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THE COMMUNIST REVIEW

Editor: THOS. BELL

THE EDITORIAL VIEW

IT is common knowledge, that since the Russian Revolution, the leaders of the Second International have never ceased their campaign in the Press and elsewhere, against the methods of the Russian Communist Party. The way of Lenin and the Bolsheviks has been "proven" times without number to be the wrong way, because, forsooth, it was "undemocratic" and "unparliamentary." Every conceivable calumny has been heaped upon the heads of the Russian Communists. They have been in turn Jesuits, liars, swindlers, cut-throats and murderers.

The Press war of the Second Internationalists has been followed in its turn by wars of intervention in which all the forces of capitalism throughout the war have been mobilised to overthrow the Soviets. We have seen the Social-Democrats of the Continent, and the Labour Party leaders in this country from the campaign in the Baltic States, the Ebert-Noske regime, the subsidised "revolts" in Georgia, to the latest intervention campaign in China, wage an incessant and unscrupulous war against the Soviets. Yet in spite of all, in spite of the Kautskys, the Renaudels, the Bauers, the Snowdens, Hodges and MacDonalds, marching at the head of the international capitalist campaign against the Soviets, the Union of Workers' Republics stands firmer to-day than at any period in its seven years of existence. It is to-day a formidable menace to the stability of world capitalism.

* * * * *

The Second Internationalists have had ample opportunities to prove the wisdom of their methods, i.e., the evolutionary way instead of revolutionary direct action. They have had three outstanding opportunities and, three times they have demonstrated the futility of the "constitutional" road. In Germany, in 1918, the revolution put power into their hands. They struck the constitutional road, and with what results? Everyone knows how that highly industrialised and cultural country has been brought

under the heel of a military dictatorship of the monarchists under the protectorate of Ebert, the Social-Democrat. The working class has been brought to actual famine conditions, and reduced to the level of the coolies. In Austria, also in 1918, the Second Internationalists had the power. To-day, in the name of the League of Nations, a clerical reaction is in the saddle, and like the working class of Germany, the Austrian proletariat has become a colony of industrial serfs.

* * * * *

Finally, in Great Britain, the Second International have had their third opportunity. Here, unlike the German and Austrian Social-Democrats, they cannot say their defeat was due to the fact that England was a vanquished country. Great Britain remains one of the most powerful states in the world, and this power was given over into the hands of the Labour Party leaders. What have the Second Internationalists done with it? Have they given any encouragement and hope to the working class that a "peaceful" transformation can be achieved in "democratic" Britain? What has become of the promises and great ideals to be realised when Labour was given an opportunity to govern—the right to work, the minimum wage, the capital levy, disarmament and world peace? Apart from tinkering with the "gap," the shifting of a portion of the incidence of parish relief on to the Insurance Acts, grandiose paper schemes of housing and education, etc., the balance in favour of the Second Internationalists is *nil*.

On the contrary, capitalism remains as firmly entrenched as ever. The Empire remains intact, while to retain its majesty, Indian, Egyptian, Sudanese, and the natives in the dependencies, *i.e.*, the British slave colonies, are clubbed, dragooned, bombed and massacred in the most thorough-going imperialist style. And as if to seal the treason, we have seen the Second Internationalists by their adoption of the infamous Dawes Plan, playing the role of *touts* for the small clique of international financiers who now rule Central Europe. Where Lloyd George, Curzon and Co., had failed, MacDonald, by means of democratic-pacifist phrases, pretends to success! In short, the attitude of the Second Internationalists in Great Britain has been, in the language of the bourgeois press, one of pursuing the policy of its capitalist predecessors, and maintaining the highest bourgeois traditions of British capitalism.

Thus, persuading the "sane and responsible" Labour leaders to follow the great traditions of Liberalism, the bourgeois politicians have succeeded to a degree as they hoped, to discredit

Socialism in the eyes of the masses. That is why the bourgeois Press, while complimenting the Labour Government on its adherence to the basis of the constitution, *i.e.*, the capitalist economy, at the same time continues to associate the Labour leaders with Communism.

* * * * *

But all hopes to discredit Socialism are bound to fail. The failure of capitalism to bring about stable conditions, and its inability to continue its traditional policy of maintaining its supremacy by material concessions to the workers will drum Socialism into the heads of even the most backward workers in spite of all the cunning, corruption and deceit of the bourgeoisie. Already there is a distinct Left-ward tendency throughout the whole Labour movement. Witness the increasing economic demands, and the growing political consciousness of the masses side by side with the disillusionment coming over large sections of the workers as a result of the flabbiness of the first Labour Government.

Trade union workers disgusted by the Labour Government's sabotage of strikes and failure to vigorously advance the economic aims; Socialist workers disgusted with the Liberalism of the Labour Ministers; confused workers and petty-bourgeois of the pacifist type, who are losing faith in the pacifism of Ramsay MacDonald and his I.L.P. "pacifist" colleagues, all these may conflict with each other on points of practice, but they sustain a general sentiment of rebellion in the Labour Movement.

Reflecting this general mass sentiment are the Left-wing tendencies becoming more and more noticeable amongst the leadership. On the trade union field, we find the Left-wing in the main representative of the smaller unions, *e.g.*, Purcell, Bromley, Hicks. In previous years such unions played a very small part. But the increased activity of the masses has made it possible for them to gain prominence and ultimately position (in the General Council) by expressing "Left" sentiments on a number of popular subjects, *e.g.*, Soviet Russia, Emergency Powers Act, and International Trade Union Unity. Although they are in a minority on the General Council, the Right-wing have had to give way to them, because of the popular character of their watchwords. At the same time the "Leftists" are released from the necessity of carrying out all their promises in practice by the very fact, that, in the main, they are the representatives of the smaller unions. This type of Left-winger falls roughly into two sections, one of genuine Left-wingers in a state of political confusion, such as Purcell, Hicks and Cook, and the other, skilful opportunists like

Williams, Bromley and Tillet. The boundary line is, of course, very thin, but, politically, they have no common platform.

* * * * *

Amongst the parliamentary Left-wingers, we get even more heterogeneous elements. One section, Maxton, Buchanan, Mills and Kirkwood, a distinctly proletarian section mainly from the I.L.P., closely in touch with the masses of skilled proletarians, over whom the I.L.P. has in the past exercised ideological control. Another section, Lansbury, Scurr, Jack Jones, also proletarian in its origin, but of an older generation. This section arose out of the struggle of the unskilled workers during the closing period of the 19th century. Semi-pacifist in character, it is even more confused politically, than the first, and the most violent contradictions exist in its midst, e.g., Lansbury and Jack Jones will both attack the Government's use of the Emergency Powers Act, but Lansbury on pacifist grounds, Jones on purely class grounds. Lansbury defends Soviet Russia, Jones attacks it. There are, again, ex-radicals and bourgeois pacifists like Morel and Thurtle, who are only "Left" on rare occasions of pacifism. The one thing common to all these parliamentary groups is the lack of a clear-headed political policy and programme, in opposition to the purely Right-wing reformists and opportunists of the Labour Party.

Yet another "Left" group is to be found amongst the petty bourgeois intellectuals, e.g., Price, Cole, Wilkinson and a sprinkling of renegade Communists. There is no cohesion within this group. Its one characteristic is its hatred of the Communist Party for very obvious reasons. The Communist Party is essentially a proletarian party. There is little or no scope for parliamentary careerists, or would-be intellectuals. So far as this group has any political characteristics these are an undiluted opportunism on the Dawes Report and the Labour Government, and liquidation of the Communist Party. Indeed, the only importance this group acquires is its attempt to become the ideological leader of the first two sections. Posing as Marxists in a Labour Government extremely poor in intellectuals, this group has a special importance, particularly for the trade union and parliamentary Left-wing. Only the Communists, however, see clearly that the objective *role* of this group is to lead into safe channels first, the confusion of the leaders, and ultimately the revolt of the masses.

* * * * *

Out of the present welter of confusion in the Labour movement, and the political awakening in the large masses following upon the disillusionment produced by our first Labour Govern-

ment, the growth and influence of the Communist Party is being quickened. One of the surest indications of this is the anxiety of the one-time Left-wingers, Cramp and Frank Hodges, to get the Communist Party to break from the Labour movement, go out into the wilderness and, particularly, to take its trade union influence with it. In Great Britain, owing to the extreme political indifference of the proletariat in the past, the Socialist parties with the possible exception of the I.L.P. have invariably been small bodies of pure propagandists or missionaries for Socialism. Even in the case of the I.L.P., their close association with the trade unions had only one objective, *viz.*, the capturing of the trade union funds for parliamentary purposes.

The Communist Party is the first instance of any serious attempt to combine revolutionary action with this contact with the masses. It refuses to go into the wilderness. Already its influence is out of all proportion to its numbers, though these are rapidly on the increase. To recruit 1,000 members during one Recruiting Week is a great achievement. It is only equalled by the circulation of our weekly organ, the *Workers' Weekly*, jumping to 100,000 during the election campaign. Such results might well strike consternation into the camp of our opponents. And when we contemplate our Party successes in our campaigns on unemployment, for Hands Off Germany, against the Experts' Plan, for the Recognition of Soviet Russia, and the repeal of anti-Labour Legislation, we have every reason to feel sure that the Communist Party is on the right track. Around its programme and policy all the best fighting elements in the working class movement are rallying. As the revolutionary vanguard of the working class movement in Great Britain, the Communist Party will more and more, as its numbers and influence grows, gather to its standard all those who are genuinely serious on the immediate and final struggle against capitalism.



The Servile Conference

THE Labour Party Congress was in marked contrast to the Hull Trades Union Congress. Whereas the Hull T.U.C. attempted to face the issues confronting the workers, the Labour Party Conference did no serious political work at all. At Hull, the influence of the Left-wing was marked, whereas, in the Labour Party Conference, only the Communist fraction took up the attitude of opposition towards the leadership. Such Left-wingers as were there were overawed by the atmosphere of the Conference, and did not dare to criticise the official policy. To a certain extent this weakness of the Left exists because the masses have not yet lost faith in the Labour Government.

In regard to the trade union situation, even the dullest worker realises that the trade union movement, as it is at present, urgently needs re-organisation. There is strong mass support for those who take up a Left attitude in the trade union movement, and, consequently, the Left-wing is vocal. In the Labour Party, on the contrary, the Labour Government's period of office has been too short to expose to the masses the true nature of Labour Party leadership. While the Left-wing in the T.U.C. was, therefore, swimming with the current, the Left-wing at the Labour Party Conference was called upon to swim against the current, and had not the moral strength to do so.

AN ELECTION ATMOSPHERE.

The Conference met under the atmosphere of the General Election—and was dominated by that atmosphere. The Labour Government was going into battle on behalf of the Russian Treaty, and consequently many workers could not see that criticism of its Imperialist policy in other spheres was justified. The Conference was opened by Mr. Ramsay MacDonald who delivered one of his usual florid and ambiguous speeches. There is surely no politician in the world to-day who can talk for so long and say so little as Mr. MacDonald. While he did not in his speech lay down any fighting working class policy, nevertheless, by masterly use of rhetoric, he conveyed the impression that he was giving the lead for a powerful struggle against the capitalists. In doing so he won the sympathy of the Conference and was consequently able during the course of his speech to launch an attack against the

Communist Party with a view to influencing the Conference decisions on the question of the relations between the Labour Party and the Communists.

MacDonald's speech was followed by a vague general resolution praising the work of the Labour Government, and calling for strong support of that Government. The Party fraction has been criticised for not opposing this resolution. A mistake may have been made in not doing so, but it is up to those who hold this point of view to make themselves fully acquainted with the situation. The resolution was an emergency resolution. It was only distributed to the delegates a few minutes before it was moved. No amendments to that resolution were in order. The only way to oppose it would have been to move the previous question. This would have led the majority of the delegates to believe that the Communist Party was opposed to the return of a Labour Government, as they would not have had time in moving the previous question to give a clear political explanation of the Party's attitude. On the whole, I am inclined to think that the delegation did the only thing that was possible under the circumstances. They later handed a declaration to MacDonald explaining why they had not opposed this resolution, but the reading of that declaration was not permitted. Immediately after the emergency resolution, the Party fraction had an opportunity of making a sharp criticism of the Labour Government in connection with the discussion on the Executive Committee's Report. In spite of the fact that the atmosphere of the Conference was totally against such discussion, the Party fraction did its revolutionary duty.

FORCING POLITICAL DISCUSSION.

On the questions of Communist candidates, of Unemployment, of the Dawes Report, of India, of political prisoners in Russia, of the Labour Budget, of the Government's attitude towards militarism, and of the Youth Movement, the Communist Party fraction raised sharp criticism. It can safely be said that this was the only opposition which manifested itself in the Conference and that without it there would have been no political discussion at all. On the question of Communist affiliation and Communist candidates, the Labour Party Executive put up Mr. Frank Hodges, a prominent member of the Government, to state the case against the Communists. Mr. Hodges, in praising the enthusiasm of the Communist Party membership, suggested that they should go out into the highways and by-ways, *i.e.*, outside the Labour movement, in order to carry on their propaganda. Subsequent speakers on the official side made the same suggestion. It is

obvious that they were exceedingly anxious that the Party should break the connection it has recently been establishing in the localities with the local Labour Parties. Other speakers who took part on the official side emphasised the fact that for the Conference to recognise the Communists in any way would have an adverse effect on the electoral fortunes of the Labour Party. There is no doubt that, from the purely vote-catching point of view, and not from the point of view of working class principles, this is correct. In preparation for the Election, the Conservative Headquarters had prepared a huge number of leaflets and posters all based on an attempt to identify the majority of the Labour Party with the Communists, and if the Labour Party Conference had done anything to identify itself with the Communists a considerable section of its more timid supporters would have been scared away. The decisions of the Conference were, therefore, influenced to a very great extent by immediate electoral considerations.

THE STRUGGLE FOR AFFILIATION.

The Party fraction stated the Party case in a satisfactory fashion, but it is obvious that it is possible for a fool to tell more lies in a minute than a philosopher can answer in a month. The astute politicians who argued against association with the Communists were not fools. Neither was the Communist delegation composed of philosophers. The result was that, in the time at our disposal, we could not answer or explain all the statements that were made against the Party. The actual voting on the first two resolutions is not a true indication of the Party's strength. In most of the Trade Union delegations there were minorities in favour of Communist affiliation, and in favour of the endorsement of Party candidates. In the miners' delegation, the decision to vote against the Party was carried by 74 votes to 52. The 52 delegates who were in the minority had the pleasure of seeing the votes of the people whom they represented cast against Communist affiliation. A similar thing happened in most of the other delegations, and the vote, therefore, does not give a conclusive index of the Party's strength within the Labour masses.

The third resolution to expel the Communists was not discussed at all. A vote on it was taken by a trick at the end of the debate on the first two resolutions. It was not made clear to the Conference what this proposal meant with reference to the rights of trade unionists and with reference to the position in local Labour organisations where the Communists are strong. Immediately after the vote to exclude the Communists was carried

by a narrow majority, a number of Trade Union General Secretaries, Bromley, Gossip and Cook expressed their fears as to the consequences of this decision, and there is little likelihood of it being applied to Communists who are members of trade unions. The remaining resolutions of the Conference were rushed through without any discussion, and a number of important questions on which Party members were to speak, such as the Dawes Report, Imperialism, Soviet Russia, and control of the Labour Government by the Labour movement, were not taken at all. The resolutions which were passed were carried without any discussion. The demands which are contained in this resolution are demands which cast very grave reflections upon the present Imperialist policy of the Labour Government, and are not likely to be taken seriously by that Government if it is returned to office.

On the question of Unemployment, the Executive brought forward a resolution that was a masterpiece of vagueness. When the Glasgow Trades Council delegate, supported by most of the Party fraction, endeavoured to get the Six-Point Charter embodied in this resolution, the attempt was defeated. *The spectacle of Trade Union delegates who had agreed to the Six-Point Charter at the T.U.C. turning down the same Charter at the Labour Party Conference does not inspire one with profound respect for the political consistency of many of the prominent workers in the British Labour movement.*

VICTORY FOR RIGHT-WING.

The net result of the Labour Party Conference is that no attempt was made by the Conference as a whole to review the work of the Labour Government during its first months of office. No attempt was made to discuss the new international situation arising out of the Dawes Report, and the taking of measures to carry on a struggle against that Report. No attempt was made to ensure that the Labour Government, if returned again to office, would act more strictly under the control of the Labour movement. As a consequence, we have got to acknowledge the fact that the Conference registered a victory for the Right-wing, that is to say, for those who are struggling to transform the Labour Party into a timid Liberal Party. For whatever results may be obtained in the Election in wiping out the Liberal Party of Asquith and Co. (and we are not inclined to think that they will be as great as expected) we have nevertheless to acknowledge the fact that political Liberalism will never be dead as an active political force while the present leadership of the Labour Party is in control.

The victory of the Right-wing is not a decisive victory. In

the movement itself, opposition to Right-wing policy is growing. The great effort being made by the labouring masses at the Election is due to the fact that those masses are fighting on two class issues, the Campbell case, and the Russian Treaty. Whichever way the Election goes, the desire of the masses to fight on class issues will be stimulated. A Labour government returned to office—though this is unlikely—would be forced by mass pressure to put up a more vigorous fight. MacDonald and the Right-wing leadership will fight against this and in so doing the Left elements in the Labour movement will be strengthened, particularly their sincere and consistent leader, the Communist Party.

If a Conservative Government is returned, the masses will expect a more vigorous fight against this government to be undertaken. The record of the MacDonald Government while in office will make it more difficult for that Government to fight Conservative reaction, and again Left-wing dissatisfaction will grow.

In those circumstances it would be folly for the members of the Communist Party to follow the advice of Mr. Hodges and Co. and go out into the highways and byways. The Communist Party must rally the sympathy of the masses in the local Labour organisations and fight those decisions. In fighting, it must consistently oppose the policy of the Right-wing leadership. In doing so it will be able to gain such strength as will not only prevent those decisions from being operated, but will also enable it at a subsequent Labour Party Conference to deal still heavier blows at those Right-wing leaders who are corrupting the Labour movement with Liberalism and Imperialism.

J. R. CAMPBELL.



Contradictions of Modern Capitalism

N. BUKHARIN

[This article by Comrade Bukharin will appear in the next number of the political-economic periodical of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party. We publish it with the Editor's permission, and draw the attention of our readers to the problems of super-imperialism with which it deals. The Kautsky-Hilferding theory is flourishing now in the Social-Democratic movement, and even Communists have become victims of this theory, as a consequence of the intervention of American capital into European economic life.—The Editor.]

IN his book on "The Theories of Surplus Value," Marx defines apologetics as a theory of capitalism that sees only the unity of capitalist relations and not the internal contradictions of this order of society; it does not analyse them and cannot understand capitalism as a *system* of contradictions and consequently is unable to grasp the internal mechanism of capitalist development correctly.

Communist society is a body that is organised on a definite plan, is rationally developing and is capable of directing its own evolution. Capitalism prepares this society and creates the necessary conditions for future general organisation. However, this historical mission of capitalism has its limit, not in an organised society, but in a great destruction of social contradictions, in revolution. Not only will class antagonism, the strongest explosive of modern ages, that at the present time has reached its utmost limits, be the motive force behind the destruction of capitalist society, but there will also be all the contradictions of capitalism—crises, competition, and wars—reproduced on the largest scale. The revolutionary Marxist theory considers all the movements of capitalist society from the point of view of an extended reproduction of capitalist contradictions; this is the only method that can give a correct and actual picture of the bourgeois world.

At the present time, mankind—both its proletarian part and the bourgeois freebooters—is summarising the results of the first world-wide imperialist conflict. The Social-Democratic apologists of capitalism, the ex-Ministers of bourgeois—imperial and republican courts, quasi-Marxist onlookers, are leading peaceful existences. Noske and Co., all carefully wrapped up in the soft cloak of a Wilsonised Marxism, besprinkled with the blood of victims of a "democratic" regime—all are feverishly engaged in writing up the results of the war.

HILFERDING THE APOLOGIST.

Such a one is Rudolph Hilferding, who is rapidly ousting his teacher and mentor, Karl Kautsky, from the theoretical cemetery of social democracy.

In the first number of his journal *Die Gesellschaft* (Society), Hilferding published a programme and theoretical article, "Present-day Problems." We are unable to pay attention to all the points in this article, especially as other comrades have written about it, but at the same time we would like to say a few words about several of Mr. Hilferding's arguments.

First of all, a few words on the problem of "organised capital." This is in truth one of the "present-day problems." But what does the social-democratic theory have to say on the subject?

Mr. Hilferding quite correctly indicates the further concentration and centralisation of capital, the growth of monopolist combines, etc.

He writes: "This is the transition of capitalism from free competition to organised capital."

"Simultaneously with this there is a growth of the conscious order and management of industry and its tendency to overcome the imminent anarchy of free competitive capitalism on a capitalist basis."

What is remarkable in this? Was not this tendency immediately noted in our Communist literature? Of course, only in a different way from that of Mr. Hilferding.

The latter does not understand, does not seem nor wish to see, that this tendency to organisation is also developing into antagonistic, contradictory forms. The apologist of capitalism keeps quiet over these contradictions which must form the first subject of a *Marxian* analysis.

CAPITALIST ANARCHY STILL RAMPANT.

Already Mr. Hilferding imagines that this era of organised capitalism, consciously managed without crisis and unemployment, with a steady and wisely regulated wage, etc., is advancing.

In reality, however, nothing of the sort is taking place, and—what is more important—cannot take place, since the elimination of free competition within capitalist countries and the overcoming of industrial anarchy at the same time means the intensification of "free competition" between different countries, the growth of anarchy in world production—in other words, an extended reproduction of capitalist contradictions.

Only such a limited point of view of "national industry," which has become the provincial viewpoint of supernumerary, impoverished professors living in the "pluperfect," can ignore world industry. Mr. Hilferding sees this world industry very clearly when he hears the gentle clink of American dollars, that extraordinary elixir which will revive the emaciated German mark that has "stunk three days" like the biblical Lazarus, and which the American Christ—in the form of General Dawes—must resuscitate now and for ever. But Mr. Hilferding is blind in both eyes when he has to see the contradictions of world economics; he is deaf in both ears when these contradictions cry against these apologists of capitalism in voices that are anything but melodious.

Anarchy is "overcome!" Crises are "disappearing!" It is only necessary to consider realities just a little to dispel these truly miserable dreams. International industry is at the present time more disintegrated than it has ever been before. Absolutely every investigator states this. Everyone is talking of "The decay of world industry," "the ruin of world economics," etc., etc., while Hilferding is writing that anarchy has been overcome.

As a matter of fact, in reality the anarchy of production has not been overcome, but on the other hand has become *intensified* although actually changed in its *form*. It has changed from a disintegrated anarchy of innumerable separate, petty, industrial units into a concentrated struggle of imperialist monsters with the world as the battlefield. The losses caused by this fight are greater as it grows in magnitude. The same thing takes place with crises. Of course, anarchy is overcome in developed, enlarged trusts and internal "crises" are eliminated together. But it would be empty and unworthy foolishness to imagine that crises in general will disappear. The world crisis that took place not so long ago and that was so devastating in its effects, should have "knocked dialectics" into the skulls of even the Social-Democrats; but, presumably, these skulls are so thickly crammed with obsequiousness that nothing else can penetrate.

HILFERDING THE ULTRA-IMPERIALIST.

However, it would be an injustice to R. Hilferding to assert that he does not understand on which side his bread is buttered. Probably he just feigns blindness and deafness; he is simulating when he begs for alms from rich American tourists as they pass through the Berlin thoroughfares. Well, even this is in the order of things!

Mr. Hilferding admits that Anglo-Saxon capital was victorious: he is even prepared to reconcile himself to the political and

“ spiritual supremacy of the Anglo-Saxons . . . ” and here Mr. Hilferding reveals to us the real Social-Democratic paradise.

Until now, Marxism has asserted that wars were indissolubly associated with capitalism, but our “ thinker ” boldly destroys this “ antiquated ” view.

First of all, he crawls servilely along to the necessary deductions, all the while winking sagely at the “ Anglo-Saxons ” with their superb “ political and spiritual habits ” :—

“ The interests of Anglo-Saxon countries, and especially Britain, tend more to consolidation and organisation of the fruits of victory already won, rather than to the extension of their territories . . . The interests of the democratic . . . masses . . . are in complete harmony with these interests . . . ”
Further he is still more candid.

“ Does capitalism really signify war, and can peace only be secured after its complete destruction? Or is it possible to establish new forms of a political world order, by a consistent (!) policy that would limit the sovereignty of separate units, to the benefit of a super-state organisation? Will there not be more scope for evolutionary development here than has hitherto been supposed ? ”

Thus, Mr. Hilferding wishes us to understand that he is all for evolution against revolution, that he supports the League of Nations against separate sovereignties, that he supports “ Anglo-Saxon supremacy,” habitus, dollars and all other benefits against the events that occurred in “ Eastern Europe ” (which he contemptuously refers to in two words—for he is a “ sincere, respectable investigator ! ”)

Mr. Hilferding belatedly resuscitates Karl Kautsky’s “ ultra-imperialism,” which the latter preached even as early as the beginning of the war. The “ irony of history ” is remarkable! Before the war, Kautsky was also terribly enamoured of British political “ habitus ” ; he considered British imperialism an absolutely innocent babe, the mainstay of peace and the blessing of mankind. And now, when the Anglo-Russo-French preparations for the war have been documentarily established, when peace was nearly broken (no doubt, also a part of the Revolution) and drowned in blood, the thought of the Social-Democratic theoretician reverts back to its premises, dialectically enriched by the loss of its last traces of Marxism.

Thus, Mr. Hilferding puts the question (and mutters an answer in the affirmative) of “ ultra-imperialism.”

Generally speaking, this imperialist “ union of unions,” the

“super-state” organisation, a single “world trust,” etc., etc., could be realised in two ways :

1. Either by agreement, or
2. By fighting and victory of the strongest group.

It is foolish to build hopes on the first method, since agreement is possible and real only when there is equality of power, when victory is uncertain or battle without issue. Who will maintain that there is equality of power at the present time?

The second method is that of victory. Hilferding takes the victory of the “Anglo-Saxons” as a basis: to him Anglo-Saxon “supremacy” is the real “League of Nations.”

But this, too, is an illusion because, in the first place, there is no unity within this “supremacy,” and secondly there exist a thousand and one other contradictions that make this “paradise” a complete illusion.

Of course, America is victorious, but there is infinite space between this victory and a world capitalism organised by America. It is possible that America even wishes to “place Europe on a ration,” to use Comrade Trotsky’s expression, but a “plan” is one thing and reality another. If there were no other contradictions, *if* there were no European conflicts, *if* there were no colonial movements that are capable of changing the map of the world in one sweep, *if* there were no East (the movement in China), *if* there were no opposition from the working class, *if* there were no American-Japanese differences, etc., etc.—in other words, *if* there were nothing that exists and were something that does not, (*i.e.*, if there existed only one—and excessively stressed at that—a pan-American, tendency) then we should have an “American” League of Nations, a world-wide trust and European rations dictated by Uncle Sam.

Our tactics cannot overlook such a significant phenomenon as America’s supremacy, but at the same time it must primarily depend upon an analysis of contradictions. This analysis is the fundamental task of our theory. We shall be in a position to define our tactics only when the picture of reality will stand out before us in its entire concrete form, the most important component part of which is the existence of contradictory tendencies.

Three Months of C.P. Propaganda

Some Impressions of our Party Life

IN the course of a three months' tour throughout various areas in Britain, from the impressions gained during that period by coming into contact with the Party and its activity amongst the workers there is one remarkable feature which stands out clearer than at any period of the Party's existence, and that is the close relations which are growing up between the Party and large sections of non-party workers. In every area without exception I have found this to be the case, and it is my belief that a real leadership is in the process of formation in the ranks of our Party to-day.

After surveying the C.P. membership throughout the districts two distinct features are noticeable, firstly, the great defection of old timers who seem unable to adjust themselves to the rapidity of events, and who cannot tear themselves away from the old roots of Social-Democracy, and secondly, the advent of members mostly young who have come into the ranks of the Party during the period of the great depression. The first section seem to see world affairs going so fast that they appear to have become dizzy and unable to grasp what is happening. The policy of the Party to them appears to be a hopeless jumble of reformism. They seem to miss the resounding revolutionary speeches of the earlier movements. Towards the younger elements their attitude is one of benevolent patronage, because the younger elements lack to a degree theoretical training. But the one thing they do not understand is why the younger section have been able to penetrate into the working masses and muster their support. It is at this stage they drop out of Party life, and become hopeless (at least for the time being) armchair critics, deploring the weakness of the working masses, and give up hope of any further progress in their day and generation.

The second section is, no doubt, politically immature and lacks training to a certain extent, but while this may be so, they overbalance that weakness by their discipline and adherence to Party instructions. In every field of activity you find them playing their part. In the distribution of the paper, at the trade union branch, in the Labour Party, in the workshop, mine and factory, and in their daily contact with the workers, they are

learning in that hard school of experience, the workers' struggle. Their contempt for the phrase-mongers is like a breath of fresh air, and, unconsciously, they seem to understand the role of the so-called intellectuals and left-wingers.

There is no doubt that the Party is young, both numerically and in training, but it is healthy and willing to learn. It admits that many mistakes have been made due to its youth, and that it will possibly make many more, but it is conscious all the time of its objective, viz., to penetrate the masses and gain the leadership of the working class movement.

In the various districts the above outlines in general the state of the Party, and, while some districts more than others deserve a special meed of praise, the same spirit is common to all. In coming through the country, starting from Fife in June, and operating first in Kirkcaldy district, I came across one of the causes which have tended to weaken Party life in this area. At one time in nearly every town and mining village in Fifeshire, we had Party groups, but owing to the struggle in the minefield between the officialdom and the rank and file there has been a considerable falling away of membership. The ex-party member, whose whole time was taken up in the struggle against officialdom, tended as a result of the formation of the Reform Union to drift from Party work into Union work. Still, to-day in the villages and towns a considerable circulation of the *Workers' Weekly* shows that they have not wholly lost contact with the Party, and with a little organisational work could be brought back to participate in Party life.

Leaving Fife and proceeding to Stirlingshire, with Falkirk as headquarters, here again a fine field presents itself for Party work, and my appreciation of the Falkirk local's distribution machinery is on record in my reports. Centring round Falkirk is a series of small towns and villages with one or two members here and there, and a number of non-party sympathisers. The influence of the local here, as elsewhere, leaves its mark in every phase of working class life in the trade unions, trades council and Labour Party, and the broad masses of the workers. A fine distribution of the Party organ has been created, which will, of necessity, bear fruit in a short period.

After Falkirk—Glasgow. Glasgow passed through a serious crisis when the purging process was in operation, which no doubt, left it weak for a period, but again the quickening of Party life is manifest. For a time the mantle of revolutionary traditions of Glasgow fell upon the Clyde M.P.s, whose past work rallied the masses to the polling booth. Now the party of words

is beginning to make way for the party of action. I had the opportunity of seeing in actual practice the gradual dwindling of the workers' illusions in the Clyde M.P.s at the I.L.P. demonstration in Glasgow Green last June. When Maxton got up to speak, he was rudely interrupted by members of the S.W.R.P. which continued throughout the proceedings. The same treatment was meted out to Neil MacLean. It was not the interruptions that interested me, but the attitude of the great mass who attended the demonstration, who neither one way nor another, expressed their approval or disapproval of the interrupters.

This was a new phenomena for Glasgow, and Maxton in particular, and on inquiry from an elderly worker and his son, as to what was the reason I got this startling reply :

"In 1922 we returned the Labour men to deal with unemployment and housing. At St. Enoch Station, they said that they would "*give the Government Hell*," until they had made some provision for same. In 1923, we again returned them, and they made the same promises. When the Labour Government was formed, and we looked with suspicion on the inclusion of Chelmsford, Parmoor, Haldane, and Arnold, we were told that MacDonald had a card up his sleeve and was playing for the confidence of the country so as to initiate a programme which would be beneficial to the workers. Then again, during the London Tramway Strike, the re-introduction of the E.P.A. brought back memories of 1919, but again we were re-assured that the Labour Government was to operate it in the interests of the workers by taking over the traffic facilities of London. The cruisers and the Budget were other points of difference, but the climax is reached to-day when they come back to us to ask us to give them support to bring pressure to bear on the Government in order to deal with unemployment, when as a matter of fact, we sent then to Parliament to give the Government Hell until something was done. Do you wonder at us not knocking the faces of the interrupters to-day as we would assuredly have done in 1922 and 1923?"

I wonder what the Glasgow workers are to say about the Clydebank and West of Scotland evictions! The Glasgow comrades will certainly come into their own as the deepening of struggle manifests itself and the Party of words will assuredly have to make way for the Party of action—the Communist Party.

After Glasgow—Ayrshire. Here we have a fine mixture of old and new comrades breaking ground all round the Kilmarnock area, increasing in groups and in membership. Of course, I dare not say too much about Ayrshire, as most comrades know that I spent three glorious years in that district in college work, but I am satisfied that they are doing their part of the work. Again, in the mining villages, there is a quickening of Party life, and the dreadful period of reaction is passing.

After Ayrshire, across the Border into the Newcastle district which is extensive, comprising Northumberland, Durham and North Yorkshire. My sympathy goes out to Jack Tearney, and the active party members in their work in this area, but no-

doubt our comrades are encouraged by the results which they are getting in this very fertile district for the seed of Communism. In the mining villages such as Ashington, etc. in Northumberland, and the mining villages of Durham, such as Birtley, Chopwell and High Spenn, what a goodly company of untiring comrades we have, whose work for the Party is only equalled by the comrades in the shipbuilding and engineering centres of Newcastle, Gateshead, Jarrow, etc., and in the iron and steel centres like Middlesbrough. One and all, it was encouraging to see and feel the pulse of Party life on the North-East Coast. If I wanted to mark out comrades for special mention in my travels, I should require an appendix to this article.

In this area I received two distinct impressions; one, the existence of the left-wingers, and secondly a new phenomena in working class politics. The left-wingers were so amusing. They tell you that they quite agreed that the C.P. were the party of the future, but they thought that they were doing better work by remaining outside and carrying on work in conjunction with the Party members in the trade unions, Labour parties and in the educational field. Their remarks on the Labour Government and the leadership of the working class even outdid all the criticisms I ever attempted by their drastic nature. They tell you quite seriously that the leadership is following the line of least resistance and that they thoroughly disagreed with that. When one retorted that their non-membership of the Party was also due to their following the line of least resistance, ah, well, that was another story. Hopeless confusion of ideas seems to be prevalent amongst this type of left-wingers, not only on the N.E. Coast, but it is a common feature wherever you go. They are about the finest exponents of the mistakes of the Party I have met, and the poor chaps are so pure and undefiled that you have a tendency to look at their backs to seek if their wings are sprouting. They are too good and *too careful* to be on this sordid planet. Of course, they will learn, and we shall welcome them in when they have cleared their minds of the illusions they still cherish.

The second impression I received, which has been confirmed in other areas, is that large groups of workers are passing from the older political parties (Liberal and Tory) and are not stopping at the halfway house of moderate Labour, but are passing right across to the left, and coming under the influence of the Communist Party. Middlesbrough is a magnificent example of this; the Party local here is rallying all the best elements of the workers, and in all areas where there has not been a strong Labour tradition this phenomenon becomes more and more marked. One

section of the workers who earlier were generally opposed, the ex-service men, are now more in harmony with the Party than at any previous period, and the illusions which were fostered that the ex-service men could solve their problems by themselves have now, in most cases, passed away, and I believe that a considerable number of new members during the past year have been ex-service men who are realising where their best interests can be served. These and the ordinary workers, who have had no previous political experience, who are coming into our Party today, demonstrate that the Party itself is getting closer to the masses of workers.

In most cases the reversion from active hostility to the Party has been transformed into active participation in Party work, and they are good workers. Never a grumble, unless it is that the Party is not doing more, and making more progress. Of course, with our numerical weakness, and the lack of meeting places in various areas, we sometimes lose contact with new members, who are attracted towards us for a time, and then fall away, but even with these difficulties, the residue who remain are picked fighters who never lose courage in face of all our difficulties.

After the N.E. Coast, the West Riding with Bradford as the centre. For three weeks I was able to see all our local comrades in the different towns and villages in the West Riding. In Leeds, Huddersfield and the various locals, the consciousness of the passing of the depression, and the quickening of working class activity is manifesting itself in renewed efforts to extend the scope and influence of the Party. Even in this prosperous area, where we have a few pessimists yet, progress is being reported, and with Ernie Brown back, fresh with the enthusiasm of his recent visit to Russia, and spreading that enthusiasm throughout the district, we should get results both in membership and activity.

Now, as to Manchester and district, my impressions were, after I had only touched the fringe in a fortnight's tour, that here is one of the main centres of Britain. Radiating within 30 miles of Manchester, a population of about 10,000,000 provides magnificent scope for Party work, and the small centres in the various valleys are not a whit behind their big brothers in Manchester, etc. I found here in the various valleys that self-same political acuteness of mind to be found particularly in parts of Scotland, and question time in Lancashire is exhilarating. I can assure the Lancashire comrades that nobody enjoyed the questioning more than I did, and it will be some time before I forget Nelson and Haslingden. But a fortnight is not enough to cover this area.

I have previously referred to our younger comrades, and the

good work they accomplish. In the Manchester Y.C.L. you get that embodiment of hard workers and good fighters who are making their impression on the working class movement in Manchester. They are good, and will give a good account of themselves in the near future as fearless fighters in the working class struggle. I lift my hat to the Y.C.L., and only wish that I was twenty years younger, to be eligible for membership in their ranks. Manchester and district are doing all right, and are making good.

From Manchester to Sheffield and with a week's stay in that district, I still found everything encouraging. Particularly, I liked Doncaster and Rotherham. The good work of our comrades is being demonstrated in the United Front at Rotherham in the steel industry, where a big strike was on. Sheffield is again recovering from the depression, and reports progress in the late Guardians bye-election. Congratulations to our woman comrade, Mrs. Cree.

From Sheffield to Mansfield in Notts. I found a healthy group here, who manage to put in a great deal of work. From Notts to the Potteries, where I was more than pleased with our new group at Silverdale, and from there through the Black Country and Birmingham—terminating at Gloucester, the home town of the new Messiah of the left-wing, Mr. Philips Price. Here the weather conditions compelled us to go indoors. I spoke upon the left-wing movement, and after a number of questions had been asked and answered to the satisfaction of those present, one man jumped up and said that he was in doubt about the attitude to be adopted towards the left-wingers, but now he had no hesitation in declaring his intention to join the C.P. All through the parts visited, and I believe in the other parts which time did not permit me to visit, there is a growing Party, and some magnificent material inside.

After reading R. P. Dutt's Postscript in the August *Labour Monthly*, my memory goes back to the rise and development of leadership of the working class movement, with which I have been associated with for over twenty years. When I came into the political side first in 1901, I remember the activity generated by the Taff Vale decision, which led to the Labour Representation Committees being transformed into the Labour Party of 1906. The weakness which manifested itself in 1908, during the industrial crisis created by unemployment and the failure of the then leaders in Parliament, with the exception of Hardie, resulting in the antagonism which marked the opposition to Parliamentaryism which still persists. Then the horrible treachery in

1914, and worse still, on the industrial field with the Munitions of War Act and Dora. I saw coming to the surface then the Clyde group. The unofficial movement throughout the land, which for the period at the close of the war and the post-war period, were fighting for the leadership of the masses. I have seen the setback due to the further treachery in 1921, owing to the lack of co-ordination and centralised leadership, which continued until the close of 1923. I have seen the rising again of the bruised heads of the working class, and the new courage which marks the conflicts of 1924, and have heard those murmurings which the working masses give vent to. They are not yet articulate, but now we have, small as it is, a force which each day in its daily struggles along with the toiling masses, is clearing away these illusions which still cling to and encumber the workers. My three months' tour convinces me that in the Communist Party there is the future leadership of the workers. The intellectuals sense the coming storm, but not having faith in the broad masses of the workers fear their movement as a pestilence which would destroy their bourgeois culture. The Left-wingers are torn asunder between their desire to come in and their fear of the power of reaction.

The Communist Party alone can face the future with equanimity, for we are with the workers, and the workers *will* come with us.

W. JOSS.

YOUR CLASS AND PARTY NEED YOU.

There are some who, sympathising with, and appreciating the Communist position, will call themselves Communist without realising that the first duty of a Communist is to become a member of the Communist Party.

Therefore, **DO YOUR DUTY,**

JOIN THE COMMUNIST PARTY NOW

APPLICATION FORM.

I wish to be a member of the Communist Party. Please put me in touch with local membership.

NAME.....

ADDRESS.....

Fill in this form and give it to the comrade who sold you *this Review*, or to *Local Secretary*

Or to Albert Inkpin, Secretary, Communist Party, 16, King Street, London, W.C.2.

The Seventh Anniversary of October Revolution

BELA KUN

THE seventh anniversary of the October Revolution, and the establishment of the Soviet power, is a red-letter day, not only for the Russian proletariat, but for the workers of the world. In spite of ever-recurring predictions of the speedy and inevitable downfall of the Soviet power; in spite of relentless military operations against the Soviets in which the armies of fourteen countries (Great Britain, France, America, Czecho-Slovakia, Germany, Japan, Poland, Rumania and many others) participated; in spite of the economic blockade and the counter-revolutionary conspiracies of White Guards, Mensheviks and social revolutionaries, and in spite even of natural calamities (famine and flood), which ravaged the country already exhausted by the world and the civil war, the Soviet Republic is growing in strength. This fact draws on it the wrath of world capitalism, but the ever-growing sympathy of the workers of the world for the first Workers' and Peasants' Government, is now more than compensating.

200,000 NEW MEMBERS.

The death of the creator and leader of the October Revolution, the great teacher of the working class, Comrade Lenin, was a terrible loss for the working class throughout the world, but, above all, for the workers of Russia. But this death did not cause us to despond. New forces sprang up from the lower strata of the working class. Two hundred thousand new members joined the Russian Communist Party. The October Revolution is going forward on its own chosen road, while at the same time, complete disintegration is manifested in the White Guard camp.

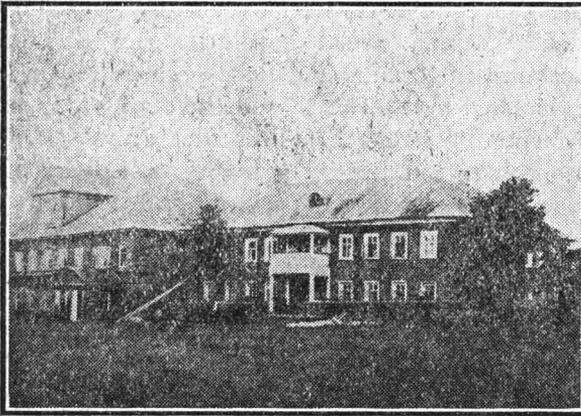
DEMOCRATIC PACIFISM OR PROLETARIAN DICTATORSHIP.

We are celebrating the seventh anniversary of the First Soviet Republic at a time when open fascist dictatorship, which, because of its weakness, has been supplanted in Great Britain and France by a new form of government parading in the guise of "democratic pacifism." Imperialism continues its predatory policy in China, Central Asia and Africa, by oppressing the peoples of the East and suppressing their revolutionary movement for independence. But side by side with them is the Soviet Republic, which

the imperialist Powers are compelled to recognise, and which is fighting for its own consolidation, while stretching out a helping hand to the enslaved peoples of the East.

The October Revolution has achieved the aim for which the revolutionary working class of the world is striving. It has established the proletarian dictatorship in one country, in former Czarist Russia, embracing one-seventh part of the terrestrial globe. The conquests of this revolution are firmly established and will remain.

Together with the poor peasantry the working class has overthrown the rule of landlords, capitalists and their lackeys, the Mensheviks and social-revolutionaries. The revolution has destroyed the apparatus of bourgeois State power. Instead of the false bourgeois "democracy" acting as a screen for capital-



SOLOVETSKY PRISON.

ist dictatorship (the Kerensky regime), the revolution has built up a power based on true democracy, on Soviets of workers, peasants and Red Army deputies elected every year by the masses. Through these Soviets hundreds of thousands of the most active workers and peasants are brought straight from the bench and from the plough into the Soviets, the Party and the trade unions, where they take a direct part in the administration of all the branches of social and economic life in the immense Soviet country.

REORGANISING RUSSIA.

Having done away with the shameful sex inequalities, the October Revolution raised women from their former conditions of slavery, and brought working and peasant women into the Soviets and trade unions as men's equals. The Soviet Republic is steadily going forward with its task of reorganising society on a Socialist basis. It has expropriated the expropriators. It has declared factories, workshops, mines, means of communication,

banks, and land, the property of the working population, and has handed over their administration to the Soviets. In strengthening the revolutionary union with the peasantry, the working class handed over the land to them for use.

Taking into consideration the predominance of small peasant farms, and the impossibility for the State apparatus to grapple successfully in the first stage with the economic exigencies of the country, the Soviet Power permitted private trading, leasing of some industrial concerns and concessions to capitalists, in order to accelerate the development of the productive forces of the country. But proletarian dictatorship retained in its own hands the main branches of industry—banks, means of communication, and monopoly of foreign trade. The Soviet Power is concentrating all its energy on the development of State industries and trade, and is building up co-operative trade under the control of the proletariat, in order, by such means, to secure complete State control of the economic activity of the country, and its complete re-organisation on a Socialist basis.

FREEDING THE PEOPLES OF THE EAST.

The revolution has put an end to national oppression. It helped peoples which but a little while ago were oppressed by Czarism to establish their own independent national Soviet Republics, and united all of them into one powerful "Union of Socialist Soviet Republics." The peoples of the Moslem East—Tartars, Bashkirs, Kirghiz, Uzbecks and Turkomans, brothers to those who are brutally oppressed and exploited by the "democratic" and "pacifist" governments of Great Britain and France, and by fascist Italy, have become full-fledged members of the Soviet Union. The Soviet Republic has stretched out a helping hand to all colonial and semi-colonial peoples (to Turkey, China, Afghanistan and Persia), thereby giving powerful support to the revolutionary movement of the peoples of the East against world imperialism.

SOCIAL WARFARE.

The eight-hour day, social insurance and all working class privileges provided for by the labour code have become permanent institutions.

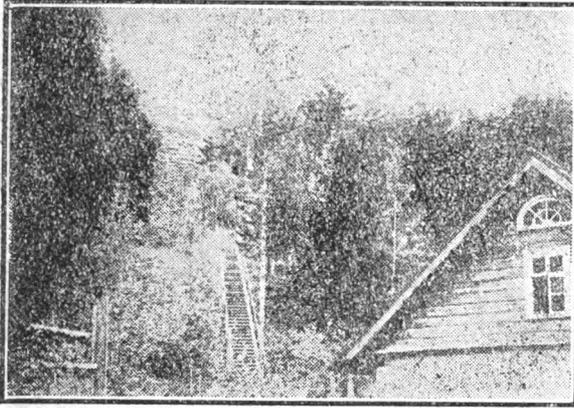
Courts of justice are under proletarian control, and the proletariat keeps watch over all the achievements of the revolution, dealing out justice to all offenders against the basis of the Soviet order and the rights of the working class.

Education and the press, which previous to the revolution

were the monopoly of capitalists and landowners, and were used as a means of befooling and doping the masses, are now as a result of the October Revolution under the control of the victorious working class, and are being utilised for Communist education and training. The Red Army is growing in strength and is increasing its contact daily with the workers of all the peoples within the Union.

VICTORY THROUGH SELF-RELIANCE:

During the first stage of its constructive work, the Soviet Republic had to work under conditions of extreme disorganisation and devastation caused by the Imperialist war, military intervention and blockade of the imperialist Powers. Without any help from outside, and only by dint of the energetic work of the



PRISONERS' GARDEN.

liberated working peasant classes, the Soviet power has already succeeded in bringing considerable improvements into the conditions of the working and peasant classes.

Having come into being as a result of the first imperialist world war of 1914-18, of the general dis-

integration of capitalist economy throughout the world, and of the complete bankruptcy of the bourgeois and social compromisers' regime (Kerensky Government), the October Revolution in Russia was the first signal of a victorious world proletarian revolution, and is the vanguard of the world proletariat engaged in the fight for freedom and Communism.

At present, owing to the treachery of the Social-Democrats of Germany, Austria, Italy and Hungary, the post-war achievements of the working class are reduced to nought, the working class helpless and at the mercy of bourgeois violence, whilst the Soviet Republic is the only bulwark of the working class, and of the oppressed peoples of the East. To support the Soviet Republic in its fight against the entire bourgeois world is one of the most important tasks of the entire working class.

PROLETARIAN UNITY.

From its first days the October Revolution was greeted enthusiastically by the working class throughout the world, which did its utmost to protect it from the attacks of the bourgeoisie and Social-Democrats. When Poland attacked the Soviet Republic British workers established "Councils of Action." The workers of Germany and Danzig prevented arms being sent by the world capitalists to bourgeois Poland. During the famine of 1921, the workers of all countries established "The International Workers' Relief," in aid of the famine-stricken districts of Soviet Russia. By its own efforts, and by supporting Soviet Russia, the working class compelled the bourgeoisie to relinquish armed intervention, and finally induced some European Governments—such as Great Britain, Italy, Norway, Sweden and Greece to recognise the Soviet Government. At present, the British working class is fighting boldly and energetically for the ratification of the Anglo-Soviet agreement, and for material support for Soviet Russia by means of a loan, thereby compelling the Labour Party to make the Anglo-Soviet agreement a reality.

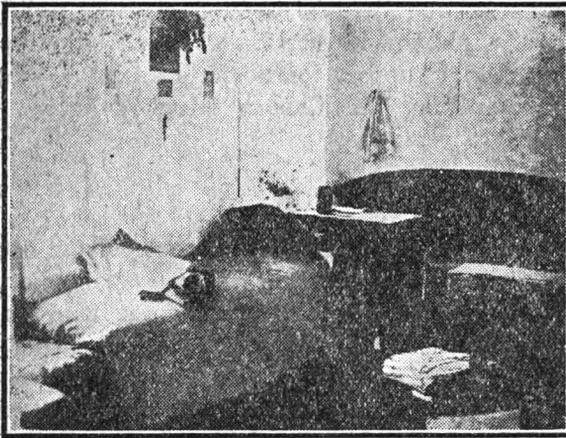
A NEW EPOCH.

The disintegration of capitalist economy throughout the world compelling the capitalist countries to renew their economic relations with the huge country where the proletariat rules, and on the other hand, the economic reconstruction of the U.S.S.R. now steadily going on, together with the pressure brought to bear by the proletariat of all countries, have compelled several Powers to recognise the Soviet Union. This opens up a new epoch wherein the bourgeois world, despairing of any possibility of destroying the Soviet Power is compelled to recognise, side by side with the capitalist economic system, its opponent—the Soviet Socialist system, and thus contribute to the latter's consolidation. The task before the revolutionary proletariat is clear. It must strengthen by every possible means the position of the Soviet Republic in its fight against imperialism by preventing the bourgeoisie from forcing on the Soviet country conditions infringing its independence and its Socialist achievements.

The parties of the Second International in Europe and America, which are the faithful servants of world capitalism, and which endeavour to alienate the workers from Soviet Russia are spreading lying reports concerning the Soviet Government's alleged abandonment of its Socialist aims, and concerning the growing economic ruin and the terrorist methods used against the

workers, etc. Every class conscious worker must learn to see clearly in all these matters, and must offer stubborn resistance to all such traitors.

The new economic policy of the Soviet Government, while allowing private trade throughout the country and giving a number of concessions to capitalists, has left as before, economic power and control in the hands of the proletariat. Through the soviets the workers control all the more or less important enterprises and main branches in industry, as well as all means of communication and transport and banks, aiming thereby at the elimination of private traders. By developing and strengthening all the organs of Soviet State trading, and of co-operative trade under the control of the proletariat, the Soviet Government has achieved considerable successes during the last 12 months.



PRISONER'S BEDROOM.

It is essential for the Soviet Republic to have the economic support of wealthy and technically developed countries, in order to enable it to reconstruct its economic system, which was destroyed by war. The treachery of the Socialists, who have impeded the victorious trend of proletarian revolution throughout Europe, is compelling the Soviet Government to make agreements with bourgeois governments. The fight which the Soviet delegation had to put up in London in connection with the Anglo-Soviet agreement, the conditions of this agreement, and the frantic hostility of the British bourgeoisie towards this agreement, show that the Soviet Government has succeeded in vindicating the principles of the October Revolution and the independence of the Soviet Republic. The Soviet Government is carrying on a stubborn fight against international imperialism, which is supported by the Second International, and is defending the achievements of the October Revolution against all attacks.

The Soviet Government cannot disarm in the face of the conspiracies of counter-revolutionary groups which still receive the

support of world capitalism. It is dealing, and will deal relentlessly, with the enemies of the proletariat who are in the pay of capitalist governments. The rising in Georgia has turned out to be a bandit action of the Georgian Mensheviks, and has proved the lying nature of the Mensheviks' and social-revolutionaries' assertion that they have given up all idea of armed struggle against the Soviet Power. The weapons which the Soviet Government uses against such bandit attacks are imprisonment and exile. The working class and its organisations and the poor peasantry enjoy all the freedom and privileges of the ruling class.

The hypocrisy of the German, French, British and other Menshevik-Socialists, as well as the hypocrisy of the so-called "democratic pacifism" is particularly flagrant in connection with the Soviet Republic. No one is more emphatic and stubborn than the British Labour Party, the main Party of the Second International, in its demand, through the MacDonald Government, for the restitution to British capitalists of the property of which they were deprived by the Russian revolution, and the payments of all debts to these capitalists. It may be taken for granted that the French "Socialist Party" which has the support of Herriot, will adopt the same attitude.

The inability of the bourgeoisie to rule by open violence and fascism has compelled it to adopt the new system of so-called "democratic" pacifism, under which the left-wing of fascism is brought into power, and social-democracy and the dictatorship of the imperialist bourgeoisie conceals their intentions by high-sounding phrases about "democracy," "freedom," "liberty" and "disarmament." The Second International instils into the workers illusions and false hopes about the League of Nations, which was brought into being by the victorious Entente, and which is supposed to grant the world disarmament and a lasting peace.

But this League of Nations has already revealed itself as an organisation of imperialist capitalism, intent on enslaving the vanquished nations and making the German working class shoulder the burden of capitalist economic reconstruction. A new Dawes Plan is already in preparation not only for France, but even for Soviet Russia. A renewed international capitalist intervention against Soviet Russia is being prepared under the flag of pacifism. The Treaty ratified in Geneva concerning "prevention of war" is but another attempt to consolidate the military conquests of the Entente, and to prepare at the same time conditions favourable to a military attack on Soviet Russia in the future. The desire to draw Germany into the League of Nations is based

on the desire to guarantee for France free transit of armed forces *via* Germany for the military support of Poland and Rumania, which form the armed vanguard of world imperialism in its fight against the Soviet Power. By demanding that the German government should enter the League of Nations, German Social-Democrats become partners in the preparation of this future military action against the Soviets.

The pacifist phrases of the Socialists are meant to conceal from the working class the real reactionary fascist aims of the bourgeoisie, and of their echo—the Second International. The inevitable decay of the capitalist economic system throughout the world will make the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie on the one hand, more acute. Wars in the future are as inevitable as the world war of 1914-18. In view of its hatred for the working class and for the growing proletarian revolution, world capitalism is bound to make repeated attempts at military intervention in the Soviet Republic. Pacifism will not deceive the working class, and will not make it less watchful and stubborn in the revolutionary class struggle.

THE BOLSHEVIK WARS.

The October Revolution was victorious and triumphantly overcame all difficulties in its path, because the Russian workers led by the Communist Bolshevik Party, were never deceived by high-sounding phrases about "democracy" and "pacifism." Russian workers were always fully aware that armed revolutionary struggle and support of the working class of all countries are the only weapons with which victory can be achieved. They exposed all "democratic" talkers, and showed to the whole world that "democrats" and "pacifists"—Russian Mensheviks and social revolutionaries—are as good supporters of counter-revolutionary imperialism, as the white Czarist generals, Yudenitch, Deniken and Kolchak.

Russian workers met all pacifist and democratic phrases by taking up arms in October, 1917, by creating and consolidating the workers' and peasants' Red Army, and by offering determined and stubborn resistance to all hostile attacks. The unity and determination of the working class, the revolutionary leadership of the Communist Party, which knew how to effect unity between workers and peasants, and finally armed force, as represented by the Red Army, constitute the main sources of the victory of the October Revolution. That is why they were victorious.

Communist Election Campaign in U.S.A.

FOUR years ago, those of us who were members of the then "underground" Communist Party of America, posted up in all conspicuous places on the eve of the presidential elections, large placards from which blazoned forth the slogan: "Boycott the Election!" Whether we thought it the proper thing or not we obeyed the commands of our Central Committee, and in the dark hours of the night would scurry about the streets putting up the aforementioned placards. I don't know how many thousands of voters were influenced by this. The only tangible result appears to have been to diminish the vote for Debs, who was the Socialist Party presidential candidate, by a few thousand. Our Central Committee, I believe, had been seriously affected by Bela Kun's article on "Boycotting the Elections," which had reached us not so many months before. Lenin's brilliant and devastating reply had not yet reached us—nor had his "left-wing Communism" appeared.

Four years! And in the course of that short period our party has risen from below ground, becoming one of the most powerful factors in propagating the idea of a Labour Party, almost got caught in the La Follette boom, directed a convention of workers and farmers which nominated candidates for president and vice-president on a radical though not a revolutionary platform, and to cap it all, dumped those candidates and declared for an outright Communist ticket in the field, selecting as its standard-bearers, Wm. Z. Foster and Ben Gitlow. The last three manœuvres have been executed with such speed (all within the course of a few months) that it almost set the brains of our membership awl and it caused the workers to scratch their heads and wonder "what next?"

THE PARTY OF LA FOLLETTE.

The La Follette Party—which as yet is no party at all—is the revolt of the small business man and of the Liberal from the two outright reactionary parties, the Republican and the Democratic, the former having as its candidates the ex-striking-breaking governor of Massachusetts—President Coolidge, and General Dawes—famed for the Expert Report, and as the leading "fascist" figure in America; while John Davis, a tool of the House of Morgan is the presidential candidate for the latter. The La Follette boom

swept into its ranks a host of our leading labour fakirs—even Gompers falling into line. But organised Labour as such hasn't the last word to say in determining policies for La Follette. His national committee and his advisors consist of small businessmen and a few bigger capitalists. To be sure, the Socialist Party has also endorsed him, but to them is reserved the more menial task of gathering votes, sticking posters, and shouting themselves hoarse at street meetings for "fighting Bob."

Our Party, for a time at least, thought that under certain conditions it might be advisable to give support to La Follette. Certain sections argued that they could see the chance of a real mass Labour party developing out of this movement, they could see our chance to tie ourselves closer up with the masses, they considered the mere fact of a splitting up and tearing asunder of the two old capitalist parties a worth-while achievement. But the Communist International looked at the matter in a slightly different way. It didn't think that there was much real class sentiment behind all the noise and smoke of those who were rooting for La Follette and a Farmer-Labour Party at one and the same time. It didn't think that the "revolutionary wave" in the farming regions was very sound, and certainly not the force upon which we reckon for support when the question arises of breaking with La Follette. Furthermore, such a tactic demanded a well-trained, highly disciplined party—a party of the highest and best calibre—and our party was still very young, very inexperienced and didn't have such a large membership. So we accepted the decisions of the C.I., and at the St. Paul convention of June 15th, opposed the nomination of La Follette.

This supposed mass-convention was not of the mass character that had been hoped for—but even at that it was quite large and without a doubt the Communists were the dominating force there. Certain groupings left the convention when La Follette was not nominated. The others stayed—at least through the convention. Tentative candidates on a Farmer-Labour Party ticket were selected—but a national organisation committee was given full charge to determine whether they were to be put in the field or not. A few weeks later La Follette announced definitely that he would run for president—but didn't want a definite Party formed. The Conference for Progressive Political Action, meeting in Cleveland on July 4th, thoroughly dominated as it was by A. F. of L. leaders and renegade Socialists, meekly accepted the dictation of this new Moses, and went into ecstasy at the thought that they even had the privilege of working for his election. And then—just as had been prophesied by the C.I.—group after group of the

“progressive” elements which had gone with us even up to and after the St. Paul convention—flocked to the standards of La Follette. The Communists were left with a mere handful of supporters. Consequently, they decided that a straight Communist election campaign would be the best thing. Foster and Gitlow were nominated.

TOWARDS A MASS COMMUNIST PARTY.

During the past year and a half, our Party has learned to think in terms of mass movements. It has swept aside completely its former petty sectarian outlook. This must be reckoned as a real advance. Not only have we thought in terms of mass movements, but we have been instrumental in launching and developing the ideas and conceptions of a national Labour Party. We have come in contact with the masses. We have learned to manoeuvre—especially on convention floors. Up and down the country the Communists have shown themselves far superior to all others in this respect. Not only that—but we have “captured” convention after convention. But to capture a convention doesn’t necessarily mean that you’ve captured the rank and file of the organisations represented there—as we have learned. Convention strategy is one thing, and good enough in its way—but mass movements of revolution are not built up in that fashion.

Strengthen your base. Build a bit more, slowly, but make sure that you crystallise the rebellious feelings of the workers in the unions, in the factories, into sections of the Workers’ Party. That is the lesson of the recent manoeuvres to us. And so now we are in the midst of the election campaign—but we’re not out only for votes. We want to reach all the workers that we can with our message, to teach them the need for lining up in our party, in their party, the party of the revolutionary workers of America.

A. CARLSON.



Westward Ho! Canada, the New El Dorado

UNEMPLOYMENT RAMPANT.

[The land-hungry and impoverished workers of Britain regard Canada as "a land flowing with milk and honey." Promises of high wages and steady employment; of fabulous riches and oceans of golden grain; of unlimited freedom and free grants of virgin soil—these are dangled before their eyes by a multitude of interested agencies. Fascinating pictures are painted of "the golden west"—and the hapless "prisoner of starvation" feverishly paces the town square in order to gain an idea of the extent of a "quarter section." In a moment the dull squalor of Whitechapel gives place to a vast field of ripening wheat under a sky of Italian blue! Such opportunities and such freedom!

But what are the facts? This little article is penned to supply the answer.—Editor.]

THE DECLINE OF LONDON.

THE Great war resulted in the rise of Wall Street and the relative decline of Lombard Street. Time after time, the vaunted supremacy of British Imperialism gave place to the power and insolence of the banking barons of New York.

Not unnaturally, the decline of British Imperialism compelled the "nation of shopkeepers" to devise ways and means of bolstering-up the falling fabric of Empire. Plans were laid to weld together the industries of the Empire—and there sprang into existence that sinister organisation known as the Federation of British Industries. The "shopkeepers" would not put up the shutters without a struggle! The energies of a multitude of organisations were directed to make "the Empire self-supporting"; to increase the chains of gold and links of credit which serve to bind together the Commonwealth of Nations (?).

At home the rulers of Britain were confronted with a grave situation. Millions of workless slaves clamoured for work at the factory gates—rumblings of revolt were heard on every hand.

A safety valve must be found without delay. And what better safety-valve could be found than "the golden west"? Britain had 482 persons to the square mile, whilst the Dominion only had two and a half persons to the square mile! Here, then, was the solution:

"It is mainly to Australia and Canada that the landless people of these islands must look . . . Migration, properly conducted, will not only lessen the surplus of population at home, but, by increasing the demand from abroad, give more

employment to our industrial workers." (Prof. C. M. MacInnes in "Contemporary Review," Oct. 1923.)

In this manner could the worried rulers of Britain provide themselves with a needed safety-valve for the problem of employment!

Moreover the wholesale dumping of British workers into Canada would help to stem the rising tide of American Imperialism! Patriotism to His Majesty would be fostered—and the falling profits of the bankers of Lombard Street considerably strengthened!

So that the rulers of Britain cried with one voice, "Westward ho!"

LOWER TAXES AND MORE POPULATION.

The capitalist class of Canada is face to face with a grave situation.

The Great War left a legacy of taxation which acts like a millstone round the necks of that class. Be it remembered that the interest charges upon the National Debt alone amount to sixteen dollars per head of the population. Moreover, the expenses of government have continued to climb to unheard-of levels. Many provincial governments have increased their expenditures eighty per cent.—whilst the cost of municipal government has risen even higher!

It became more and more difficult for business to function under the increasing burden. Many western towns are bankrupt—more than half of the lots in such towns as Edmonton, Calgary and Saskatoon have passed into the hands of the civic authorities because the tax-payers have been unable to pay their taxes.

From one end of the country to the other, the demand was made for a sweeping reduction in taxation; for drastic economy in governmental circles. It was even suggested to abolish the provincial parliaments!

In addition to this terrific burden of taxation the employers were harassed by fierce competition from all sides. The low living standards of European workers enabled the capitalists of Europe to climb over the high tariff wall and dump their cheap commodities into Canada. Small wonder that the capitalists of the Dominion howled for *reduced taxation and more population.*

The Lieutenant-Governor of British Columbia summarised the opinions of the whole capitalist class when he said:

"Canada must have more people. There is too much of a burden on the shoulders of the limited population; too many idle acres here." (*Montreal Star*, Nov. 11th, 1922): whilst the President of the Bank of Montreal elaborated thus:

“ It seems to me that there are two ways only to check and reduce the mounting debt with which this country is burdened ; one is by the creation of fresh wealth through having more people on the land ; and the other by strict economies in Government expenditures.” (Annual Report, 1922.)

But back of all these fine phrases was the evident desire of the whole of the capitalist class to *smash down the standard of living of the workers of mill and field*. The polished periods of the banker served to conceal the sinister figure of the “ open shopper ” determined to regain his lost supremacy *at the expense of the industrial and agricultural workers*.

Time after time these gentlemen have complained that “ production costs are too high ” ; that they cannot compete with European employers ; that “ costs must be reduced.” And how better could they achieve their purpose than encouraging the wholesale immigration of cheap labour from Europe ?

And in this matter the interests of the Canadian capitalist do not coincide with the interests of the banking barons of Lombard Street. The last-mentioned desire Canada to be the dumping ground of pure British stock as we have seen. On the other hand, this does not suit the purpose of the Canadian employers—they desire a mixture of races and a babel of tongues ! The reason is obvious—by importing English, Swedes, Germans, Italians, Frenchmen, Belgians, and the like, they can play off one race against another, thus splitting the forces of organised Labour in Canada. Here, as elsewhere, the capitalists follow the policy of “ divide and rule.”

Let there be no mistake—the flood of immigration into “ the golden west ” is for the deliberate purpose of slashing wages ; of reducing the standard of living of the Canadian workers and farmers ; of allowing the Canadian capitalists to get out of the hole of bankruptcy at the expense of the toiling masses. Said the principal banker of Canada :

“ The causes of this anomaly of high prices is still mainly the cost of Labour. *Unemployment is the natural corrective*, though painful and regretted by everyone.” (Bank of Montreal Report for 1920).

How better could the employers reduce wages than by flooding the over-stocked Labour market with increasing numbers of labourers—speaking many languages ?

“ THE GOLDEN WEST.”

Agencies galore picture Canada as a “ land fit for Princes to dwell in.” What are the facts ?

Ninety-four per cent. of the farms are mortgaged, whilst the

indebtedness of the western farmers is in excess of one billion dollars. In the province of Saskatchewan (often called the bread-basket of the Empire!) the debt on the average farm is five thousand dollars. In three rural municipalities alone, no less than 180,000 acres of land were seized for arrears of taxes.

"Sunny Alberta" presents no better picture. The Provincial Government was threatened with six and a half million acres of farm lands in a single month—for arrears of taxes alone. Mortgage foreclosures in 1922 accounted for no less than \$72,000,000. The total indebtedness of the province cannot be less than \$715,000,000, resulting in interest charges alone of nearly \$43,000,000.

Tens of thousands of farmers have been forced to quit—hopelessly in debt. Even "the heroes of yesterday" are not exempt from this crushing destitution. No less than 4,463 returned soldiers have been forced off their farms by the Soldier Settlement Board or 18 per cent. of the total number—and the Board informs us that this compares favourably with the percentage of civilian settlers!

The mass of the farmers are face to face with utter destitution. Foreclosures and seizures are becoming the order of the day. Even rural schools are closing because the tillers of the soil cannot afford to pay their taxes any more!

An agricultural expert gave the following testimony before the Parliamentary Committee of last year:

Question: "As a result of your experience in farming have you any wish to engage in farming as a business?" Answer: "Right now I do not think that a man can go and buy a farm and make it go. I know he could not. It is a poor business proposition." (Report of Committee, p. 401.)

Moreover, the lot of the farmer is getting worse and worse. "Scissors" effect the Canadian farmers worse than any other country. In ten years, the prices of industrial products have increased one hundred and sixteen per cent, whilst the prices of agricultural products have positively declined!

The spectre of destitution haunts the homes of the Canadian slaves of the farm, but that does not stop the capitalists from broadcasting the most fantastic tales concerning the fabulous riches of "the golden west." Their plan is obvious to all!

Nor is the lot of the industrial workers one bit better. Tens of thousands of workless slaves clutter the streets of the cities—looking in vain for a job. In the city of Toronto alone, there are no less than ten thousand workless slaves—at the very moment

when Canadian industry and agriculture should be at its very best.

The conditions are so bad that tens of thousands of workers and farmers are leaving for the United States. In 1922 the number was 62,289; in 1923 the number had reached 181,973, and for the six months ending June 30th of this year, the number had reached 96,825.

Even the Conservative Opposition adds to the general gloom by publishing row after row of figures on the depression. We are informed that 2,000 Canadian factories have been closed; that 75,000 textile workers are out of work; that the country is going to the damnation bow-wows—and all, because those wicked Liberals are in power!

The steel mills of Nova Scotia have closed down; the lumber industry of the west has experienced its worst summer; the local miners of Alberta are on strike (since April 1st) against a reduction in wages, whilst their confreres in the east have "enjoyed" one day's work per week; building activity has been much below normal; the huge pulp and paper industry has been running slack for the first time in years—that is the situation facing the workers of Canada and which is being deliberately aggravated by the influx of tens of thousands of new settlers.

Wage-cuts are the order of the day. One section after another of the workers find their wages and working conditions attacked. Longshoremen, steel workers, coal miners, postal workers, telegraphists, textile workers, lumber "jacks"—all have suffered from the vicious open-shop drive of the capitalist class. And the end is not yet!

The Canadian workers and farmers have just cause to remember the brutal cynicism of the banker of Montreal: "*Unemployment is the natural corrective.*" In greater and greater misery they are witnessing the dire effects of the demand for "lower taxation and greater population." The "greater population," constitute a magnificent army for strike-breaking and the like!

OPPOSITION TO IMMIGRATION.

But the fantastic tales concerning the fabulous riches of Canada continue to lure the unsuspecting workers of Britain. They know nothing of real conditions in Canada. They are not in the position to know the stand taken by organised Labour in the Dominion.

Time after time, the conservative Dominion Trades Congress has passed resolutions branding the immigration plans of the em-

ployers as anti-Labour. At its Winnipeg Convention in 1921, it was resolved that :

“ For the past twelve months, throughout the Dominion of Canada, there has existed a serious unemployment situation, a solution for which is not in sight in the immediate future. Efforts are being made in various quarters to induce immigrants to come to Canada from European and other countries whose advent will mean *additional hardship to citizens of Canada by reason of proportionate extension of unemployment.*”

The Congress demanded that the Government enforce “ absolute prohibition of all immigration from European countries for a period of two years at least,” and that the Government enforce “ the total permanent exclusion of all permanent Orientals.” That is the best index of labour conditions in the Dominion—and would serve as a bad rejoinder to the fairy-tales circulated by interested agencies !

The Congress has consistently demanded the permanent exclusion of workers from Oriental countries. Chinese and Japanese workers were imported by the C.P.R. for construction work—at ridiculously low wages. In fact, their standard of living is so low as to constitute a menace to the standard of living of the whole working class. And the Congress, instead of organising these workers, aim to exclude them altogether !

At its Congress in 1922, organised Labour stated that :

“ Measures are necessary which will prevent the further aggravation of our unemployment problem by unwarranted immigration to our industrial centres.”

The organised farmers have taken a hand at the game. Recent conventions of the Farmers' Union of Canada have passed strong resolutions of protest and instructed the executive to publish the facts regarding the real situation in rural Canada in European papers.

To Canada come the land-hungry slaves of Britain expecting the New Jerusalem—only to find themselves employed to the detriment of debt-ridden farmers and impoverished workers !

CANADIAN UNEMPLOYED.

Unemployment is the gravest problem facing the Labour movement of Canada at this time.

The Dominion Trades and Labour Congress has repeatedly gone on record regarding the menace of unemployment. At its 1921 convention, a lengthy resolution was passed embodying the demand for the eight-hour day ; for the starting of public works ;

for unemployed relief as a "first charge upon industry." Nevertheless, the Congress has done little to organise the unemployed."

Local councils of unemployed have been set up in the various cities, and two years ago an endeavour was made to build a National Council of Unemployed, with headquarters in Winnipeg. The chief plank in the progress of this National Council was "work or full maintenance at trade union rates of wages."

Under the leadership of the Communist Party of Canada, another effort is being made to establish the National Council on a solid foundation with some prospects of better success.

Need exists for such an organisation. The Federal Government has steadily declined to shoulder any responsibility. A few weeks ago the Minister of Labour (the notorious fakir, Murdock) stated to the Calgary Trades Council that the Federal Government assumed full responsibility for immigration, but no responsibility for the unemployed! This frank and brutal statement, together with the cruel cynicism of the bankers of Montreal, deserves to be broadcasted among the land-hungry workers of Britain who regard Canada as "the golden west."

Nevertheless, the Federal Government has been forced to act despite its protestations of irresponsibility. Local authorities, faced with hordes of workless, have bombarded the Federal Government with demands and petitions for help, with the result that a National Unemployed Conference was called by the Government at Ottawa.

But the open-shop brigade is badly displeased with this exhibition of weakness, and we find that organ of blackest reaction, the *Financial Post*, stating that :

"It seems like poor business for the Government to spend money on an immigration program, and then to call an unemployment conference." (Sept. 12th, 1924.)

It spoils the rosy picture painted to the workers of Britain and shows that Canada is *not* "fit for heroes to dwell in."

H. M. BARTHOLOMEW.



Resolution of the International Conference in Cologne on October 9th, 1924.

The representatives of the Communist parties of England, France, Germany, Holland, Belgium, Switzerland, Italy, Czecho-Slovakia, have come together in Cologne on the 9th October for the purpose of examining the Dawes Plan and the London Pact, and discussing how far they have regard for the interests of the workers. After a detailed study and discussion all the representatives have come to the conclusion, that the London Pact is nothing but a treacherous attack of the capitalist class on the standard of life of the world proletariat. The consequences of the Dawes Plan will be felt very soon by economical crises in the three main countries: France, England and Germany.

The representatives at this conference discussed the best way to relieve the terrible social and economical condition of the workers of all countries, and the following resolution was adopted to oppose the Pact of London:

1. The minimum claims for the Existence of the Workers.

- (1) A guaranteed working day of eight hours, and a 44 hour week.
- (2) Guaranteed minimum wages, commensurate with the present high cost of living.
- (3) Guaranteed work for all.
- (4) Adequate maintenance at no less rate than the minimum wage for the unemployed, sick and incapacitated from accidents, old age and war.
- (5) Good houses for the labouring masses in the cities and in the country.

- (6) Guarantee of food and no taxation where incomes do not exceed the existence minimum.
2. In order to insure the execution of the above-mentioned claims, the following provisions are necessary:
 - (1) The nationalisation of all mining, industrial, railways, shipping, commercial and insurance enterprises.
 - (2) All land to be declared national property. All estates managed as large plants to be nationalised. The small agricultural property to be supported by the supply of artificial manures and agricultural machines to small landowners.
 - (3) Nationalisation of all banks and financial credit enterprises.
 - (4) Monopolisation of all foreign trade.
 - (5) Nationalisation of housing, with the exception of the settlements of the co-operators and small peasants.
 - (6) The nationalised enterprises to be controlled by the organs of the workers and employees.
 - (7) Socialisation must be insured by the dictatorship of a government of all labouring people, and in the closest association with Soviet Russia.

Appeal of the International Conference in Cologne against the White Terror.

To the Workers and Small Peasants of all Countries!

The bourgeoisie, unable to ensure the labouring masses work and bread, and not able to guarantee them peace, leads in all countries a brutal civil war against the working class. Thousands and thousands of revolutionary fighters are thrown into the jails of the bourgeoisie.

But the most terrible counter-revolutionary form of this terror is to be found in Germany, Poland and Bulgaria.

From the month of January to May, 1924, 8,980 persons have been convicted for having committed "crimes" against the capitalist order; from June until the midst of September, 1,750 workers have been sentenced, and many thousand years of imprisonment have been pronounced.

In Poland the revolutionary workers are hunted in the most terrible way. The Communist workers being maltreated and shot even in the streets by the Nationalists. Hundreds of champions of the proletariat have been thrown into the prisons of the bourgeoisie without any legal procedure.

In Bulgaria, the workers and peasants, opposing the murderous terror of the Zankov government, have been imprisoned by thousands, and are maltreated in the most brutal manner.

The leaders of the Second International willingly help the bourgeoisie in the execution of this terror. The Social-Democrats, in every struggle are on the side of the bourgeoisie. They do not help the victims of the abominable class oppression; on the contrary they mock at them.

But Vandervelde, Jouhoux, MacDonald, Kautsky, Bauer, Wels, etc., demand the release of such "revolutionaries," who, in the pay of Lloyd George, Poincare, Zankov, Pilsudski, organise rebellions against the Soviet power. They dare to demand an amnesty for the treacherous armies of the first workers' and peasants' state.

The Socialists struggle for freedom for the servants of international imperialism, that these people can once more fight against Soviet Russia and Socialism. They shout "Bravo! Bravo!" when the bourgeoisie throws heroic champions of the proletariat into the jails.

The bourgeoisie fights for its life and its rule. It is afraid of the struggle of the workers and fears the rebellion of the starving, impoverished

masses. The bourgeoisie intimidates you, workers and poor peasants, that you bear patiently your miserable lot. It deprives you of your leaders, and tries to frighten you, from following the Communists, or joining the Communist Party. It tries to weaken and break the ranks of the Communists, and prepare by a campaign against Moscow, a new military intervention, against Soviet Russia.

The ruling class wants you, who starve for its profit, for the new wars, now being prepared by it, in which they hope you will once more fight and die heroically for its profit as did the 12 millions who fell in the world war of 1914-18.

Workers and Peasants.

The tens of thousands of revolutionary workers, who struggle for you brave even the prisons of the capitalists. The more they suffer, the more they hate the capitalists, and their paid servants.

The persecution of these revolutionaries must be an example for you. Every sentence upon them but intensifies the misery of the working class! You must struggle for the freedom of the imprisoned revolutionaries, i.e., fight for your own release.

It is in your interest to assist the revolutionaries in their sufferings.

Protest in meetings and demonstrations against the murderous injustice of the capitalists against the terror in the prisons!

Down with the traitors of the Second International, who assist the world bourgeoisie in its struggle against Soviet Russia and against the workers of all countries!

Down with all enemies of the workers and peasants!

Down with the enemies of the first workers' and peasants' State!

Down with the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie!

Long live the fraternal solidarity of the workers all over the world!

Long live the revolutionary struggle for the liberation of the labouring masses!

Long live the International Red Relief!

Books Reviews

Labour's Alternative (The United States of Europe or Europe, Limited). By EDO FIMMEN, price 3/-. Cheap edition, 1/6d. The Labour Publishing Co., Ltd., 38, Great Ormond Street, W.C.1.

That Europe is rapidly becoming a Limited Liability Company whose directors are finance-capitalists, is nowadays an incontrovertible economic fact. Before the war, the tendency in this direction was marked; since the war that tendency has developed into a steady march. Capitalism, whose imminent collapse a r d e n t "revolutionaries" have hailed about a hundred times within the last ten years, is not only not collapsing, but is solidifying its position. Not merely is Europe becoming, in Edo Fimmen's phrase, "Europe, Limited," but, with the aid of America, Big Business has entered upon a new phase in which the whole world is its field and the world's workers its dupes and slaves.

It may be that this new phase will prove to be the "last phase"—but the danger is lest, owing to the disorganisation of the workers, owing to their lack of international sense, owing to their conservatism, this "last" phase may turn out to be far more prolonged, far more permanent than one cares to imagine. Capitalism is yet very strong; it is well-led and controlled; it is instinct with class consciousness and ready to meet all comers. One Russia does not make a revolution, and, as events have shown, it has been found necessary in that country to retreat in order, some day, again to advance.

The first part of Edo Fimmen's book seems to me to provide ample evidence of the truth of this standpoint. Though there is nothing new in his general outlook, he has brought together a convincing army of facts to prove his case.

The more research reveals the under-workings of finance-capitalism, the more formidable does the task of the international Labour movement become. Not by the blowing of trumpets, not by the shouting of catch-phrases, not by excellence in mutual vituperation are the workers going to triumph. The way to victory is the way of patience, hard thinking and hard work.

The second part of Fimmen's book is an attempt to do some of the necessary thinking, and though it may be regarded in some circles as heresy to say so, I think the attempt is successful. Put briefly, his case is that, to meet the continued organisation of capitalism on an international scale, the workers need ONE International based on the various internationals of industry; that one international must have as its definite objective the overthrow of world capitalism; it must be centrally controlled, and the national movements must obey its general direction and give lead to its particular behests.

According to Fimmen's thesis, both the "Amsterdam" and the "Moscow" Industrial Internationals are "organisationally" out of date, based as they are on the various national movements instead of on the international linking up of industries.

Fimmen's plan is to strengthen and widen the International Trade Secretariats—the governing authorities of the various industrial internationals, and though for the present it may be necessary to keep some part of the old organisational principle, the future progress of the workers lies along these lines. The decision taken at Vienna, under which the Russian workers can be brought into active co-operation with these Secretariats marks the beginning of the new Labour Industrial International.

Edo Fimmen, I hope, will not rest content with this book's brief treatment of this important matter. What is needed is a detailed examination of the whole question, a detailed survey of the present international situation as it affects the industrial workers' organisations, and the expanding of hints into specific proposals. Now is the time for that work to be done, and in many ways, Fimmen is the right person to tackle the job.

That the second part of his book is slight, I am sure Fimmen would be the first to agree. There are many industrial questions with which it does not deal—the best type of organisation for the national industries, the method of electing the international representatives and so forth—but they are matter for the

more detailed treatment, the need for which I have just mentioned.

Perhaps I may add a minor criticism. The present book, so far as concerns the second part, argues too much knowledge on the part of the ordinary "rank and file" of his international connections; it is full of allusions that I am afraid will not be understood by him; it presupposes a knowledge of "initials" that does

not exist, and above all, the language wants simplifying. These may be minor faults, but they are important, and in his next work I hope Fimmen will correct them.

One last word in praise of the translators—Eden and Cedar Paul. They have put the British Labour movement under yet another obligation for a piece of work well done.

T.B.

TROTSKY ON CULTURE.

"PROBLEMS OF LIFE," L. Trotsky. 174 pp. Translated by Z. Yengerova. Methuen, 2/6 net.

In the days of Socialist propaganda before the Russian Revolution, Marxists never bothered their heads much about the forms of transition through which culture and social relations would pass after "the Day." We were interested mainly in the economic changes: the rest was "superstructure," which all good believers in the materialist conception of history knew must change when the economic foundations changed. How that superstructure would collapse during the process, by what painful efforts would build itself up again, were thoughts very far from most of us.

Since the revolution of November, 1917, again, our interest was concentrated on other matters. The military and political defence of the Russian proletarian State: the spreading of information about its political and economic successes amongst the workers of our own country: hard thought, and hard fighting about the prospects of revolution here at home—these were the subjects which fully occupied our time, and our attention. And in the Soviet Republic, now the Union of Soviet Republics, no less. Even in their most utilitarian aspect—that of education—the problems of culture and social relations perforce fell to the background.

But things have changed, and are changing. The working class of the Soviet Union has struggled back, if not to satisfactory, at least to tolerable material conditions. The internal stability, and prestige of the Soviet Government are firm as a rock upon the basis of the workers' and peasants' support. The workers are beginning to consider the "superstructure," now lying shattered around them—such as it was before the Revolution.

They are beginning to find the leisure and the inclination to think about building up on the new basis.

REVOLUTIONARY EFFICIENCY.

What do they want to build up? What are the problems confronting them? One is *efficiency*—efficiency in little everyday things. Revolutionary Russia was European in its exploitation, but Asiatic in its inefficiency. Post-revolutionary Russia must bring up its level of efficiency from Asia to Europe, while in destroying exploitation it has gone far beyond Europe.

Another problem is that of *punctuality*, a vital problem for a society passing swiftly from barbarism to culture. A third problem is that of *cultured speech*—the elimination of bad language, which is the legacy of slavery and humiliation, and not only the sign, but the cause of indifference to one's fellowmen. A fourth problem is that of *civility and politeness*, particularly in the State apparatus. The new Soviet society suffers from lack of politeness, which means lack of smooth working, and may grow into estrangement, and hostility between the workers or peasants, and the administrative machine. To a large extent it springs from pure ignorance, or from revolutionary impatience and irritability: but in no small measure, it is the inheritance of the old, semi-feudal attitude of supreme contempt adopted by the bureaucracy of the old regime towards the masses of the people.

THE FAMILY.

There is a bigger problem than any of these. It is that of the *family*. The old family has been shattered by the Revolution. Not only did war, famine, unemployment break it up *mechanically*, but the progress of the revolution itself, shattering the economic order on which the old family was based, has helped to

break up the family still further. Political equality between man and woman was comparatively easy to achieve: economic equality, at work and in the unions, was rather more difficult, but has been carried through: yet real equality between the individual man and the individual woman, within the family, is a problem that is vaster, more complex, and more difficult than any of these. And it is only just being tackled. Yet without such equality, without getting over the old division of functions between the woman who is chained to the home and the man who goes out to work, it must be obvious that real equality between the sexes cannot exist. This contradiction has broken up family after family, and must be solved.

This in turn brings up other questions, of a secondary character—the question of *the cinema* as a competitor to the Church and the workshop, the question of what part *ceremony* is to play in the new life, the question of a League for *propaganda* of a more rational outlook, and so on. Particularly does it bring up the question of *the material conditions* for releasing the woman from her domestic slavery—the organisation by the State of communal kitchens, laundries and sewing shops. Must we wait till the Soviet Republic, perhaps after 50 years, has sufficient spare cash to set about organising these on a large scale? Or, can anything be done by the voluntary effort of the workers themselves, adopting the watchword: "In order to change the conditions of life, we must learn to see them through the eyes of women?"

These are the problems discussed, brilliantly and suggestively, by Comrade Trotsky in his new book of essays on "Problems of Life." He himself is a magnificent exponent of the conclusion to which he comes, namely, that we must not wait for a bureaucratic "introduction" of the new order from on high, but must try and find in our everyday conditions, the embryo forms and movements of the new order amidst the lumber of the old.

No Communist can afford to miss this book. It is a piece of fine writing which alone would put Trotsky in a class by himself. It is a piece of revolutionary thinking, of pioneer work, which itself constitutes no mean step forward. It illustrates the Revolution from a side which most of us have not had the leisure, or the

opportunity to see. And it gives us furiously to think upon subjects which will one day be as urgent in the Workers' Republic of Britain as they are in the U.S.S.R. The more we think about them now, the more likely we are to be their masters and not their victims in the future.

The translator deserves every praise, in spite of one or two slips.
R.

THE FASCISTI EXPOSED: A year of Fascist Domination. By the late GIACOMO MATTEOTTI. Price 2/6. I.L.P. Publications Department, 14, Gt. George Street, Westminster.

By a species of insinuation and false analogy, it has long been the practice of bourgeois writers and social reformists of the I.L.P. type alike, to make comparisons between Fascism in Italy and Bolshevism in Russia, between Mussolini and Lenin. So ingrained are the doctrines of democracy and constitutionalism in the Anglo-Saxon mind that any departure from these, no matter in what form, is anathema.

The Fascist rule in Italy has lasted long enough now, and sufficient is known of its workings and its achievements, to condemn as utter nonsense any attempt to place it in the same category as the Soviet rule in Russia. Those who attempt to do so may be rightly suspected of political misrepresentation for the obvious purpose of combating Communism. It is, therefore, with satisfaction, that we peruse the pages of Giacomo Matteotti's book without finding any malignant attempts to identify the barbarity of Fascism with the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

A DAMNING INDICTMENT.

Matteotti's book is far from being complete. The author was evidently bent upon constructing a damning indictment of the renegade Mussolini's regime, and would have succeeded, but for his untimely murder. But however incomplete, there is sufficient data compiled from internal evidence of a personal character, and from citations of speeches and decrees associated with the names of responsible Ministers, from Mussolini down, to prove that on no point is there any analogy to the Soviet Republics. Fascism in Italy, is the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie exercised through the medium of renegade Socialists collaborating with the bourgeoisie.

The Soviet Republics are ruled by the express will of the majority of the peasants and workers in Russia.

A perusal of Matteotti's book shows that, neither in government structure, in industrial and social administration, in labour organisation, or in the exercise of the national defensive institutions has Fascism anything in common with the Workers' Republics. On the contrary, we get in this book ample evidence of all the corruption, financial jerrymandering, and exploitation associated with approved capitalist states.

Even the boasted national independence, fear for which is the excuse for brutally suppressing Labour and Socialist organisations, and murdering oppositionalists, like Matteotti and the hundreds of Communists who have met a similar and even worse fate, has gone the way of Germany, Austria, Hungary and France. Like these states, Italy is a colony for American finance. As with them, the Almighty Dollar sits enthroned upon the skull and crossbones of the blackshirts.

THE ITALIAN CRISIS.

We may round off Matteotti's statistics showing the decline in Italy's economy with the following:

In the first quarter of 1922, the dollar exchanged at 20 liras. In the same period 1924, the exchange was 22.85 liras. In the first quarter of 1922, 400 paper liras exchanged for 100 gold liras. In the current year

the exchange is 142 paper for 100 gold liras. Again, the increasing dependence of Italy upon foreign countries for its food supplies and raw materials is reflected in an excess of imports over exports of 2,783 million liras. At the same time due to the immigration laws in the U.S.A. there is a large increase in the population of Italy, 37,171,084 in 1921, and 38,044,121 at the end of 1923. These are some of the objective facts which are provoking this crisis in Italy. Fascism in Italy is on its last legs. Matteotti's book helps to show why.

T.B.

ECONOMICS AND FINANCE.—The Labour Research Department continues to pursue in its Syllabus Series the laudable object of providing working class students with introductions to important subjects of study. The two numbers (14 & 15) are called "A Guide to the Study of Marx," by Max Beer, and "Public Finance," by Dr. Hugh Dalton. Max Beer has, of course, made the study of Marx his life-work, and is well-known to English readers. Dr. Dalton's admirably clear little introduction to national Finance is one of the simplest and clearest numbers of the series, and leaves no one an excuse for failing to understand. Not the least useful part of the Syllabus are the talks which show the growth of the National Debt, the national balance sheet to-day, and before the war, etc.

T.B.

BOOKS RECEIVED

- 1re Conférence Internationale Paysanne. Thèses et adresses.* Price 2 francs.
- Le Leninisme: Théorique et Pratique.* I. STALINE. Price 2 francs.
- L'Amnistie Intégrale.* Price 1 franc. ANDRE MARTY.
- Le Plan des Experts.* A. FREIDRICH. Price 30 centimes. Published by *Humanité*, 120 Rue Lafayette.
- The Comitadji Question in Southern Serbia.* By R. A. REISS, D.Sc. Printed for the Author by Hazell, Watson and Viney, Ltd., 52, Long Acre, W.C.2.
- The Fascisti Exposed.* By GIACOMO MATTEOTTI. 2/6. I.L.P. Publications Dept., 14, Gt. George Street, Westminster.
- Skill in Work and Play.* By T. H. PEAR. 4/- net. Methuen & Co., 36, Essex Street, London, W.C.
- The Anglo-Russian Treaties.* By W. P. COATES. Anglo-Russian Parliamentary Committee, 3, Adam Street, Adelphi, London, W.C.2.
- Labour's Alternative (The United States of Europe, or Europe, Limited).* By EDO FIMMEN. Price 3/-. Cheap edition, 1/6d. The Labour Publishing Co., Ltd., London, 38, Great Ormond Street, W.C.1.
- Problems of Life.* By LEON TROTSKY. Price 2/6. Methuen & Co., Ltd. 36, Essex Street, London, W.C.2.
- A Searchlight on the European War.* By C. H. NORMAN. Price 6/-. The Labour Publishing Co., 38, Great Ormond Street, W.C.1.