No doubt such an antithesis would be sound if in actual fact there must either be an organisation of intellectually convinced and resolute Communists completely detached from the unthinking masses, or else a "revolutionary evolution" of the masses towards Communism. It is, however, obvious that neither historical reality nor the dialectical method knows anything of such an alternative. The realisation of the "realm of freedom," the historically decisive influence of the resolute vanguard, consisting of those who clearly understand the historic process and are ready to participate in it, takes place within historical reality in continuous dialectical interaction with the objective economic crisis and with the masses that are revolutionised by that crisis. In my previous article I discussed the tactical significance of these considerations. As far as organisation is concerned, it follows that the elaboration of the conscious revolutionary nucleus—of the genuine band of leaders—out of the mass of the proletariat is a process which (while, indeed, it takes place in continuous interaction with the subjective and objective revolutionary element of the working class) is, in its essential nature, the deliberate and free act of the vanguard itself.

The organisatory principle of those parties which have come to understand their aims with continually increasing clearness since the foundation of the Russian Bolshevik Party must, therefore, be directed towards the psychological and organisatory consolidation of this conscious nucleus. In Russia, the vanguard was able to work its way to complete clarity and consciousness during the interval between the two revolutions. In Hungary, only the collapse of the Soviet Dictatorship created the psychological and organisatory conditions essential to such a party. As far as Germany is concerned (and presumably like conditions obtain in most countries of Western Europe), the problem is that large masses of the workers are already so strongly permeated with the spirit of the revolution that, as a point of organisation, they adhere to the Communist

International even before the vanguard itself has acquired sufficient clarity as to these essential pre-requisites. The problem, therefore, is not the static, unhistoric and undialectical problem—mass party versus sect. It is the dynamic problem, arising out of the revolutionary process and leading back to that process again—how is the revolutionary mass party to be transformed into a genuinely Communist Party?

Once more, it would be opportunism to separate this organisatory problem from the tactical problem, and to postpone a policy of action until the completion of the work of organisation. On the other hand, to construct the organisation solely with an eye to the revolutionary offensive, would be no more than a new form of Putschism; it would be a false separation of tactics and organisation. In this matter, likewise, tactics and organisation are inseparable. It is essential that every member of the U.C.P. of Germany should acquire an intimate realisation of the momentous importance of revolutionary centralisation; that each individual comrade, being resolutely prepared for the decisive struggle and willing to stake his life upon it, should clearly understand how much depends upon the solution of this problem; that *organisation must no longer be treated as a technical question* (this was the attitude towards organisation in the old party), *but as the supreme psychological problem of the revolution*. The debates ensuing upon the March rising show that the process has already begun. The way in which individual districts have treated every breach of discipline, the way in which, with true instinct, they have punished such breaches of discipline more severely in party officials and in comrades in a position of trust, than in simple party members, etc., are indications of a growing insight in this direction. But the matter of chief importance is, that the matter should not remain at the stage of "resolutions," but that there should be henceforward a progressive development of revolutionary discipline.

Above all, the Executive must act with deliberate initiative. It must create the apparatus which shall render revolutionary discipline possible; and must ensure that the theoretical consideration of the problem shall receive unceasing attention, and that the masses shall become aware of its enormous significance. *However important the initiative rôle of the Executive, it is impossible that the centralisation of a revolutionary party should be effected by bureaucratic methods*. Doubtless the centralised organisation of a party is an indispensable pre-condition to the revolutionary discipline of its members. But conversely, *a clear understanding of the issues on the part of all the members is indispensable before any such centralisation can be carried out*. Thus the problem of organisation proves to be a psychological problem. The hindrances to be overcome are *psychological* in character. They consist of vestiges of capitalist ideology in the Communist's own thoughts and feelings; of bureaucratic routinism; and of individualism, with its claims to "liberty," and its contempt for detail work. Throughout the party there now prevails a general understanding of the great dangers attaching to the libertairian ideology of individualism. Many still fail to recognise that a tendency to shirk the detail work of organisation is the expression of a still more dangerous individualism, of an

individualism which is even harder to eradicate. In this respect, above all, it is urgently necessary that we should undertake a psychological and practical examination of the problem of organisation.

Not until the question is thus stated can we realise that the same psychological problem underlies revolutionary leadership and the centralisation of organisation. The problem is, how we are consciously to intervene in the world crisis, to intervene in historical evolution, so as to favour the inauguration of the "realm of freedom," to favour the process of historic determinism. Objectively regarded, the situation is ripe for revolution. The decisive obstacles to the victory of the revolution are ideological in character. The vanguard, by its revolutionary initiative, must eradicate Menshevism, the petty-bourgeois spirit, from the minds of the workers. Not merely does it behove the Communist Party organisation, centralised for revolutionary ends, to facilitate this offensive. In addition, the vanguard, the shock troop, must purge itself of the lees of capitalist ideology, thereby fitting itself for its historic mission.

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BEGIN ON THIS JOB TO-DAY

Earth Bound

By LYDIA SHIEL

WITHIN my hand lies a pinch of brown dust a breath could scatter, which, given the rightful conditions of soil and space in my garden, will in due time rise as flowers that flaunt their coloured beauty in the summer sun. A germ of Life is in every seed, every seed is an object of wonder for it is the treasury, the store of Life, which every coming spring will spread before us like a glorious and holy carpet.

As men personify their machines, instruments, ships, engines, etc., so they personify God and powers, it belittles and brings them nearer to ourselves and understanding, thus Nature and Mother-earth become humanised and dearer to our hearts.

The phrase Mother-earth catches the fancy and the imperial passage of her seasonal pageant charms the eye. Deep down in the damp darkness design and beauty, colour and perfume lie in her fecund womb, till in the fulness of time comes the quickening and bringing forth to the light of day. From the first murmuring stir of spring, through the full-throated shout of summer, to the harmony of autumn and the silence of winter is heard the Song of Life. Mother of all, none born of her can live without her, she produces all and sustains all, her reproductive powers are the source of all wealth.

When at birth the gift of life is placed in our hands, the power to labour and sustain it is ours also; but the means are withheld from us by those who own the land, and now, the greater part of humanity have lost their birthright—the right to live by access to the land, because no man can find raw material, either stick or stone that is not claimed, nor the wherewithal to cover his body, nor food to sustain life. He can raise no shelter, raise no food for himself by the works of his hands, he has no material upon which to apply his labour power; therefore he must sell the one thing he has—his power to work—and must accept the terms offered or cease to live, because they, the land and property owners, have the power to make the terms upon which he must consent to work—or die

The earth—that which *all* must use to live, a *few* now own, and to own land is not only to own the means of life, but to lay claim to the living creatures in brake and covert, the fish in the rivers, the substances and natural supplies beneath the surface and all the gathered labour of the generations of men who, through long ages evolved the city from the cave.

In days long past our forefathers toiled with rude implements and little skill. To preserve life they killed wild beasts; their work cleared forests, drained marshes, and made roads. They lived their day and passed, but the results of their labour became the inheritance of following generations, who, in turn, did their part adding their share to the treasury of toil.

These passing generations supplied all the needs of their time and the surplus of their labours made great accumulations of wealth possible, which were claimed and held by those who owned the land. By the power this wealth made possible, they became owners of more than land. When in much later times the discovery of coal, and the invention of steam-engines brought machinery to the aid of labour, these became the property of the owners of land and wealth, and the individual workers and craftsmen were displaced and swept into the factories built by the machine owners, where they could still labour, receiving as their share from what they produced, the lowest amount upon which they would consent to work and live.

The discovery of coal—locked up in the land—liberated by labour, nature's gift for the good of all, forged the strong fetters which the workers wear to-day, where landless, coal-less, and workless, they wait the will of their masters—the owners of land and capital—the accumulated results of labour.

Slowly this cruel capitalism has crept on and overtaken us; all unseen it has sapped the dignity of labour, lowered the uprightness of man, gathering strength from the very labour it feeds on, and growing with the increase of numbers. It is the cause of the deep disease which marks the rich and strikes down the poor, fermenting the inevitable labour problems and class struggle of this our present day. The dominant note in the discord is capital. The division of classes is based upon the amount of money earned, social distinctions are mainly gradations of spending power, and to make money or increase capital is the madness that goads on the entire capitalistic system of society.

Social systems—the particular form of any particular state or system of Society follows from its particular form of property holding, and economic conditions arise from the terms on which labour is applied and hired, together with the consequent division of the wealth labour produces. These social and economic *conditions* are not "laws" based upon "divine decree," but are changeable and the direct outcome of human arrangement. Herein lies the hope, as men have made them, men can remake them. We cannot change the past, but our direction of the present having added experience and knowledge *can* cause desirable changes in the future readjustments: and there is here a clear call to all who labour in the various fields of public helpfulness. Let all such withhold their energy in striving for mere reforms, and work to remove the need for such reforms. The task is tremendous, but it is within our power, and if all the well-meant scattered efforts now being poured out in the pitiful patching up were drawn together and directed in a united effort at securing the source of wealth for the good of all; a grand sweeping outline would be drawn of a new order of society into which all human effort could be fitted in truer relationship and proportion. A re-adjustment of the social system directed by a unifying idea, would be a society adjusted to the essential and inseparable relations of life and land, and machinery, restoring the unrestricted use of land to labour, and the unfettered control of tools, a society freed of

dividing lines by recognition of the rightful use of Labour as the real social measure and as the only test of citizenship, a society adapted to growing needs, by the understanding of the invariableness of the law of cause and effect, and a utilisation of its working from within—outwards, a society dethroning the old Gods of appeal, bowing to the Necessity that encompasses all.

Society as the third combination of the cell into organs, organisms, organisations—is an organisation which, harbouring corruption, as history proves must cleanse itself or decay. Capitalism is corrupt, because it depraves one part of society and deprives the remainder. The mass of mankind is caught in its chains and live and die in the fight to earn a livelihood under the unequal conditions capitalism imposes. As the cause of the strain within our present-day society, it is not obscure, and when not clearly seen it is keenly felt in the struggle to live, and a smouldering discontent or a burning resentment marks those on whom it presses most. To allow the cause to continue, is to allow the effects to accumulate with the progress of time. To restore the freedom of the land to the peasant, to restore the great machines to the proletariat, is to restore freedom to live, to release one is to unchain the other—for land and tools and life are inseparable.

BACK NUMBERS OF THE “Communist Review”

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

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

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

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

“Communist Review”

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

Vicious Pacifism

WHEN PHILIP SNOWDEN DEFENDED THE
SHOOTING OF STRIKERS.

[We notice, according to a large advertisement in the "Labour Leader," that a pamphlet written by Mr. Philip Snowden over fourteen years ago is being reprinted. Mr. Snowden wrote many things fourteen years ago and as we desire to emulate the spirit of the advertisement published in the "Labour Leader," we, too, reprint one of his most interesting contributions to a problem which interested the Labour movement in 1907—exactly fourteen years ago. We refer, of course, to the shooting of strikers during the famous Belfast strike. Mr. Snowden used his pen on that occasion to defend the Liberal government and its murderous policy. Despite the fact that he blames the "riot" upon the calling up of the military, he, nevertheless, upholds the murder of the strikers.

We publish the article, word for word, together with the comments of the disgusted editor of the "Sheffield Guardian." We have italicised several passages in order to draw the reader's attention to the peculiar reasoning of Mr. Snowden. We suggest that the "Sheffield Guardian" murder article would make a valuable appendix to Mr. Snowden's other remarkable literary performance—"The Christ that Is To Be."

In fairness to Mr. Snowden we must admit that while he defended Capitalism when it used force to smash the workers, that he repudiates the use of force by the workers to smash Capitalism.—Editor.]

From Labour's Standpoint

By PHILIP SNOWDEN, M.P.

THE BELFAST AFFAIR.

THE recent tragic incidents in connection with the dispute at Belfast have been the cause of some unreasonable talk in certain quarters. I think nobody would charge me with a bias in favour of the capitalists, nor with a strong desire to come to the support of a Liberal Government in a difficulty of its own creation. But there are times when the interests of truth and fair play demand that one should have the courage to dissociate one's self from the sayings or actions of certain members of one's own party.

I am glad to know that it is generally admitted that in the Belfast dispute the leaders of trade unionism have shown a sense of responsibility and a desire to conduct the strike without violence which have been in every way admirable. The suffering attending a labour war is, under any circumstances considerable, and it is the bounden duty of all who have influence to exert it in the direction of discountenancing excess of violence in action or in speech.

INDEFENSIBLE CONDUCT.

A strike is war; and war arouses the worst passions in man. It may be that the strikers had some excuse for the illegal practices in which some of them indulged. I believe it is true that the police acted with quite unjustifiable violence in preventing the pickets from getting near the men at work. All my sympathies were with the men on strike; but I cannot admit that I am called upon to

defend everything that the men did. Nobody can defend the beating of the men at work, nor the wanton destruction of property. Such actions naturally encourage retaliation. Excess on either side must result in excess upon the other.

THE DUTY OF THE CIVIL POWER.

It must be admitted, too, that it is the duty of the civil authorities to protect the lives and property of the non-combatants, and to give protection to both the parties to the dispute so long as they are acting within the law. It is just as much the duty of the police to protect the strikers in picketing as it is to protect the men at work from violence. Admitting that, it follows that the civil authorities must take all the steps which they consider necessary to ensure the public peace.

But it is equally an obligation upon the civil authorities to do nothing which may be an encouragement to violence. The civil authorities at such times have great powers, but their responsibility is equally great. If they abuse their powers they are responsible to the law for the consequences of their actions. *There are certain circumstances in which every sensible person would agree that the employment of the military to quell disorder was not only defensible but necessary.* An infuriated mob engaged in the indiscriminate destruction of life and property ought to be opposed by a force strong enough to overthrow it. This, I think, everybody would admit. Therefore, in any case, in the Belfast case, for instance, the employment of the military must be justified on the circumstances of the case. A body of armed troops can do terribly destructive work. But so can a mob of thirty thousand maddened men armed with paving stones and broken bottles. And just as the firing of the troops may kill the innocent, so the innocent are at the mercy of the unreasoning mob.

THE DIFFICULTY OF THE OUTSIDER.

Those who were not on the spot cannot express any opinion worth giving as to whether the state of affairs justified the Lord Mayor in calling out the military. But it does seem to be the opinion of unprejudiced men on the spot that *the military were called out by the Lord Mayor in obedience to the requests of the terror-stricken shipowners and traders* who anticipated riots, and not because the state of things at the time was so serious as to require the military. The inevitable effect of calling out the military was to precipitate the need for their services. Their presence in the streets incited the passions of that portion of the Belfast population which is almost as much accustomed to rioting as a savage tribe is to constant warfare.

‘How oft the sight of means to do ill deeds
Makes ill deeds done.’

So it was in this case. One cannot state with certainty, of course, but *it does seem from all the evidence one can get that it was the calling out of the military which incited the mob*, rather than in the first instance their services being necessary to disperse a mob.

A LESSON TO LEARN.

There is one lesson of this tragic affair which the workers should learn. We are hearing from some quarters the usual violent denunciation of the Government and the capitalists as murderers. *Mr. Birrell is being put into the same chamber of horrors as Mr. Asquith, who happened to be Home Secretary at the time of the Featherstone riots. The Labour and Socialist movement has got beyond such wild, irresponsible, and unfounded talk as this. It might have been well to indulge in such extravagances when the movement had to fight to command a public hearing. But now the party is becoming recognised as worthy to be entrusted with the responsibility of administration, and it must show some sense of the fitness of things and some regard to fact and truth.*

WHO IS RESPONSIBLE?

Neither Mr. Birrell nor the Government is responsible for what has happened in Belfast. I totally disagree with Mr. Birrell's political ideas, but any man who charges Mr. Birrell with deliberately permitting the military to be called out to shoot down the workers in the interests of capitalism stamps himself a fool of the most colossal dimensions. There is not a political opponent of Mr. Birrell's who knows him but will say, that he believes Mr. Birrell has worked day and night during this trouble to bring it to a peaceful settlement. This much I will say in justice to Mr. Birrell, even if saying it does involve the loss of material for attacking the Government.

It is as well that the truth should be known. The responsibility for calling out the military rests with the local civil authorities, and with them alone. The War Office cannot refuse the demand from the magistrates for the assistance of the military. A little thought upon this point will show the reasonableness of this uncontrolled power being given to the locality. How can the War Office in London know whether the state of affairs in Belfast was such as to require the military? Nobody but the people on the spot could decide that, and to them by law the power has been given and also the terrible responsibility of taking the consequences if they do not use the power with discretion.

THE CLASS SENTIMENT.

The Lord Mayor and the Magistrates of Belfast alone are responsible for the calling out of the military. These men derive their power from the people, if they are not in sympathy with the people, the people themselves are to blame. The class of men who constitute the local civil authorities are in every district to-day, men who, from their social position and their material interests, are in sympathy with capitalism. The whole atmosphere of national and local authority is anti-working class. This prevailing sentiment affects every official connected with the administration of civil authority down to the police and the jailer. The only way to put an end to the use of the civil authority in the interests of capitalism is for the workers to capture

and control the civil authority. They have the power to do this. If they will not use their power, if they prefer to hand it over to the propertied class, then they have no business to complain if that power be turned against them.

There are other lessons which one might draw from the Belfast strike. The waste and uselessness of the strike as a means of gaining concessions from capitalism is one such lesson. If such huge monopolies as the railway and the shipping companies, which derive their power from concession granted by Parliament, will not give fair conditions of employment, then Parliament should insist upon fair conditions in return for the privileges granted.

One other lesson is this. Under no circumstances should the military be armed with modern rifles and ball cartridge when quelling a mob riot. *Such is not necessary to achieve the desired result.* Disciplined troops ought to be able to disperse a crowd without killing.

I have already acknowledged the ability and reason with which the Trade Union leaders have dealt with this deplorable dispute. *The Labour Party in Parliament are equally deserving of praise. They have not, as some of their wild supporters in the country urged them to do, indulged in heroics and denunciations in the House of Commons,* but for the last few weeks they have been unceasingly active in the more effective way of trying to bring the dispute to an end by conferences with ministers and others of influence. The fact that within three days after the riot the dispute was settled is in no small measure due to their efforts and to the cordial assistance they received from the Chief Secretary.

[We are rather surprised that Mr. Snowden does not appear to be aware that the Military were used to protect the docks at the very beginning of the strike, so *that peaceful picketing was rendered impossible* so far as the dockers were concerned. The carters came out in sympathy, and it is no wonder that public feeling was aroused when organised Capital took such a high hand with a crowd of under-paid and badly treated workers.—EDITOR.]

Small Shot

(Editor's further note on article).

“Dog should not bite dog,” says an old proverb. Mr. Snowden has a right to his own opinion about the Belfast bloodshed, but he should not forget that he is sent to Parliament as a spokesman, not of nice ladies and gentlemen who observe all the amenities of a high civilisation, but of the grimy mob who form the foundation of society, and whose emancipation from poverty and enslavement is the driving force of the Socialist movement.

Clare Sheridan on Russia

[We reprint the following article, from the American "Freeman," written by Mrs. Clare Sheridan on Arthur Ransome's book: "The Russian Crisis."

Mrs. Sheridan, who is a celebrated sculptor, spent many months in Russia last year. She came in contact with all the leaders of the Communist Party. The story of her impressions of the Soviet Government has been published in her "Russian Portraits."

We ask our readers to contrast the opinions of Russia held by Mrs. Sheridan and to contrast them with the libellous and reactionary rubbish written by Mrs. Philip Snowden, of the I.L.P. The penetration of the former saw a regular spring cleaning in progress, in which the dirt and debris of corners and cupboards had been cleared out and brought to the light. Mrs. Snowden saw the dirt, too, and without trying to comprehend what it meant, rushed home scandalised.]

MR. ARTHUR RANSOME'S new volume is a calm recital of conditions in present-day Russia which might very well have a steadying effect upon those who view the Soviet Government with mingled hatred and terror, if they would only read it—but, of course they won't. The crisis in Russia, as Mr. Ransome sees it, is identical with the crisis in Europe. The economic and industrial break down of the country is but the symptom of a wasting disease that has seized the whole continent. Mr. Ransome vividly describes the collapse in transportation which began before 1914; and by so doing he effectively answers the taunt of those who try to minimise the effect of the blockade when they say: "Russia exported grain to all the world, why not feed herself with it now?"

The main fact (says Mr. Ransome) in the present crisis is that Russia possesses one-fifth of the number of locomotives which in 1914 was just sufficient to maintain her railway system in a state of efficiency which to English observers at that time was a joke. For six years she has been unable to import the necessary machinery for making engines or repairing them. Further, oil and coal have been, until recently, cut off by the civil war. . . . By making it impossible to bring food, fuel and raw material to the factories, the wreck of transport makes it impossible for Russian industry to produce even that modicum which it contributed to the general supply of manufactured goods which the Russian peasant was accustomed to receive in exchange for his production of food. On the whole, the peasant himself eats rather more than he did before the war. But he has no matches, no salt, no clothes, no boots, no tools. . . . Clothes and such things as matches are, however, of less vital importance than tools, the lack of which is steadily reducing Russia's actual power of food-production. Before the war, Russia needed from abroad huge quantities of agricultural implements; not only machines, but simple things like axes, sickles, scythes. In 1915 her own production of these things had fallen to 15.1 per cent. of her already inadequate peace-time output. In 1917 it had fallen to 2.1 per cent. The Soviet Government is making efforts to raise it, and is planning new factories exclusively for the making of these things. . . . Meanwhile, all over

Russia, spades are worn out, men are ploughing with burnt staves instead of with ploughshares, scratching the surface of the ground; and instead of harrowing with a steel-spiked harrow of some weight, are brushing the ground with light constructions of wooden spikes bound together with wattles.

There are the simple facts. The mere record of the onset and progress of this creeping paralysis shows that the industrial breakdown of Russia is due neither to Communism nor to the Soviet Government. In the face of this steady ruin of a great nation, all that European and American civilisation could do was to add the torture of the blockade. Small wonder, then, that to Mr. Ransome (who, it may be noted, is not a Communist) the urgent, crucial necessity of the time is that the politicians and militarists who now rule in Europe shall take their hands off Russia and leave the cure of this terrible sickness to those who have the courage and energy to grapple with it. Russian *émigrés* in London, Paris and Washington can not help the Russian people. For good or ill the organisers of Russia are in the Kremlin to-day; if they are driven out, black chaos will enter in.

What the old world—strange, is it not, that this term has now come to include America?—finds most unforgivable in Communist Russia is its arrogance; the arrogance of youth. A few years ago Russia was “a giant with feet of clay,” “a bear that walked like a man,” “the gendarme of Europe,” “the steam-roller,” something huge, and ancient, and only remotely menacing. To-day Russia, youthful, rebellious, and headstrong, is regarded by the rest of the world with terror and dismay. This proud young experimentalist, smashing all conventions, wrecking all traditions, throwing out to the four winds of heaven the secret and hitherto sacred, archives of the diplomats—this untameable creature horrifies an old-fashioned world. So an old-fashioned world applies an old-fashioned, and always ineffective, remedy. The offender, says the old-fashioned world, must be punished. But Russia knows that she has to hold out but a little longer, for the old world is dying of decay, as all old things die. When one has been close to the revolution, as Mr. Ransome has, one knows that nothing so strong and so youthful as Russia is to-day can be destroyed by cabled lies from Helsingfors or by editorial ravings in London, Paris and New York. Just as in Ireland they can kill the Sinn Feiner, but not Sinn Fein; so in Russia, blockade and intervention can kill the Bolshevik, but not his faith!

As an illustration of the tremendous hopes that nerve these people in their almost impossible task, Mr. Ransome records a conversation he had with Rykov, the President of the Supreme Council of Public Economy.

We may have to wait a long time (said Rykov) before the inevitable arrives and there is a Supreme Economic Council dealing with Europe as a single economic whole. . . . In so far as is possible, we shall have to make ourselves self-supporting, so as somehow or other to get along even if the blockade, formal or perhaps willy-nilly (imposed by the inability of the West to supply us), compels us to postpone co-operation with the rest of Europe. Every day of such postponement is one in which the resources of

Europe are not being used in the most efficient manner to supply the needs not only of our own country but of all Diamonds and gold, they can have as much as they want of such rubbish; . . . diamonds and gold ornaments, the jewellery of the Tsars, we are ready to give to any king in Europe who fancies them, if he can give us some less ornamental but more useful locomotives instead. . . . Platinum is different, and we are in no hurry to part with it. . . . In platinum we have a world-monopoly, and can consequently afford to wait.

One seems to hear in those last few words a hint for the blockaders. Some day, perhaps, they may find the tables turned, and Russia become the blockader, exacting privileges and concessions by virtue of its monopoly in this essential metal.

Mr. Ransome pleads for consideration of the ultimate consequences of the conflict. He warns us that if the struggle continues, if angry and ignorant men persist in seeking the overthrow of the Soviet Government, the complete collapse of European and American civilisation may result.

Collapse of the present Government (says Mr. Ransome) would mean at best a reproduction of the circumstances of 1917, with the difference that no intervention from without would be necessary to stimulate indiscriminate slaughter within. I say "at best," because I think it more likely that collapse would be followed by a period of actual chaos. Any Government that followed the Communists would be faced by the same economic problem, and would have to choose between imposing measures very like those of the Communists and allowing Russia to subside into a new area for colonisation. . . . Those who look with equanimity even on this prospect forget that the creation in Europe of a new area for colonisation, a knocking out of one of the sovereign nations, will create a vacuum, and that the effort to fill this vacuum will set at loggerheads nations at present friendly, and so produce a struggle which may well do for Western Europe what Western Europe will have done for Russia.

Those who profess concern and sympathy for the fate of the Russian people would do well to ponder the warning words set down by this proved and far-seeing observer in his latest interpretation of the Russian scene.

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

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

Women's Work in Germany

By BERTHA BRAUNTHAL

THE National Womens' Secretariat of the United Communist Party of Germany submitted a detailed report to the Second International Womens' Conference, held recently at Moscow, from which we are pleased to learn that the Communist Womens' movement in Germany has made tremendous strides since the Unity Congress of December, 1920. Between 10 per cent and 20 per cent i.e. about 50,000 members of the party, are women. They are not satisfied, as is the case in the Menshevik parties, to allow the feminine members to simply pay their dues and vote for the social-democrats at the elections. The Communist women, in joining the party, or in coming over from the Independent Party, have assumed the difficult task of assisting, as active fellow-combatants at the side of their male comrades, in accomplishing the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship.

To this end, an extensive educative and propaganda campaign was commenced by the National Womens' Secretariat. On the basis of the guiding principles formulated by the Communist International for work among the women, it was resolved to institute women's agitation committees in every district and locality and this resolution was carried out in important politically well organised districts, such as Berlin-Brandenburg, Middle Germany, Rhineland-Westphalia and Saxony. The women leaders of the district and local women's agitation Committees were represented with a seat and vote in district and local management councils. These women's agitation committees were supplied with abundant material for propaganda among the women, by the publication of a great number of elementary and instructive pamphlets. Clara Zetkin's two famous speeches, on the Womens' part in the class struggle, which were delivered at the Unity Congress, have been issued in pamphlet form. The following list of titles of small booklets which have been widely distributed are as follows: "What we have to say to the Women"; "The Women and the Communist Party"; "The Womens' Part in the Reconstruction and Defence of Soviet Russia"; "Mother and Child in Germany and Soviet Russia"; "The Woman Worker in Soviet Russia"; "The Women and the Election to the Prussian Landtag." Widespread distribution of leaflets has been supplemented by an even more widespread organisation of lectures about children's misery, the housing problem, and the International Womens' Day. The very diligent educative work thus carried on was supplemented by the organisation of special courses for women, and for the further theoretical education of women officials by the holding of regular conferences for them, as well as of district womens' conferences on organisation and political problems. The fortnightly periodical

The Woman Communist and the "Woman's Page" in the large provincial weeklies of the Party are doing excellent propaganda work for the attainment of the active co-operation of the proletarian women. It must be said to the honour of the German Party that it is following in the footsteps of the Russian Party in this respect. Not only does the Central Council of the Communist Party of Germany lend every assistance to the furtherance of the work among the women, but the advice and the aid of the National Women's Secretariat is being called in much more frequently than before, and the establishment of special district women's secretariats is being accomplished on every hand. So far, however, owing to the lack of diligent and capable women secretaries, it has been possible to establish only six such district women's secretariats in the most important industrial centres, which have become the spiritual and organisational centres of various political districts and have proved very valuable.

In conclusion we desire to mention the increasing interest of the German women Communists in international problems. On May 7th last, a Women's National Conference was held at Berlin, at which delegates from every part of the country appeared. The agenda of the International Women's Conference was discussed, and hearty sisterly greetings were sent to the Conference. The proposals of this National Women's Conference formed the subject of discussion at the Second International Women's Conference, and we trust that these will aid in the establishment of relations with the women Communists of all countries, and will give an impetus to the world revolution through the co-operation of the proletarian women of the world.

Are You a Member of an Economic Class?

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

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

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

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

France and Germany

The Need for Unity of Action

By PAUL FROLICH

THE problem of reparations is dominating European politics. Even though the capitalists of the Entente and Germany have now come to terms, it is none the less clear to every foresighted person, that there will be a big clash of opposing interests the moment this treaty is seriously put into operation—new sharp conflicts are bound to arise, firstly, because it is simply impossible to carry out the treaty, secondly, because any attempt to do so is bound to produce a violent class struggle in Germany.

This situation demands from the Communist International, and especially from both Communist Parties which are most immediately concerned—the French and the German—an identical Policy. It is fully in keeping with the general spirit of the Second International that the parties who form part of it may tear each other to pieces over this problem, for they are only destined to be pawns in the hands of their masters, the bourgeoisie. It is also natural for the supporters of the Second-and-a-Half International to seek a solution which, they hope, may bring about harmony between the bourgeoisie of the countries concerned, and between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. This corresponds to the fusion tactics which they honour with the name of the class struggle, and which can only lead to the victory of the bourgeoisie over the proletariat in all these countries. The Communist Parties have taken up the struggle against the restoration of the capitalist order by inaugurating a single harmonious policy guided only by the interests of the workers.

We are of the opinion that up to now it was impossible that there could be any question of any such single policy.

Tendencies were manifested in the German Party which were influenced by the pacifist ideas of the Independent Socialist Party, but they could not find expression outside the walls of the meeting room of the group in the Reichstag. On the other hand we witnessed prominent leaders of our French comrades expressing themselves in parliament on this question, in a spirit which was not Communist. We do not by any means ignore the position of the Communist Party in France. Public opinion, even in the labour masses, is against it. However, in our opinion, the only right policy of the Communists is to combat these prejudices among the workers, by means of a clear, definite attitude, and in this way to reveal the counter-revolutionary intentions of the bourgeoisie. Our view is that if the bourgeoisie attempts to restore the territories which were destroyed by the war, they can only do so at the expense of the proletariat. It is in the interests of the bourgeoisie to divide the proletariat by representing its own interests as those of the nation, and by hypocritically representing restoration as a moral problem of punishing the perpetrators of the war. We Communists must insist that the restoration of the disorganised economic conditions can only be achieved by the victorious proletariat—if we hold on to that faith a single policy will evolve of itself. The peculiar conditions in separate countries can then be taken into

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account when we frame our tactics without thereby destroying the unity of the policy.

However, the Party has other tasks to fulfil. It is quite natural that conflicts between the German and the French bourgeoisie appear at the present time far more dangerous to the German than to the French proletariat. This is due to the fact that the French proletariat can easily be swayed by the illusion that its bourgeoisie represents its interest, whereas it becomes more and more clear to the German proletariat that it will have to submit to the double yoke of home and foreign capitalists. It is for this reason, and also owing to the revolutionary development in Germany, and the greater weakness of the German Government, that the German working class reacts to the conflicts within the camp of the international bourgeoisie, much quicker and much more energetically than the French. The success of such struggles on the part of the German proletariat will naturally be more decisive and greater if the Communist Party of France lends its assistance to such struggles. Our French comrades will always have an opportunity of lending us this assistance if they make use of all the means that the conditions in their country permit them, against their own bourgeoisie and their own government. It is mainly in France and Germany that we must attempt to bring about a co-ordination of our plan-of campaign.

We must strive to bring about such co-ordination in our policies, also for the future when no immediate conflicts threaten.

We refer especially to the military occupation of German territory by Entente troops. It was proved very clearly during the March rising that the mailed fist which is menacing the German Government will strike down upon the German proletariat if it attempts to rebel against its own bourgeoisie. We have had personal experience with the regular troops that occupied Russian and Finnish territory during the war, which has convinced us that such troops, although for the greater part proletarians, can become quite efficient white guard storm troops, who would at a given moment be entirely prepared to play the part of the executioners of their own fellow proletarians in their own or any other country. In those days we could hardly be expected to make much headway against such developments, as the revolutionary party was then still very weak. It is in the future interest of the French proletariat, to exert every effort to prevent, while there is yet time, the organisation of a white praetorian guard on the Rhine. We therefore desire that our French comrades should carry on systematic propaganda among the soldiers of the armies of occupation, in co-operation with us. Only such co-operation between our parties can bear the desired fruit.

In conclusion, we consider it necessary for the proper co-ordination of practical revolutionary action to arrange an exchange of propagandists between both parties. This will assure a regular exchange of experiences, a clear insight into the conditions and revolutionary possibilities in both countries, and stimulate the progress of our mutual revolutionary labours. The German delegation will welcome a discussion of these questions, which will no doubt interest other parties as well, and the practical details of such co-operation would then follow as a matter of course.

Trade in Soviet Russia

The Reason Why the Tax in Kind was Introduced

By PROFESSOR E. VARGA

A FOREIGNER in Soviet Russia at present will no doubt remark at the lively trade being carried on in Moscow and other Russian cities. This appears to be in contradiction with the economic system of Communism. We must point out first of all, however, that the period of the dictatorship of the proletariat is not the era of Communism. In this period of transition, therefore, trade within certain limits is justifiable.

But it is a fact that a year ago, for example, trade activity in Russia was much slighter than it is to-day. This is a consequence of the change in the economic policy of Soviet Russia, which was initiated by the abolition of the government monopoly of all agricultural products and the levy of a tax in kind. The basic idea of the monopoly system was that the agricultural population was obliged to surrender to the State its entire surplus of foodstuffs, after deducting the portion required for the feeding of the members of the family, and for carrying on the establishment, in return for which the proletarian State was to place at the disposal of the peasants all the products of industry they required. Under that system there could be no legal trade, as all the surplus food, according to the law, belonged to the State. Under the system of the present tax in kind, on the contrary, the peasant can freely dispose of all his products, after he has paid his tax in kind. The peasant is thus enabled to exchange the surplus of his products for articles of the non-nationalised small industry.

It will of course, occur to everybody to ask the question: Why did not Soviet Russia take this course from the very beginning, why was the system of State monopoly introduced at all? The answer to this question is very simple: as long as Russia was obliged to carry on war, the government was compelled to lay claim to everything the population possessed, in order to be able to feed the army and the indigent population of the cities. The State monopoly of all the products of peasant agriculture was, therefore, a necessity of war that became untenable as soon as the war ceased.

It was untenable for various reasons. First, because it was possible while the war lasted and the defence of Soviet Russia against its external foes was being conducted, to make the hundred million peasants understand why they had to surrender their surplus to the State. And the peasants for the greater part yielded to this necessity voluntarily, because the struggle against the foreign enemy meant not only the protection of the Soviet power, of the proletarian dictatorship, but at the same time the protection of the property of the soil gained by the peasants during and by the revolution.

The peasants knew full well that if either Denikin, Wrangel or Koltchak succeeded in overthrowing the power of the Soviet government, it would signify the return of the great landowners and the reversion to the latter of the land taken by the peasants. Because they were aware of this fact, the peasants were prepared to accept the system of State monopoly. The same trend of thought kept millions of peasants in the Red Army as fighters for the proletarian power, which they otherwise did not entirely favour, made the system of State monopoly for them, if not entirely agreeable, at any rate tolerable.

On the cessation of the defensive war, this system had to be given up. It had all the more to be abandoned, as the injurious economic consequences of the system were undeniable. For it was a contradiction, that on one hand the peasant was the de facto private owner of his land and his other means of production, and on the other hand, under the system of monopoly, was only permitted to keep a part of the proceeds of his labour, whether great or small, for the sustenance of his family. There was consequently no stimulus for the peasant private owner to produce very much. That was the reason why the cultivated area since 1916 constantly diminished (the grain monopoly was already then introduced by the Tsaristic government). This diminution of the cultivated area, the noticeable tendency on every hand of a return to the antiquated form of self-sufficing home production, could only be prevented by abolishing the monopoly and enabling the peasant private owner to increase his income by more intensive labour. Such is the economic significance of this transition.

Naturally the aim of the proletarian government is to confine trade within certain limits. This is accomplished in two ways: first, by the monopoly of the means of transport; and secondly, by lending every support to co-operative societies, which appear to be the proper bodies to place all the surplus products of the peasants. This eliminates the middleman who cannot intervene between the peasants and the industrial population in exchanging their products. The introduction of the tax in kind, in connection with the permission of local trade, is therefore no retrogression, as the Mensheviks of all countries declare but simply the abolition of war measures, which have become untenable due to the return of peace.

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Report of Red Trade Union Congress

By J. T. MURPHY

I.

Examination of Past Tactics

THE first Congress of the Red Trade Union International is ended. The delegates have left the Mecca of the proletarian revolutionists to carry out decisions of a far reaching character, after completing a very important stage in the development of the international working class movement.

When the Provisional Council of the Red Trade Union International was formed in 1920 it had three important tasks to accomplish. First: it had to open the fight against the Amsterdam International, which had become the rallying ground of the remnants of the Second International. Second: it had to rally the whole of the revolutionary industrial movement and give a new gravitation centre for trade unionism. Third: it had to provide a new policy for the union movement of the world.

That it has successfully carried out the first task the labour and capitalist press of the last twelve months can testify. In every country where the union movement exists, the message of the Red Trade Union International has been delivered until the issue, "Moscow or Amsterdam," has become the order of the day. The first Congress has witnessed the successful accomplishment of the other tasks I have indicated. Indeed, it has shown that even more has been accomplished. It has also shown how far the undermining of the power of the Amsterdam leaders has gone on in the most important countries where the unions are affiliated to the Amsterdam International, viz., France, Germany, England and Italy. In France we have almost succeeded in wrenching away their leadership of the C.G.T. The German comrades claim that there are 3,000,000 supporters of the Red International in the unions of Germany, although the union movement has not yet been detached from Amsterdam. The British comrades claim a support of 300,000 workers in the union movement of Britain. In Italy the issue is undecided, although there is every reason to believe that when the issue is put to the membership of the Confederation of Labour they will vote in favour of detaching the 2,500,000 workers of the Confederation from Amsterdam and swing them over to Moscow. Steadily the Amsterdam International is breaking at its foundations. Another twelve months' work and the leaders of the Amsterdam International will be looking for a new home if the same rate of progress is maintained.

The second task of rallying the revolutionary industrialists has been successfully carried through. Practically all the revolutionary syndicalists of the world along with the I.W.W. rallied to the Moscow Congress. With the ending of the Congress the third

task has also been completed. The most important decisions of the Congress are as follows:—

1.—This Congress resolves to take all the necessary steps for bringing together, in the most energetic manner, all the Trade Unions into one united fighting organisation with one international centre, the Red Trade Union International.

2.—To establish the closest possible contact with the Third (Communist) International, as the vanguard of the revolutionary labour movement in all parts of the world, on the basis of joint representation at both executive committees, joint conferences, etc.

3.—That the above connection should have an organic and business character, and be expressed in the joint preparation of revolutionary actions and in the concerted manner of their realisation, both on a national and international scale.

4.—That it is imperative for every country to strive to unite the revolutionary Trade Union organisations, and for the establishment of close every-day contact between the Red Trade Unions and the Communist Party, for the carrying out of the decisions of both Congresses.

5.—That revolutionists should not leave the Trade Unions but work within them to revolutionise them in preference to the policy of leaving the unions and attempting to build revolutionary competing organisations.

6.—To encourage organisation by industry as against old-fashioned unionism of organisation by craft.

To have successfully carried through these decisions and to have still retained the good will and membership of the syndicalists is certainly an achievement. They have made important concessions thereby. It is true they have issued a manifesto indicating that they will fight for their point of view in the International, but the struggle between the policy of the Communists and the syndicalists passes into a new and far less dangerous stage. Both have agreed to unite in action. Hence experience and internal discussion in the International will solve the rest.

Having succeeded therefore in rallying what we may term the "left" industrial forces, it follows that the new incoming forces must come from the Amsterdam International, so far as Europe is concerned. The struggle accordingly takes on the character of a struggle against the "right" forces in the union movement. How this fight is to be conducted is of supreme importance, especially in view of the decision of the Executive Committee of the Red Trade Union International to dissolve the Bureaux in the Far East, England and America.

These Bureaux have during the last twelve months been the improvised machinery of propaganda for conducting the fight against Amsterdam and rallying the unions to the Moscow Congress. They have served their purpose very well, focussing the issues in the union movement in a very special manner. This was necessary and urgent, but it had big disadvantages for the Communist Parties, creating overlapping machinery of propaganda

which was conducted mainly by the Communists and to some extent weakening the direct efforts of the Parties.

Whether the new Executive Committee of the R.T.U.I. had these points in mind when it reviewed the position of the Bureaux I do not know. The observations are, I believe, correct, and the decision to dissolve the Bureaux is a fact. The responsibility for the conduct of the agitation is accordingly thrust upon the Party, especially in the countries where there are no unions affiliated to the R.T.U.I. It becomes of importance, therefore, to view the R.T.U.I. Congress in the light of the development of the Communist International.

II.

The Future Policy

MUCH has been made of the fact that the question of international trade union organisation was raised at the Third Congress of the All-Russian Trade Unions during the Kerensky period, and that nothing immediately followed in the way of organisation on account of the blockade, etc. But the Communist International grew in spite of the blockade.

The truth of the matter is that the leaders of the revolutionary movement did not recognise the importance of the unions, and what a conservative force they could be until after the experiences of the German revolutionary period. The idea was uppermost that the world revolution would develop so quickly that the union movement could be left alone until after the revolution. So much was this the case that the first Congress of the Communist International hardly referred to the union movement at all. It was not until the West failed to respond to the revolutionary appeals, and experience had shown what weighty forces were operating in the working class movement against a short revolutionary period, that the magnitude of the task of conquering the unions for Communism began to impress itself upon them.

By the time of the Second Congress of the Communist International in 1920, it had become of great importance. Negotiations had been opened with several trade union leaders and conversations carried on with the "left" industrialists who had arrived in Moscow in response to the call of the Communist International. The E.C. had sent out the call to revolutionary industrial organisations as well as revolutionary political parties. The Congress thrashed out a policy for the parties in relation to the unions, but as yet were quite unclear as to whether the unions which rallied to the call, which had been sent out, should become a section of the Communist International or be the basis for a new industrial international. I well remember the controversy led by Radek and Zinovieff last year. Radek was against accepting industrial organisations into the C.I. and Zinovieff in favour. But neither was clear as to the future of the industrial organisations in relation to the C.I. or in the C.I. Even after the Provisional International Council had been established after the Second Congress, the situation was not clear. A struggle was proceeding between those who visualised the Communist International as inclusive of all

revolutionary working class organisations, and those who thought in terms of an international party of struggle independent of, but connected with the other working class organisations, such as trade unions, co-operatives, etc. As a matter of fact, both conceptions are correct and the real question is one of precedence. History has already answered. The practical task of rallying the revolutionary industrialists and of overcoming the neutralism of the unions as to politics, pushed the Provisional Council more and more into the position of an independent organisation, and the idea of the trade unions becoming a section of the Communist International receded. By this process, however, the Trade Unions have come nearer to the Communist International than ever before. How near the decisions of the Red Trade Union Congress make manifest. Meanwhile, other important developments were taking place, which it is necessary to indicate in order to measure the full significance of the R.T.U.I. decisions.

The Communist International at its inception was composed of a number of small parties, one of which was leading the proletarian revolution. This latter was rapidly becoming a large party. It had been forced out of its position as a mere agitational party to that of a mass party of struggle, controlling and directing the work of other organisations than itself. The impetus given to the revolutionary movement of the world was enormous. Other large mass parties were affected and the process of transforming them by splits and other means was begun.

The Second Congress, however, was engaged principally in a struggle with the "left," shaking up sectarianism and demanding of all sections that they pass out of the agitational stage as quickly as possible and become organs of revolutionary struggle. The following twelve months witnessed the influx of large parties and a great fight of the E.C. of the Communist International with all its sections in its effort to make the new International into a party of international insurrection. So intense became the fight along these lines that the Third Congress was called much earlier than was generally expected. The revolution demanded and compelled the Communist International, led by the Russian Communist Party, to face the realities of the revolutionary struggle. The problems of the International were not problems of abstract Marxism, but problems of "applied Marxism." The International had to do things, and to do them it needed the masses. The masses came and the test which had to be applied to them, and which will have to be rigorously applied to them in the future, is not the test of belief in ultimate Communism in some distant future, but the test of *action*, leading towards the dictatorship of the proletariat. Thus, the practical requirements of revolution struck blows left and right. At the left, for the retention of sectarianism, which prevented the masses from rallying to the party; at the right, for its avoidance of struggle and drift towards reformism. Almost all the time of the Third Congress was taken up with this work, criticising the actions of the sections, perfecting the International as an organ of struggle.

III.

The Role of the Mass Party

IMMEDIATELY this transition of the International from a collection of small groups to a large international party waging a terrific fight, leading the world proletariat through the succeeding stages of the world revolution, is realised, every decision becomes of the utmost importance. The more the International develops along these lines the more important becomes the task of winning the support and leadership of the unions and other working class organisations, especially in those countries where capitalism is highly developed. To win through to the leadership of the labour organisations the sections or parties of the international must win the masses and recruit its best elements into its ranks. This in turn involves each party in becoming a party of the masses as a means of becoming a mass party capable of the manifold tasks thrust upon it in the struggle with capitalism. I mean by a party of the masses, a party which actually interprets the needs of the masses in the daily struggle, that knows how to make the fullest possible use of every incident of conflict, to show to the workers what they must do *now* and relates revolutionary principles to the immediate needs of to-day as well as to-morrow. The mass party does not necessarily do that, but the mass parties of the Communist International must do that and more. They must be organised in a way which will bring every member of the party into action, testing leaders and rank and file alike by what they do to forward the working class towards the conquest of power. To carry out its work it must have numbers sufficient to function as a vanguard. But numerical strength is not the fundamental test. It is of relative importance. If the party becomes a party of the masses it will win numbers. If it is a party of action it will clean the party of "undesirables." Good leadership, a rank and file of action, and a party organisation which by its activity brings its best revolutionists into the leading positions and pushes out all sleeping passengers, are the demands of the Third Congress.

Intermediary organisations between the masses and the party have obviously disadvantages as well as advantages. They demand a great deal of extra work on the part of the members of the party and do not always ensure that the party shall receive the full return for the labour expended. The passing of the Bureaux of the Red Trade Union International is the passing of an intermediary organisation between the party and the unions. It is significant that this decision coincides with the party developments I have indicated. It thrusts back upon the party the task of waging the fight in the unions for the conquest of the "right."

The significance of the Congress proceedings as a whole can be summed up briefly as follows:—

The establishment of the R.T.U.I. as an independent organisation made clear the line of development of the mass organisations of the workers as they move towards the Communist International and rally to it as the leader of the proletarian revolution. It marks an important stage in the passing of sectionalism and sharp antagonism among the revolutionary forces by the drawing closer

to the Communist International of the syndicalists and "left" revolutionary industrialists. It has prevented the setting up of an oppositional revolutionary industrial international and transformed the struggle with the "left" to an internal discussion, but agreed upon unity and discipline in action. It has established a new centre of gravitation for the union movement of the world and sharpened the conflict between the revolutionary workers and the Amsterdam International of reaction. Having drawn the "left" forces closer to the Communist International than ever before, it demands of the Communists and the parties, greater direct efforts in the conquest of the unions for Communism. Hence, whilst serving as a rallying centre for the broad revolutionary masses, it assists the process of perfecting the Communist International as the the vanguard organisation of the proletarian struggle.

Thus the revolutionary army of the working class grows and grows, creates and perfects its organisations in the furnace of conflict, and marches on to the conquest of capitalism.

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Aggressive Tactics

Transition from Defence to Attack

By BUCHARIN

THE course of the world revolution, a formidable historic upheaval of which men have never seen the like, shows us a mixture of various elements, of phases of development, ways, tactics, methods, struggles and forces. It is obvious that at different moments in this process and in different phases of its development, the proletariat is faced with different problems, and particularly, different tactical problems. This is not a specific character of the proletarian revolution. We could have seen the same thing happen when the capitalist régime replaced Feudalism. The French Revolution, which, for Europe, traced a path of capitalist development, itself passed through very different phases whose, world, historical, and social signification (that is to say, class signification) was nevertheless one. This Revolution began, if we may speak in such cases of "beginning and end," in 1789, and ended, say, in 1815, with the Napoleonic Wars and the Fall of the Empire. In a quarter of a century, the Revolution passed through many phases marked by the different tactics used by the bourgeoisie against the old landlords.

The bourgeoisie began by *insurrection* against Feudalism, then it set up its *Dictatorship* against the nobility. It pitilessly cut off heads and used all means to suppress counter-revolutionary plots and revolts. There followed a period of bitter resistance to external reaction, the struggle against the Holy Alliance of kings, who were most displeased by robbing lords and beheading monarchs. As always happens during a civil war, production within the country was ruined; poverty was everywhere; the finances were in a desperate condition; speculation flourished in spite of all repression, and the blockade and class war with the reactionary states made things worse.

The energy of the mass of the bourgeoisie won through. Having strengthened its organisation and created an army which fought to the sound of the revolutionary Marseillaise, the bourgeoisie passed from the defensive to the offensive. A new period opened, that of the revolutionary wars, which, in fact, abolished serfdom in Europe. Everyone knows, of course, that a change of power had taken place in the interval. The Jacobean small bourgeoisie had been supplanted by the great bourgeoisie first, and then by Napoleon's military bourgeoisie dictatorship. But everyone knows, too, that by comparison with the European monarchs, Napoleon was a revolutionary power. Heine knew exactly the historical importance and the value to freedom of the Napoleonic wars; they undermined the old régime in Europe. If we compare them with Socialism and the proletariat, they are no doubt counter-revolutionary. But there was then no question of Socialism; the only question was the victory of Capital over European serfdom. Pacifists and social patriots of the character

of Jaurès are ignorant enough to deplore the passage from defensive to offensive, and see in it the loss of the idea of the great Revolution. Marxists should understand the childishness of this point of view. The protecting envelope of feudal serfdom in Europe was diseased enough at that time, but it was only broken by the bayonets of the revolutionary armies. Force here played the part of the chrysalis in the birth of Capitalist society, and the passing of the bourgeoisie as a state power from the defensive to the offensive merely showed the growth of the revolutionary forces.

That was the situation over a century ago.

We ask: Can such a situation be reproduced by a proletarian dictatorship?

Some are troubled by this "treacherous" question: is it not a bourgeois tactic? How could the proletariat behave like the bourgeoisie?

This argument is clearly worthless. I would say more: it is fundamentally opportunist and (I beg the pacifists' pardon) thoroughly silly. Arguments at one time were used against the proletariat's revolutionary tactics on these lines: "Insurrection? Good God! The bourgeoisie used that. Barricades? Heaven save us! That is a bourgeois method. The proletariat is the majority and has no need of such cruel means. Dictatorship? Terror? Still bourgeois!" So conciliators of all kinds spoke, speak and will speak.

What matters to the revolutionary workers is not the form but the class nature of things. It is obvious that between the aggrandisements of the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, there is the same difference as between the classes themselves, as between Capitalism and Communism. A man who cannot see that is incurable and hump-backs are only cured by death.

Clearly the international bourgeoisie has interest in limiting the dictatorship of the proletariat territorially. It wisely argues: "If, unfortunately, the workers have taken power in one country, they must stop there and be bottled and corked."

This bourgeois argument is quite comprehensible, but if an alleged Socialist declared himself in principle an adversary of proletarian expansion, it is clear that he is no working class revolutionary, but only a petit-bourgeois.

Arguments of the kind, "The bayonet is an indecent arm for such delicate causes as the great Socialist idea," are as absurd as they are mild. They are the catchwords of the Liberals. Is not insurrection a bayonet? Is not revolution a bayonet? Is not civil war always a bayonet? Delicate Communism is only useful for drawing-rooms and taking tea. It has no value in the struggle for life, in the battle where men fight and die for a cause. Such is life, rough and cruel, but real, the realisation of great ideas, and not merely platonic aspiration.

It is written in the Communist Manifesto that the proletarians will conquer the whole world—how? By revolution. Therefore, by the bayonet. If in any country the proletariat takes power and is strong enough to attack the bourgeois states that means that the power of the force of the revolution is great, that its power to organise is vast, and that it has a good chance of victory.

Here arise new arguments against the employment by the victorious party of the world proletariat of such tactics. One cannot allow intervention. A Soviet power artificially instituted and not automatically arising is no good; it would be a foreign institution, imported Communism and so on.

Let us ask then: Why does the bourgeoisie of one country intervene in another and profit by it? Would you find a Pole bourgeois foolish enough to protest against French or English intervention? Would you find a Hungarian bourgeois similarly protesting? No. They are business men; they are not as simple as that. The Polish bourgeoisie to defeat automatically its revolutionaries, cannot rely only on its own forces or it would die. Instead, it receives men, officers, generals, tanks, instructors and gas, and resists the proletarian armies with the aid of this intervention.

The bourgeoisie is intelligent: some social pacifists are not.

That is the misfortune; that is why a profound error has some credit still in working class circles. This error must be put right. Social pacifist ideology is really a revival of extinct bourgeois liberal ideology; it must be destroyed because the workers cannot conquer under its influence. If the modern bourgeoisie can help itself without shame, why should the international proletariat forbid fraternal intervention for the sake of its own success? In such and such a case, no doubt, the intervention may be regarded as premature or the force as inadequate, but there can be no objection on principle.

On the other hand, as soon as the intervention has happened and external Sovietisation has commenced, the Communist Parties support it with all their power. Any other attitude would be treason. Would it not be, in fact, treason for a Communist Party not to support an insurrection against Capital? The question of a Red intervention is exactly the same. The intervention should be supported by all means.

The over-estimation of national feeling in the working class is like the opportunist cry of "Premature insurrections." There are certainly such things, but even so, the parties must let their position be known by struggling against the current and not following middle class jingoism and shop-keepers' politics.

We have put the question in a more or less abstract manner, but it is clear that these questions are passing from theory into practice. We are crossing the boundary between proletarian defence and proletarian attack against the citadels of Capitalism. If not to-day, at least to-morrow, the question must be faced squarely. We have said a thousand times that only a world revolution can win. Every possible means of hastening the fall of Capitalism in other countries is thus for us a necessity. The masses, tired of the struggle, will suffer a thousand times more if the revolutionary process drags on. We are only saving our energies, if we have the power (as we do not always) to drive into the worm-eaten edifice of the bourgeois system, the steel point of the armed proletarian dictatorship.

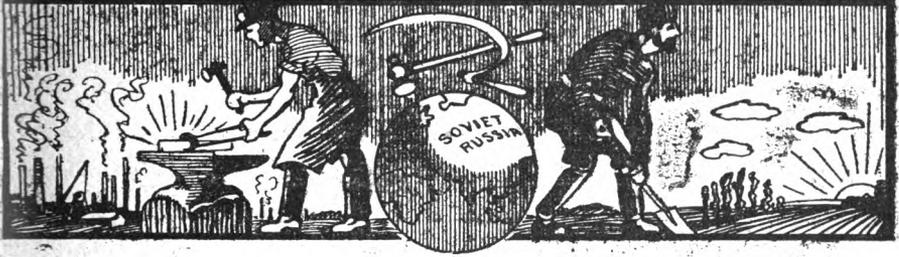
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INTERNATIONAL REVIEW



Manifesto of the Executive Committee of the Communist International to the Proletariat of all Countries

The E.C. of the Comintern has issued the following appeal :

THE Third Congress of the Communist International has ended: the great review of the Communist proletariat of all countries has come to an end. It has shown that during the course of the last year Communism in many countries, where it is yet only starting, has become very powerful, capable of setting the masses into motion, and threatening Capital.

The Communist International which, on the day of its inauguration, did not represent anything very important outside Russia, save some small groups, and at its Second Congress still sought means whereby to create great mass parties, now disposes of not only in Russia, but also in Germany, Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, Italy, France, in Norway, Yougo-Slavia, Bulgaria, parties rallying in huge masses to their standards.

The Third Congress asks the Communists of all countries to persevere courageously on the road undertaken, and to put everything to work to rally millions and millions of new adherents to the Communist International. For the power of Capital can only be broken if the *Communist Idea* is translated by the irresistible push of the great majority of the proletariat, conducted by the Communist parties, who should constitute the "Iron Battalions" of the proletarian class.

Go to the Masses

GO to the masses!" That is the battle-cry that the Third Congress sends out to the Communists of all countries! Prepare for great struggles!

These masses are coming towards us, they are ever drawing nearer; for world capitalism proves to them more clearly every day that it can only continue to upset the world more and more, and by augmenting day by day the chaos, misery and slavery of the masses. Confronted by the world economic crisis that has thrown

millions of workers on to the streets, the Social Democrats, lackeys of Capital and the bourgeoisie, who for years have turned to the workers saying: "Work, work," are obliged to keep quiet. For before calling upon the working class to work, they must be called upon to fight. And the call to work can only follow when Capitalism will have been destroyed, and the proletariat will have acquired the means of production.

Capitalism and Imperialism

THE capitalist world finds itself on the brink of new wars. The Japanese-American and Anglo-American conflicts, the quarrels of the Near and Far East, compel the capitalists to finance armaments. They are anxiously wondering: "Should Europe enter a new world war?"

It is not that they are afraid of having a few million men killed, for, even after the war, they allowed, with perfect sangfroid, millions of human beings to die through fasting, as a result of their blockade of Russia.

What they fear is that a new war might finally throw the masses into the arms of the world revolution, that it would lead to the definite uprising of the world proletariat! They are, therefore, trying to create a delay, as they did before the war, by diplomatic means. But when there is a relaxation on the one side it only creates a tension on the other, the negotiations of England and America on the limitation of armaments of the two countries automatically creates a front against Japan. The Anglo-French agreement delivers Germany to France and Turkey to England.

The efforts that world capitalism is making to restore some sort of order out of the universal chaos, far from bringing peace to the nations, only augments their enslavement, and subject the conquered peoples to the victorious bourgeoisies. The world capitalist press speaks at present of a relaxation, because the bourgeois of Germany has submitted to the Allied conditions, and because, in order to retain its power, it has delivered the German people over to the hyenas of the Paris and London Bourses.

But at the same time this Press, which is in the hands of finance, announces the economic ruin of Germany, and speaks of formidable taxes that are going to fall in the autumn like hail, on the masses condemned to unemployment. This will considerably increase the price of every mouthful and every article of clothing.

The Failure of the Capitalist Regime

THE Communist International, which in its policy is founded on a calm and objective examination of the world situation—for it is only in dominating the field of action with clearness, and in clearly taking into account the situation, that the proletariat will be able to conquer—the Communist International says to the proletariat of all countries:

"Capitalism has up to now shown itself incapable of assuring to the world even the relative order that it enjoyed before the war. For what it is doing to-day cannot lead to any consolida-

tion, or to any new order, but can only prolong your sufferings and the process of decomposition of Capitalism. *The World Revolution Marches.* Everywhere world capital trembles on its foundations. The second appeal that the world congress of the Third International sends out to the workers of the world is as follows: We are approaching great new struggles, prepare yourselves for new fights."

PREPARE THE UNITED FRONT OF THE WORLD PROLETARIAT!

The bourgeoisie is incapable of assuring the workers employment and bread, lodging and clothes, but it shows marked proficiency in the organisation of war against the proletariat.

Since the first moment it began to flounder, since it began to be inspired with fear of the workers returning from the war. Since it has resolved to prolong, after the war, the alliance with the traitors of the proletariat—i.e., the Social Democrats and Trade Union bureaucrats—the bourgeoisie has concentrated all its powers on organising white-guards against the workers, and disarming the masses. The world bourgeoisie is still at this moment armed to the teeth, and ready, not only to suppress by arms, any proletarian uprising, but also, if necessary, to provoke risings so as to wipe out the proletariat before it has succeeded in forming a general and invincible front.

To this strategy of the bourgeoisie the Comintern should oppose its own. If the Capitalist classes can send armed bandits against the organised proletariat, the Communist International has a weapon that will not fail: that is, the industrially organised proletarian masses; the firm and united front of the proletariat.

When the millions and millions of workers go forth to battle with closed ranks, then the bourgeoisie will be at the end of its resources, and its forces will serve it no longer. The trains carrying the White Guards directed against the proletariat will stop running. The White Guards will be paralysed with fear. The proletariat will tear from them their arms, to use against other White Guard units.

If the proletariat establishes a united front against Capital and the bourgeoisie, this will make the enemy—who will have lost the first condition of success—understand the belief in victory that only the betrayal of Social-Democracy, and the division of the working masses could still give it. Victory over world capital can only be realised by conquering the hearts of the majority of members of the working class.

Against the Social Democrats and T.U. Democracy

THE Third Congress of the Communist International asks the Communist Parties of all countries, and the Communists within all Trade Unions, to direct all their efforts to the liberation of the working masses from the influence of the Social-Democratic parties, and the T.U. Bureaucracy.

And this can only be done if the Communists of all countries, in these times of hardship, where each day brings new privations to the working masses, prove that they are the advance-guard of the working class, that they support it in all its distress, and can lead it to battle and free it from the burdens which Capital piles higher and higher on its shoulders.

It must be proved to the working masses that the Communists alone work for the amelioration of their lot, and that reactionary Social-Democracy and T.U. bureaucracy are ready to let them die of hunger rather than fight for them.

There is no longer any question of fighting the traitors of the proletariat, and the bourgeois agents on the theoretical field, by arguments on democracy and dictatorship, they must be beaten on questions of bread, wages, unemployment, and housing.

Moscow against Amsterdam

AND the first and most important field of battle on which to fight is that of the T.U. movement; before all must the fight of the Red Trade Union International be waged against that of Amsterdam.

Before everything else, it is a question of capturing the champions of the enemy in our own camp. *Purify your organisations of centrist currents, develop the fighting spirit!*

It is only by fighting for the most elementary and immediate needs of the working masses that we will be able to form a unity of front of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, and be able to put an end to the scattering of the proletariat, which alone assures the bourgeoisie the possibility of continuing to rule! But this proletarian front will only be animated by the joy of combat when maintained by Communist parties, whose spirit is uniform and strong, and where the discipline is of iron.

That is why the Third Congress of the Communist International, at the same time as it issues the appeal to Communists of all countries calls to them:—

“Go to the masses”; “Make a united front!” “Clear from your ranks all those elements who are capable of enfeebling the morale and discipline of the shock troops of the world proletariat and the Communist Parties!”

The Congress of the Communist International confirms the exclusion of the Italian Socialist Party until such time as it will have broken with the capitalist reformists, and will have excluded them from its ranks! This decision confirms the conviction of the Congress that if the Comintern wishes to lead millions and millions of workers to battle, it cannot have in its ranks reformists whose aim is not the victorious revolution of the proletariat, but the rehabilitation of capitalism through reform. Armies that tolerate at their head leaders who think of reconciliation with the enemy will be delivered and sold to the enemy by these chiefs.

We Lack Revolutionary Spirit

THE attention of the Communist International has been drawn to the fact that in a series of parties, although they have excluded the reformists from their ranks, there are still currents which prove that they have not yet completely dominated the reformist spirit, and although they may not envisage reconciliation with the enemy, their propaganda for preparing for the fight is not energetic enough.

They do not work in a way sufficiently decided to revolutionise the masses.

These parties are not capable in their daily work of giving the revolutionary call that animates the masses; they are not capable of daily fortifying, by their passion and vigour, the fighting spirit of the masses.

These parties think they are not obliged to make use of favourable situations for combat, they let themselves be immersed in the ebb and flow of larger currents. This was notably the case at the time of the occupation of the factories in Italy, and the December strikes in Czecho-Slovakia.

The Communist Parties should develop the fighting spirit from within. They should educate themselves to be the General Staff capable of immediately seizing favourable situations for struggle, and when spontaneous movements among the proletariat occur, to give them the maximum of impetus by a clear and courageous directorship.

Be the advance-guard of the working masses that are moving, be their heart and their spirit, that is the cry that the Third World Congress of the Communist International sends out to the Communist Parties.

And to be the advance-guard means to march at the head of the masses, as their most courageous and far-seeing party.

It is only when the Parties will constitute such an advance-guard that they will be able to form not only unity on the proletarian front, but in leading them to the fight, to vanquish the enemy.

To the strategy of capital oppose the strategy of the proletariat, prepare for your struggles.

The enemy is strong, for it has for centuries exercised power, and that has made it conscious of its strength, and the will to conserve it. The enemy is strong, for it has learnt during hundreds of years how to divide the proletarian masses, how to subject and master them.

The enemy knows how to be victorious in a civil war, and that is why the Third World Congress of the Communist International draws the attention of all Communist Parties to the danger there is in the inequality of competence in matters of strategy between the ruling and possessing classes, and the working class fighting to acquire power.

The March events in Germany have shown the great danger that exists when the front ranks of the working class, the Communist advance-guard of the proletariat, are forced to fight before the great masses are ready to throw themselves into the fray. The Communist International has welcomed with joy the fact that hundreds of thousands of workers throughout the whole of Germany should have come to the aid of the threatened workers of Central Germany.

It is in this spirit of solidarity, when the workers of a whole country, or even of the whole world, rise to aid a threatened proletarian party that the Communist International recognises an augury of victory.

It has approved of the German Communist Party's being at the head of the working masses when it came out to defend their threatened brothers. But at the same time the Communist International thinks it is its duty to say openly to the workers of the world:

In a case where the advance-guard is obliged to accept battle, and when this combat can contribute to hastening the mobilisation of the whole working class, the advance-guard must not forget that alone and isolated it cannot deliver any decisive assault; that forced to fight on its own, it should, as much as possible, avoid armed conflict with the enemy, for the victory of the proletariat over the armed White Guards can only be brought by the whole mass of the proletariat.

If this mass in its majority does not march, the advance-guard, in so far as it is the unarmed minority, should not attack the armed enemy.

Thanks to the March risings, the Communist International has learnt one more thing, to which it draws the attention of the workers of all countries: the entire working masses must be prepared for the future combats by a daily propaganda that is incessant, always more intense, and yet more extended. And they must be made to enter the battle with rallying cries susceptible of being understood by the proletarians.

Proletarian Strategy

TO the strategy of the enemy must be opposed the intelligent and reflected strategy of the proletariat. The combative ardour of the advance-guard alone does not suffice, nor does their courage and decision. The struggle should be prepared and organised in a fashion that will draw in and mobilise the largest masses, making them understand that they are marching for their own most vital interests.

The more critical the situation of the world capital becomes, the more it will try to prevent the coming victory of the Communist International, by beating its advance-guards, and isolating them from the masses. There must be opposed to this plan, to this danger, a propaganda that sets going the whole masses. An energetic work of organisation of the Communist Parties, that

assures their influence on the great masses, and renders them capable of judging the situation with sang-froid; and refusing to fight where the enemy forces are superior, and giving battle when the enemy is divided and the mass united.

The Third Congress of the Communist International knows very well that it is only in fighting that the working class will form Communist Parties capable of attacking the enemy with the rapidity of lightning, where an opportunity is perceptible, and avoiding struggle in the contrary case. That is why it is the duty of the world proletariat to learn to profit from all the lessons and great sacrifices that the working class of a country has undergone, and to use these to carry them on to the international field.

Prepare for Great Fights

PRESERVE *well your fighting discipline!* The working class and Communist Parties of all countries have not a calm period for propaganda and organisation before them. Behold the coming great assaults that capital must hurl against the proletariat to crush it, or to try and make it support all the gloomy results of its imperialist policy.

In this fight the Communists should develop the strictest discipline. The executive committees of their parties should take into consideration all the lessons learnt during the recent struggles, and dominate every field of battle. They should combine the utmost spirit and verve with the utmost reflection. They should, under the observation and criticism of the comrades of the Party, form a plan of action reflected on by the whole Party.

And all the organisations of the Party, the press and the parliamentary groups should, without stumbling, follow the direction of the Party, and inspire each other by their words, their spirit, and their conduct.

To Work!

THE review of the Communist advance-guard is ended! It has proved that Communism is a world force. It has proved that it must once more form and educate great proletarian armies. It has shown that great victorious struggles are reserved to these armies which have announced one wish—to gain victory in their conflicts. It has shown to the world proletariat how they should prepare and achieve victory.

It now rests with the Communist Parties of all countries to enlighten their members on the decisions of the Congress, born from the experiences of the world proletariat, so that all the Communist working men and women can lead hundreds of non-Communist proletarians into the coming battles.

LONG LIVE THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL!

LONG LIVE THE WORLD REVOLUTION!

TO WORK FOR THE PREPARATION AND ORGANISATION OF OUR VICTORY!

The Executive Committee of the Communist International
for:—

Germany: Heckert and Frochlich.
 France: Souvarine.
 Czecho-Slovakia: Burian and Kreibich.
 Italy: Terracini and Gennari.
 Russia: Zinovieff, Bucharin, Radek, Lenin and Trotsky.
 Ukraine: Chumski.
 Poland: Glinski.
 Bulgaria: Popov.
 Yougo-Slovia: Marcovicz.
 Norway: Schefflo.
 England: Bell.
 America: Baldwin.
 Spain: Merino Garcia.
 Finland: Sirola.
 Holland: Jansen.
 Belgium: Van Overstraeten.
 Sweden: Kilbohm.
 Lettland: Stutschko.
 Switzerland: Arnold.
 Austria: Koritschener.
 Hungary: Bela Kun.
 Young Workers' International: Voungoirtch.

Moscow, 17/7/21.

The Second Congress of the Young Communist International

By MUNZENBERG

COMRADE ZINOVIEV has stated that the Second Congress of the Communist International was in fact its first real congress. This applies with even greater justice to the Second International Congress of the Young Communists International, the official opening of which took place recently in Moscow.

Even if we consider it merely from the numerical and organisational standpoint, the Congress of the Young Communist International appears the first really great and really international World Congress of Youth. All the former international Congresses of Young Socialists, such as those of Stuttgart in 1907, of Copenhagen in 1910, of Berne in 1915, and of Berlin in 1919, were only international conferences as far as their composition was concerned. None of these gatherings numbered more than 20 delegates from relatively few countries. But the recent Congress of Young Communists was attended by well over 100 delegates. At the ordinary Congresses of Young Socialists the delegates generally came from eight or ten European countries, but at our Congress delegates arrived from the Young Communist organisations of Mexico,

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Northern America, Scandinavia, all the Balkan States, Italy and Portugal, from the Far East, Khiva, Bokhara, Korea, China, and elsewhere. The recent Congress becomes the starting point of a new period of the young proletarian movement even more by reason of the questions of principles and tactics which were discussed, than owing to its unexpectedly large and representative membership. The importance of the first Congress of the Young Communist International which took place in Berlin in November, 1910, lies in the liquidation of the last Social Democratic remnants in the International and the transformation of the latter into a Communist organisation, also in the open and definite conversion to communism and the official affiliation to the Communist International. The great International of Young Communists will have to concern itself first and foremost with the further development of vital questions.

The report of our work was read at the Congress—the Third Congress of the Communist International. The Young Communists took part in the Third Congress, and they took the opportunity of once more expressing their agreement with it and its resolutions. The most important part of the agenda was the second point, which dealt with the relations of the Young Communists' Organisations to the Communist Parties. The new position of Young Communists will be made specially clear in this connection.

From the theses proposed by the Executive Committee of the Young Communist International, it can be seen, that the Young Communists understand very well, that now, at a time of development of strong Communist mass parties, it can no longer be their task as during the war to form independent political parties with correspondent political functions, but that its first and foremost duty consists in collecting the millions of young workers of all countries into Young Communists Organisations, to train and teach them in these organisations and then bring them to the Communist Parties as trained, capable, and tried revolutionaries and Communist fighters. This means of gaining millions of young Communists is above all an economic struggle, which was proposed by the Executive Committee of the Young Communist International, and which will soon become a very prominent part in the work of the Young Communists' Organisations.

The Young Communist International which in the years 1917, 1919 and even 1920 proved by its intensive revolutionary propaganda and far-reaching Communist agitation, by the active co-operation in the construction of Communist Parties, how well it understood the requirements of the moment, and which had the courage to and live up to their convictions, proved the truth of their views at the Second Congress. The Young Communists will attach the foremost importance to become an integral part of the Communist International. They will thereby show their appreciation of the necessity of the strictest centralisation and an iron discipline in the Communist movement. The Young Communists are precisely that part of the revolutionary proletariat which is best hated and most persecuted by the bourgeoisie of all countries. The International White Terror is picking out its victims precisely in the ranks of the Young Communists. In Hungary, Finland,

Latvia, Lithuania, Esthonia, Spain, Italy and Germany thousands of youths were killed and shot, tortured to death, burned and buried alive; at the present time thousands of Young Communists are imprisoned in all the countries. In all the countries, with France at their head, the bourgeoisie is preparing new exceptional laws and campaigns for the persecution of the young revolutionary communists.

The composition, the course and the result of the Second Congress of the Young Communist International will once more prove to the bourgeoisie that no persecutions, no barbarian penalties, no white terror will prevent the revolutionary youth from doing their duty as young communists, as successors of the imperialist war and the first proletarian revolution of Russia. Young Communists are fully conscious of the task which history has imposed on them, which was scientifically expounded by Marx and Engels, the realisation of which was attempted by Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht, and which now the Russian Revolution has started to realise, to emerge from the state of necessity and enter the realm of freedom.

Moscow

A DDRESSING the All-Russian University and College Convention, the People's Commissar of Education, Lunacharsky, emphasized the importance of linking the universities with the masses, thus drawing large human reserves into the scientific field. "The success obtained by the Proletarian University," he said, "spells success for the soviet power, for Communism, for the social revolution." A report by Preobrazhensky shows that the aggregate number of higher schools in Russia at present is nearly 5,000 with 500,000 students.

Switzerland

(HOW SHOULD ONE WORK FOR FAMINE RELIEF?)

THE Central Committee of the Swiss Communist Party has referred to a special committee the carrying out of the work of aid for the stricken regions of Soviet Russia. This committee has immediately undertaken the work and elaborated the following programme:—

In the first place, a collection on a grand scale must be organised. The committee is of the opinion that the purchase of food (conserves, condensed milk, dry vegetables, etc.), can be made in the most reasonable fashion in large quantities.

For that it is necessary that the collected monies be centralised. It is the same with the purchase of medicines and bandages. A collection of clothes and linen will not be made at present.

So as to set the work of collecting going rapidly and efficaciously, the organising committee will send in a few days' time the requisition lists to the leaders of the Swiss Communist Party. The latter will be charged with forming in each locality

aid committees who will put themselves in communication with the Central organising committee.

The local committees will have to execute the collections in their respective regions, and wherever possible, to organise artistic soirées under the slogan: "Against the Famine in Soviet Russia." Swiss Communist Party (Aid Committee for starving Russia).

L'Avant-Garde.

Italy

COMPROMISE SIGNED BETWEEN SOCIALISTS AND FASCISTI.

THE negotiations leading to an agreement putting to an end the fight between Socialists and Fascisti, begun by M. Bonomi and continued by the President of the Chamber, M. De Nicola, ended Wednesday in a happy conclusion. On Wednesday morning the representatives of the parliamentary group of the Central Committee of the Fascisti, of the executive of the Socialist Party, of the C.G.T., and of the Socialist Parliamentary Group, met at the house of M. De Nicola and signed the agreement which put an end to the state of violence which has caused so much damage to the nation.

The papers rejoice unanimously at this agreement, and hope eagerly that complete pacification of spirit will follow.

Stefani, Rome.

THE TENURE OF THE PACT.

The text of the "Peace Treaty" signed Wednesday between Fascisti and Centrists is composed of eleven articles.

By this pact the five Fascisti and Socialist delegations undertake to set to work immediately in putting a stop to threats and reprisals of all kind; the distinctive signs and marks of one or the other parties should be respected; the two parties undertake to disavow any violation of the clauses of the agreement; the Socialist Party declares itself to be no part of the organisation of the "People's Arditi"; every breach should be referred to the judgment of arbitrators. To this effect, in every province, arbitration Courts have been set up composed of two representatives of the Socialist Party, and two representatives of the Fascisti, presided over by a mutually chosen President with the agreement of the President of the Chamber. The two parties undertake to reintegrate within their capabilities the officials who were rendered homeless by the violence, and to restore their belongings, or any sequestered objects that might eventually have become in the possession of the associations of isolated members of the two parties.

L'Avant-Garde.

Jugo-Slavia

THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT IN JUGO SLAVIA.

JUGO SLAVIA, like all other States newly created after the war, is in complete financial and political dependence on the Entente. It is the most expressive representation of Entente imperialism in the Balkans.

To begin with, the creation of a national State of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, caused great joy among large masses of people. But this joy was but of short duration. Under the pressure of the difficulties of the conditions of living on the one hand, and under the influence of the revolutionary propaganda of the Jugo Slav Communist Party on the other, the proletarian masses, in the towns and in the villages, soon commenced to understand that the creation of a National State at the time of the absolute reign of capitalist-imperialist finance, has not essentially changed the situation of the workers and poor peasants. Having waged the so-called war for safeguarding its political and economic independence from the invasion of the Central Powers, particularly from Austria-Hungary, in reality, to-day when the war has finished, Serbia finds herself with regard to Entente imperialism, in a form of political and economic slavery worse than under that of the Central Powers, though she is counted as one of the conquering countries. And it is precisely in that that are demonstrated all the changes, all the "gains" that the war of the "conquerors" has brought to Serbia, and to the other provinces comprising Jugo-Slavia.

The policy of a militarist strengthening of Jugo Slavia has above all been favoured by France. For, in order to realise its counter-revolutionary ends the greatest State in the Balkans should at any price be made militarily strong. And thus it is that to-day Jugo Slavia has, in addition to 60,000 Gendarmes, a permanent army of more than 150,000 soldiers.

The Communist Party of Jugo Slavia is the logical sequel to the old Serbian Socialist Party whose revolutionary attitude, before and during the war, was well known throughout the International. All the revolutionary elements of the other provinces are grouped around it, and they have the honour of being among the founders of the Third International. Already, at its first congress held at Belgrade after the war, in April, 1919, the decision unconditionally to adhere to the Third International was carried unanimously. In the concrete questions of daily life, the Jugo-Slav Communist Party has, by utilising the process of dislocation of bourgeois society, been able to place under its influence and in the movement the large masses of workers and poor peasants. More than one sharp bloody conflict with the Power of the State is thus foreshadowed; skirmishes have already taken place, above all during the general strikes; last year for example, during the railway strike, and this year that of the miners.

The Scelérate Text

(*Sima Markovitch's Exposition.*)

ACCORDING to the latest news from Jugo Slavia the new reactionary and counter-reactionary constitution was adopted some days ago by a majority of a few votes. The first law which has been promulgated in virtue of this constitution, is the "Law on the Order and Defence of the State," which is in reality a law against the Communists. Its contents are as follows:

"1. All crimes against the surety of the State and against order as follows:—

- (A) All written or oral propaganda wherever influence is exercised on another person in view of the overthrowal by force of the order established by the Constitution.
- (B) All terrorist propaganda or attempts at similar action, and all those who put in peril the order and security of the State.
- (C) All propaganda of anarchist ideas.
- (D) All propaganda of Communist ideas.
- (E) All propaganda for a Soviet or peasant Republic.
- (F) All participation in organisations pursuing the above ends.
- (G) All information hostile to the constitutional organs of the State.
- (H) All anti-militarist propaganda or action that might enfeeble the national defence;
- (I) Relations with foreigners.
- (J) All publication or reproduction of condemned works with a view to agitation.
- (K) All booking of halls for meetings pursuing the same end, when the proprietor has knowledge of the intention, and the meetings are not announced within a convenient time.
- (L) All use of arms against the State organs.

All these crimes are punished with from 2 to 20 years of imprisonment, and from 10 to 10,000 dinars fine, the less grave cases being liable to imprisonment only.

2. All information hostile to the State is to be forbidden and those responsible punished by imprisonment and fines going up to 50,000 dinars, the accomplices by a year's imprisonment and a 3,000 dinar fine.

The carrying of arms, and trade in explosives are forbidden under a penalty of one year's imprisonment, or a fine of 10,000 dinars.

In all national or private enterprises, in all those serving the public needs, such as privileged banks, mines, railways, water, light, etc., strikes are forbidden. In the case of a strike, the leaders to be punished by imprisonment and fines of 50,000 dinars.

Unions going beyond the limits of their statutes or who work secretly for the above ends are dissolved. Dissolution is pronounced

by the local police with the right of appeal before the district tribunal. If the latter accepts the appeal, the police have the right to carry the matter to the tribunal of cassation.

3. In villages where insurrections break out, the Chief of Police has the right to divide up the village into groups of at least ten houses. If the village delivers up the insurgents, this measure is abrogated, if not the expulsion of families and destruction of the village is proceeded with.

4. In the preceding cases, the civil authorities can demand the co-operation of armed force. The latter has the right to make use of its arms and all means of repression in case of resistance. Expenses are paid by the population that has rendered this use necessary.

All less rigorous powers existing in the legislation in relation to the above crimes are abolished, for example, the law of the Press. Judicial conferences will cease to be published in the official Press and will be posted on the doors of those interested after a delay of three days."

This law needs no comment; it is simply the legislation of the most brutal, and the grossest dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.

Message from Maxim Gorky to the French Workers

BY the inflexible will of history, the Russian workers are undergoing, at the present moment, an experience whose lessons will be extremely fecund for the working class of the whole world.

The famine—the consequence of an unprecedented drought—threatens to interrupt this great experience; the famine risks wiping out the best energies of the country, incarnate in the working class and its men of science; the famine will kill thousands and hundreds of thousands of children.

You, the representatives of the first nation to attempt accomplishing the great work of social justice, you, the descendants of the men of 1848, you will understand the necessity of coming to the aid of the Russian People in these redoubtable days.

Help them!

MAXIM GORKI.

L'Humanité.

Czecho-Slovakia

Communism and Nationalism

By L REVO

THE Communist International founds its principles on the theses that the present crisis of the imperialist world is, in spite of all the vicissitudes of the failure of Capitalism, and in spite of all attempts at the recovery of the bourgeoisie, the last crisis of the Imperialist world. From this crisis the proletarian revolution should rise up fatally, the only force capable of reconstructing what the misdeeds of Capitalism have destroyed. In

this final struggle, the bourgeoisie is massed entirely against the proletarian class, and the bourgeois classes who at one time had been so enamoured of democracy, of the republic, and of political liberty, have for a long time been rallied to the monarchist counter-revolution.

In such a situation, where the proletariat alone represents progress, it would be folly to await from the bourgeoisie the realisation of the old democratic demands. The demands of democracy and of liberty, of the rights of people themselves to dispose of their national autonomy, abandoned by a class whose only concern to-day is White reaction, are taken up by the working class, whose victory will not only consecrate the triumph of Socialism, but also that of liberty. But Communists must take well into account that the demands of liberty and national autonomy can only be realised by the Communist revolution, and with all the other ends of the oppressed masses.

That is why the Communists take great care during the decisive period of the Capitalist failure, not to harass the international class war of the proletariat by nationalist watchwords. They rise up—wherever it may be—everywhere in the capitalist world—against the nationalist demands, not ceasing to proclaim that the international victory of the proletariat over the Bourgeoisie is the only condition of all the social and national aims at liberation.

In Bohemia

ALTHOUGH he understands this attitude of the Communist International in relation to the national problems, André Pierre pretends that the German Communists of Czecho-Slovakia are allying themselves to their pan-German Chauvinists, in order to defend the rights of the Germans of Czecho-Slovakia, to dispose of themselves. Evidently, Andre Pierre has committed a little error. He confounds the German Communists of Czecho-Slovakia with his friends the Socialists who belong to the "Two-and-a-Half" International. The fierce fight of the German Communists against the Prague Government has nothing in common with the "irridentism" of the German bourgeois parties.

On the other hand, the German Socialists of Czecho-Slovakia rally to their bourgeoisie on every national question, against the Czecho-Slovak Government. The German Communists want to destroy the Czecho-Slovak Capitalist Republic, and replace it by the Czecho-Slovak Soviet Republic. The reformists subjected to the irridentism of their bourgeoisie are trying to realise national liberty by fighting against Czecho-Slovakia, side by side with the exploiters.

In Slovakia

IT is not only the German Communists of Slovakia that André Pierre accuses of being "irridentists" and nationalists. The Slovak Communists also, are qualified by him as such, and he even asserts (as do the Czecho reformists) that Horthy would favour Communist propaganda in Slovakia!

It is sufficient to say that the Czecho-Slovak authorities, upon the action of a Government composed of social-democrats, has expelled into Hungary a considerable number of Slovak Communists, who were received on reaching the frontier, into the open gaols of the bandits of Mons. Horthy. These same "social" and "democratic" authorities, make, on the other hand, the field clear for the monarchist, clerical, and irridentist propaganda of the Hungarian agitator, Illinka.

As to the famous radio of Bela Kun, according to which he was "a nationalist inconsolable with the loss of Slovakia," this radio has for a considerable time been recognised as a forgery of the Czecho-Slovak bourgeois press. Further insistence is superfluous.

Bulgaria

The Bulgarian Communist Party

THE Third Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party took place from the 8th to 10th of May. The B.C.P. had 1,528 organisations with 37,191 members to 31st December, 1920, and 40,000 members on the 1st April, 1921.

The Communist Union of Professional Syndicates included eighteen Professional Unions, and 31,433 members at the end of the year 1920.

The Communist Party has also affiliated to it the following Communist organisations:—

1. The Union of State Employés and Communes, with 2,449 members.
2. The organisation of Communist Teachers, with 2,222 members and 81 groups. It has its organ, *The Star*, which has a weekly circulation of 5,000 copies.
3. The organisation of Communist Women, with 60 groups and a membership of 4,340 on the 1st of April, 1920.
4. The organisation of émigrants has 20 groups and 1,663 members.
5. The organisation of invalids includes 1,174 members.
6. The Union of Prisoners of War has 16,521 members and 619 groups.
7. The Union of Young Communists boasts 179 groups and 6,882 members.
8. The Group of Communist Engineers, has 29 members.
9. The Communist Co-operative has 41,967 members and has a capital of 4,039,350 francs.

The headquarters of the Co-operative was set on fire on the 24th May this year by hooligans (fascisti) of the bourgeois parties, helped by the Government. Up to now none of the hooligans have been arrested.

The parliamentary group of the Party numbers 50 deputies, of which nine have been chased by the agrarians for "indiscipline."

The Party administrates 87 Communes, and possesses 1,565 municipal councillors, 510 members of educational committees, and 5 district councillors.

The receipts of the Party H.Q. Treasury were 749,523 francs, and the expenses 710,000 francs. The total general receipts of the Party were 4,147,382 francs, and the expenditure 3,612,828 francs.

The receipts of the Union of Syndicates were 2,679,770 francs, and the expenditure 2,217,394 francs.

The figures for the Union of Employés are 145,073 francs, receipts, and 130,827 expenditure.

The Teachers' Union—236,394 francs receipts, and 168,279 francs expenditure.

Propaganda

Here is the list of Party Organs:—

1. *The Workers' Journal*, daily organ of the B.C.P. (30,000 copies).
2. *The Review, The New Times*, bi-monthly scientific organ of the B.C.P. (6,000 copies).
3. *The Peasants' Journal* (15,000 copies per week).
4. *The Red Laugh*, humorous paper (5,000 copies weekly).
5. *Equality*. For women. (10,000 copies).
6. *Liberation*. For the emigrants from Macedonia, Thrace, and the Dorbrudja. (3,000 copies).
7. *The Peoples' Army*. (5,000 copies per week), for Turkish workers.

There also exist other smaller journals. From the 1st October, 18, to the 18th April, 1921, the B.C.P. has edited 98 brochures which 1,085,856 copies were printed, and 780,111 copies sold. From the 1st June, 1920, to the 1st April, 1921, the Central Committee of the B.C.P. has issued seventeen appeals and circulating leaflets, to the number of 510,000 copies.

The District Committees have sent out 35 appeals and manifestos with 71,000 copies, and the local committees 637 appeals and 10,170 copies.

The B.C.P. has its own agents to the number of 319, who read Communist literature.

No comrade can edit papers, pamphlets, reviews, etc., without permission of the Party.

The B.C.P. has still various funds that amount to about a million francs.

At the Congress

At the Congress there were 500 delegates.

The Agenda was as follows:—

1. Report of the Executive Committee.

2. Review of the National and International situation from the political and economic point of view.

3. The Theses of the Third International.

4. The Agrarian Question.

The delegates were unanimous on all questions. The theses were accepted with acclamations.

The B.C.P. is in close relation with the other Balkan Communist Parties.

Hungary

To the Communist Party of Hungary

From the E.C. of the Third International.

Dear Comrades,

THE Executive Committee of the Communist International has occupied itself with the question of the conflict that has arisen in the Communist Party of Hungary. After considering the views of the former leaders of the Hungarian Communist Party and the representatives of all fractions, the Executive Committee has laid down its view in the following theses:

1. The Executive has pleasure in stating that for the past few months the Hungarian working class movement has shown indications of recuperation from the blows which have been dealt it since the fall of the dictatorship. The revival of the working class movement is taking place in a situation of internal struggles in the camp of the counter-revolution, which facilitates the reappearance of the proletariat in the political arena. The situation imposes new and important demands on the Hungarian Communist Party.

2. The external conditions, under which the Communist Party of Hungary have to work, are as follows:

- (a) Its complete illegality under the régime of a White Terror.
- (b) Limited freedom of movement of the Trade Union, which embrace the great masses of workers, even under the Horthy régime.

So far as the work among the masses is concerned, the Trade Unions form the most qualified basis of political and organisational endeavour of the Communist Party of Hungary. The Hungarian Trade Unions, however, must not only bend before the leadership of the Social-Democrats, but also build their own organisations and alongside the Trade Unions. Every member of the Trade Unions, in paying his dues to the Trade Union, at the same time pays dues to the Social-Democratic Party, and is *ipso facto* a member of that organisation. The Communists must not consider this state of affairs a reason for leaving the Trade Unions. It is of little use to commence a struggle against the Social-Democratic Party, with the Trade Unions as its basis, under the slogan: "Refuse to pay dues to the Social-Democratic Party." This would facilitate the expulsion of the Communists by the Social-Democrats before the former have made their influence felt. The Communists

have considered the payment of dues to the Social-Democratic Party as a tribute which they pay Horthy for the right of working in the Trade Unions; just as the pledge of loyalty to the king was the tribute which the Social-Democratic representatives (Liebknecht in the Reichstag and the Bolsheviks in the Duma as well) paid in monarchistic countries for the right of acting as representatives of the workers in parliament. The fact that Communists are thus compelled to pay dues, can be discussed only when the struggle against the Social-Democratic Trade Union bureaucracy has developed to a greater extent and at a time when there will be no longer any danger of isolating and expelling a small Communist minority.

Return of Communist emigrants in large numbers to Hungary is impossible at the present moment.

The Communists have not only to fight the Social-Democratic Trade Union bureaucracy in the Trade Unions, and spurn its dictates, but they have also to play the rôle of representing the Social-Democratic Party in the Hungary of Horthy, and at the same time to denounce this party before the masses as the midwife of White Hungary, as well as to unmask its pseudo-opposition. The propaganda for the rupture of Social-Democracy and the revolutionary rôle of the Trade Unions in the struggle against the White régime and for the dictatorship of the proletariat, paves the way for the liberation of the Trade Unions from the influence of the Trade Union bureaucracy. The Trade Unions do not form the only basis for the activity of the Communist Party. The party must embrace those sections of the working class which the Trade Unions do not include—such as the farm proletariat and the small farmers. The organisation of the party should not limit itself only

1. Concentrate the Trade Union nuclei into an industrial power which will be in a position to take up the struggle in the Trade Unions from a political, as well as from an organisational, point of view.

2. Learn to incorporate those working nuclei in the Trade Unions into the system of its illegal local and factory organisations. The illegal organisations must leave nothing undone to utilise every possibility for open propagation of Communism, as well as the organisation of the working class, even though it be not under the Communist banner. The Communist Party of Hungary must make every endeavour to form a centralised illegal organisation, just as the Bolshevik Party of Russia did before the Revolution, and the Spartakus Bund during the war in Germany. That does not prevent most careful consideration of the danger which menaces the organisation from the side of the Horthy Government. But without centralised, illegal organisations, there can be no possibility of the existence of the Hungarian Communist Party being any more than a loose organisation of Communist propaganda circles. The centre of gravity of the work of the Communist Party of Hungary must, of course, fall in Hungary itself. Although the Hungarian emigrants have no extensive revolutionary experience, their work is, nevertheless of great importance. It is the problem of the Hungarian Communist Party to gather its best elements, to organise, to

enlighten, and to discipline them, and to thus form a reservoir of agitational forces for the future Hungarian Communist movement, as well as an organisational basis and an apparatus for the publication of literature.

5. Even though the Hungarian Communist Party must in its agitation from the outset take cognisance of the actual concrete problem and interests of the masses, it must, nevertheless, in its agitation and propaganda, everlastingly point to the glorious past of the Hungarian Soviet Dictatorship, and all its experiences, which must be constantly compared with the experiences of the White Dictatorship. It is the duty of the Party to do this work frankly and under the unfolded banner of the Communist Party. Only in this manner can its concrete actions acquire the confidence and leadership of the fighting masses, without which it cannot play a leading rôle in the future Hungarian revolution. In order to fulfil these political instructions, the Executive appoints a new provisional Central Committee, until the time when a regular Party Conference will be able to elect a Central Committee.

These theses have been accepted by the representatives of both fractions as a binding and guiding policy for the future political and organisational activity. The glorious revolutionary past of the Hungarian proletariat obligates every Hungarian Communist to co-operate in realising from an organisational point of view, the political instructions for completing the preparatory work of the Hungarian Revolution, in order that the foundation for the emancipation of the suffering and struggling Hungarian proletariat, due to the Horthy terror, may be effectively created.

Japan

I

Manifesto of the Communist Party of Japan

ASPECTRE is haunting Europe—the spectre of Communism.” So Marx said, and to-day, after a lapse of three-fourths of a century, that same spectre is haunting not only Europe, but the whole world! The old powers of the earth have now come together and have entered into a holy alliance to exorcise this spectre. The League of Nations; the leagues composed of the Denikins, Wrangels, Kerenskies, and the French and English imperialists; the alliances of the Koltchaks, Semeyonoffs, and the Japanese militarists; the one and thousand leagues and alliances tell us that capitalism has entered definitely into the last struggle for its existence.

The Meiji Revolution of 1867 was a victory of the merchant capitalists over the feudal lords, but capitalism was not sufficiently ripe, at that time, in Japan so as to develop a political system proper to itself. The power of the State, therefore, fell into the hands of the lower stratum of the old privileged class, instead of the bourgeoisie. This fact is responsible for the appearance of a highly developed bureaucracy with monarchistical despotism, in place of bourgeois republicanism in Japan.

Since then, however, industrial capitalism in Japan has grown rapidly under the paternal protection of bureaucracy. The bureaucrats knew on the other hand that they, themselves, could not exist without the co-operation of the capitalists. The Japanese history of fifty years following the revolution of 1867 is, therefore, a history of the development of capitalism under or within an awkward armour-like garment of bureaucracy.

The Chino-Japan war and the Russo-Japan War were milestones in the history of capitalism in Japan. Japanese capitalism, we should remember, has not only grown with the blood of the people of its own, but has also been fattened by that of the proletariat of neighbouring lands. That is why militarism and imperialism have so strongly and quickly rooted themselves in the sunny isles of the Far East.

The four years of the great European War have given Japanese capitalism the time and material necessary for making its final preparations for its appearance on the international stage.

The development of capitalism in Japan is logically reflected in its political features. When it reached its present maturity the so-called "Heimin Naikaku" (Peoples' Cabinet) the government of a party of landlords and capitalists, called the Seiyukai, has come into supremacy, monopolising the Parliament, all municipal machinery, stock exchanges and banks. The time has at last come when the bourgeoisie of Japan can do without any camouflage, or protection of monarchical bureaucracy. And, with the coming to power of the bourgeoisie, the proletariat of Japan has clearly seen its status in society.

Thus, the advancing of capitalism in Japan, true to its historic mission, has ushered in the proletarian movement. The sudden rise of labour movements in 1918, and after; the countless strikes and similar labour disturbances, the quick awakening of the workers to class consciousness, and the irresistible spread of the doctrine of Socialism over the land, are all the fruits of economic development in Japan.

Such a social phenomenon is not limited within the city districts. The agricultural communities are as much effected. The rapid capitalisation of land, the swallowing up of the small farms by great landlords, has but recently cast sixty per cent. of the entire population of the country into the ranks of the proletariat. It is certain now that the great majority of the rural population will consciously follow the footsteps of the city proletariat in the approaching struggles for emancipation. Indeed, the new class differentiation—the proletariat and the bourgeoisie—in Japan has now definitely and irrevocably been established, and the genuine class-struggle between those two is already afoot. The "rice riots" in the summer of 1918, which spread over the whole length and breadth of the land and held the capitalist government trembling for two weeks, was a flaring up of the revolutionary spirit of the masses, and a clear indication of the ripening of the time for the final struggle in which capitalism must fall.

With the rise of the proletarian class in Japan, Socialism has come forward prominently. For a quarter of a century the Japanese Socialists have been fighting a brave but seemingly hopeless battle against the tremendous forces generating out of the elaborate and gigantic machinery of a police system under a militaristic bureaucracy. But the time has come, at last, when we are justly rewarded for our past sacrifices. We have now a revolutionary proletariat, the spirit of rebellion implanted in the hearts of the masses, and, finally, the Communist Party of Japan, the vanguard of the proletarian revolutionary army!

Thus, as the capitalists in Japan have entered the world arena of international capitalistic exploitation, so the proletariat in Japan have also entered the arena of the world-wide revolution. When the proletariat in Russia felled their oppressors through the memorable November Revolution, the left-wing Socialists in Japan, in defiance of police vigilance and spies, greeted the glorious achievement of the Russian comrades. We said then: "The proletariat must withdraw their bayonets, which have been pointed at each others' breasts, and turn them upon their real enemies."

At that time, we were too weak to enforce what we said, but ever since we have been tenaciously upholding the banner of international solidarity of the proletariat, even amidst the stormy and incessant onslaught of the infuriated capitalist government; and, now, we are able to greet the revolutionary proletariat of all the world in the name of the Communist Party of Japan:

Hail to the Proletarian Revolution!
 Long live the Communist International!
 Hail to Communism!

E.C. OF C.P. OF JAPAN.

Publications Received

TO BE REVIEWED

The Defence of Terrorism. By L. Trotsky

176 pp. Art Paper Covers. 3/6 nett. Labour Publishing Co.

(We specially recommend everyone of our readers to buy this most valuable book)

The Lesson of Black Friday. By Gerald Gould

39 pp. Paper Covers. 1/- nett. Labour Publishing Co. and Allen & Unwin

A History of Labour. By Gilbert Stone

415 pp. Cloth Covers. 15/- Harrop

The Origin and Evolution of the Human Race. By Albert Churchward

511 pp. Cloth Covers. Profusely Illustrated. 45/- nett. Allen & Unwin

Primitive Society. By Robert Lowie

453 pp. Cloth Covers. 21/- nett. Routledge

The Law of Births and Deaths. By C. E. Pell

192 pp. Cloth Covers. T. Fisher Unwin

The Miners' Conflict with the Mine Owners. By John Thomas, B.A.

70 pp. Paper Covers. 8d. International Bookshops Limited

(A splendid outline of the events leading up to the recent lockout)

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