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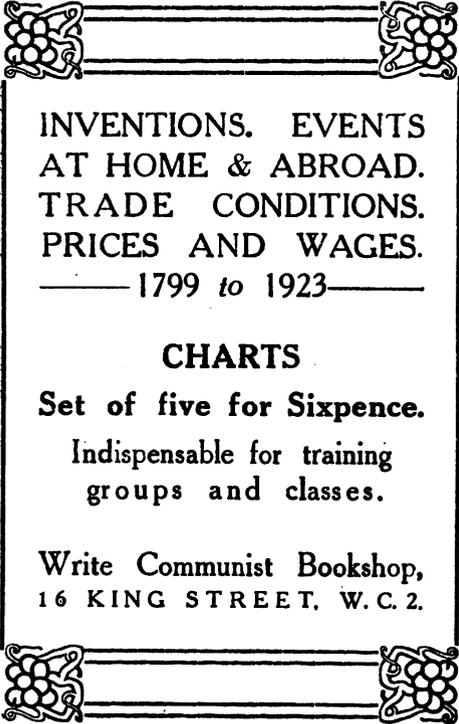
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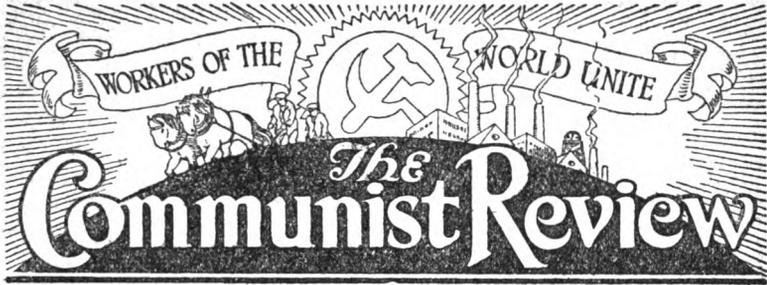
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## THE EDITORIAL VIEW

**N**O finer tribute could be paid to our movement than the attacks made upon it by the capitalist press in general. While hesitant and timid Left-wingers whisper about and discuss the possibilities of liquidation and absorption of the Left by the Right-wing, this press campaign is the best evidence of the value of our movement as a serious political force.

We would be foolish, however, not to take this at its proper measure. As we see it, the press hostility to our movement generally and the threatened attack on the trade union political levy in particular are not the concern of our movement alone. The whole working class is involved. For months we have been sounding this note of warning. Amidst the tremendous barrage of vile abuse and misrepresentation we have never lost sight of the real meaning of this press campaign. For us this is but the prelude to a wholesale attack upon the entire trade union and Labour movement.

Let those who doubt this, cogitate for a moment upon the following gem from no less an authority than the great "Jix" himself. Speaking to a Tory women's conference at Lincoln, after the usual abusive tirade of our movement, he declared:

"Some people were wondering whether, in the event of labour trouble next year, the Government would be ready. Did they think the Government were fools? Did they think the Government were going to leave the country to be destroyed by a universal strike? Did they think the Government did not know that men and women wanted coal, food, electricity and transport in the event of a general strike? 'Why, if the Government were such fools as to know that and take no precautions,' exclaimed Sir William, 'they would deserve not merely to be turned out, they deserved to have their heads on the lamp-posts of Whitehall.'"—  
("Manchester Guardian," 20th October, 1925.)

Surely it is plain as a pikestaff what is meant here. Where, for example, is the "labour trouble" to come from

next year? From our movement or from the M.F.G.B. and the Industrial Alliance? Laughable indeed would be any suggestion that a political party itself could produce a general strike. Coal, food, electricity and transport imply big masses of workers and important trade unions. No general strike is possible without these. If, then, the capitalists have plans up their sleeve, these can only be intended for one object and that is to smash the trade unions at the earliest opportunity.

Clearly this press campaign is only a preliminary. The capitalist press knows that the liquidation of our movement would not stop the miners next year from putting forward their programme and, if need be, striking. They also know that, in the present attitude of the entire trade union movement towards any proposed attack upon the miners, i.e., the solid industrial front, nothing can prevent a sympathetic strike being declared by the railwaymen and transport workers. Why then the press attack on our movement? There is only one answer. By attacking the political side it is hoped to carry out another successful industrial offensive, and at the same time to weaken the strength of the Labour Party in the welter of political controversy that must ensue upon the merits of strike action and parliamentarism.

Lenin has taught us that the force of the revolutionary proletariat, from the point of view of its influence over the masses, is incomparably greater in the extra-parliamentary struggle than in the parliamentary struggle.

The truth of this observation never was more clearly demonstrated than to-day. The workers can read the signs and learn the lesson.

\* \* \* \* \*

The Locarno Conference and the conclusion of the "Security" Pact marks the further development of the attempt to stabilise Europe.

This latest Pact is the political complement to the Dawes Plan. It is the pronounced declaration that Western imperialism is under the domination of the United States and Great Britain in the same degree as the Dawes Plan is its economic complement.

The temporary stabilisation which was effected in Germany by the Dawes Plan had almost exhausted itself and no further credits were to be advanced until such time as Europe passed under the political dominance of U.S.A. and Britain. That any lasting settlement has been reached is, however, illusory, we have only to remember the continuous series of Notes, negotiations and conferences starting from Versailles to the London Conference (the Dawes Plan) to realise how futile is the belief in securing Peace and Stability in capitalist Europe.

Two years ago the MacDonald-Herriot combination attempted at Geneva by means of the Protocol to solve the problem of conflicting interests in Central Europe. The Protocol was applauded by the French bourgeoisie and its vassal States because it left the frontiers as defined by the Versailles Treaty intact. And just as Geneva failed to find a solution to the problem of equalising the status of powers, economically unequal, so on this rock will Locarno fail. The economic development of imperialist states does not travel along parallel lines. This disparity in wealth and power necessarily engenders conflicting interests.

The conflicting interests of Britain and the U.S.A. in Central Europe will, as a result of the Pact, only become intensified. This attempt at the subjection of the workers of Central Europe is bound to react against the workers of Britain and U.S.A., provoke further attacks on the workers' standard of living, and intensify class conflicts.

The only unity attained at Locarno is the common bond of hostility expressed by the capitalist powers against Soviet Russia, the vanguard of the proletarian revolution and whose increasing economic improvement is tending to detach Poland and Germany from the domination of British and American imperialism. This is the real reason for the feverish anxiety to secure the "unity" of the various subject countries by bribes and concessions.

\* \* \* \* \*

On the other hand we see a real unity developing throughout the international Labour Movement. The visits of workers' delegations from Germany, Norway, Britain, etc., to Soviet Russia have broken down a great deal of the prejudices which existed in a number of working class

organisations and is preparing the way for closer unity between the workers of Western Europe and Russia.

The howls of the kept press at the progress of Anglo-Russian unity and the decisions of Scarborough, show how this growing unity is abhorred by the capitalist class. Especially the British bourgeoisie hopes, that by an economic and financial blockade, they will be able to prevent the further economic development of Soviet Russia and, if necessary, find an excuse to use the last resort of politics—war—in order to break down the citadel of the working class.

The capitalist class is unable to ensure peace and stability. It tries by means of repeated offensives against the workers' standard of living to maintain its position as a ruling class. It dare not stand idly by and look passively at the growing economic stability of Soviet Russia, where the working class is the ruling class. Locarno means the isolation of Soviet Russia and the definite formation of an anti-Soviet bloc.

But the capitalist imperialists will never succeed in their attempt to colonise Europe and crush the working class. Neither will they succeed in their attack on Soviet Russia. In their desire to preserve their national interests in Europe and the world, the capitalist groups will come into conflict with each other. The interests of Britain and U.S.A., of Britain and France, are not parallel. Instead of peace the growing rivalries will intensify and lead to war.

There is no alternative. The whole period of post-war Europe demonstrates the impossibility of permanent stabilisation and the process of decline is still going on.

Locarno but marks another milestone on the road to capitalist bankruptcy and final defeat. Only the proletariat under the banner of the Communist International can bring peace and security.

# November Seventh

(To the Comrades in the Red Square)

Not from us has the struggle departed,  
The fight for the life that is best,  
Till freedom and light give us rest,  
O brothers that lie in the Square;  
Not ours the army faint-hearted  
That breaks to derision and snare.

\* \* \*

This banner of ours is your banner,  
The fight that we wage is your fight,  
Through twilight and darkness and night  
Till the crimson shall stream with the morn,  
With light to show in what manner  
The world shall harvest the corn.

\* \* \*

The corn; of you, brothers, the sowing  
In March when throughout the world  
By the hands of freedom were hurled  
In careless and prodigal way  
The grains that slowly are growing  
To the harvesting; when, who shall say?

\* \* \*

Not yours, Tovarishtchi, the reaping;  
For whoso should garner the corn  
When night is supreme and the morn  
A shadowy shade in the east—  
When men's eyes are heavy with sleeping;  
Who, fighting, has thought of the feast?

\* \* \*

But yours the days of November,  
When, soldiers, not husbandmen, you  
Let your heart's blood moisten like dew  
The grain athirst in the fields—  
Shall not the whole world remember  
When freedom the red harvest yields?

L. A. MOTLER.

# The October Revolution and British Labour

By J. T. MURPHY.

**I**T is now eight years since the workers of Russia took the reins of power and set the pace for the workers of the whole world. Eight years since the whole earth reverberated to the shock of a working class triumphant. And what years they have been! Civil war, intervention, famine, pestilence, painful struggle amidst ruin and desolation, to build anew. Then reconstruction and steady grappling with fundamental economic and social problems and giant strides towards Socialism.

There has been nothing like it in human history. Nothing so stupendous. The press of the capitalist world shouted "It is falling" from the first moment of its emergence. For weeks, for months, for years, they continued "To-morrow it will fall."

But "to-morrow" came, and, as it did not fall, the hatred of its enemies grew in intensity the more it advanced from chaos to order and increasing power. The changing situation brought changes in tactics on the part of world capitalism without a change of purpose. From direct armed intervention they changed to economic penetration; from economic penetration to financial boycott and diplomatic manoeuvres, e.g., the formation of pacts, police, conspiracies.

But what of British Labour? Instinctively, the Labour movement was on the side of the Russian workers without understanding anything about the dictatorship of the proletariat. It organised a Workers' Council Convention, denounced intervention and prepared for action to stop intervention. The I.L.P., particularly in Scotland, nearly affiliated to the Communist International, then retreated, joined the Two-and-a-Half International, while subscribing to the dictatorship of the proletariat, and then retreated still further back until it landed into the lap of the Second International. Those of the Labour Party leaders who had subscribed to Workers' Councils became alarmed. They pulled themselves together, drew back and steadily assumed an offensive against the Communist International based upon the funda-

mentals of the very revolution they had defended. They defended the fact of the dictatorship while denying it as a principle in political evolution.

Throughout this process of change in the ranks of Labour there is a remarkable divergence between the line taken by the trade unions, by the Labour Party and by the I.L.P., the dominant fraction in the Labour Party. This divergence culminates in the contrast of the Scarborough T.U. Congress and the Liverpool Conference of the Labour Party.

### Scarborough and Liverpool.

Of course, there are those who argue there is no difference between Scarborough and Liverpool. To us it is a study in contrasts so far as the political decisions were concerned. The chairman of the T.U.C. sounded the class war note throughout his speech and took his stand with the workers in their struggle. The chairman of the Labour Party declared there is a class war, but it was the task of the Labour Party to "transcend" it—in short, help the capitalists to strengthen capitalism to the tune of resonant Socialist phrases. The T.U.C. denounced the Dawes Plan, the Labour Party proposed to "enquire" into it. The T.U.C. denounced imperialism. The Labour Party Conference clothed it with Socialist phraseology, re-baptised the British Empire the British Commonwealth of Nations and promised not to disturb it.

It may be thought that all this has nothing to do with the "October" revolution, but it has everything to do with it. As a matter of fact, a cursory glance across the eight years will reveal that the enthusiasm for the revolution in the ranks of British Labour varies according to the degree to which its principles are related to our own experiences.

So long as it was a gesture to something external, all well and good. But immediately it enters their own experience with dangerous obligations, the reaction, especially on the part of parliamentary politicians and intellectuals who prefer to write about a revolution rather than work for a revolution, is one of consistent retreat until they even turn upon the revolution they once cheered to the echo. The effect upon the rank and file workers and many trade union leaders is different, because their position in the struggle of social forces is different. They cheered with the best when the recognition of the revolution was a gesture and the more emphatic the presentation of the case as the triumph of the workers over the bosses, the more they cheered. It fitted in

with their own heartfelt desires, although it is perfectly true to say they had no theoretical conception about the matter. Thus it was that when the parliamentarians began their counter-revolutionary propaganda, and pleaded for the transformation here to be peaceful, etc., etc., there came along also increasing confusion.

From the moment that the proletarian revolution found its theoretical embodiment in the Communist Party, definite alignments of forces become ever clearer and a dual process begins. One phase is a battle for the theory of the proletarian revolution and the other is the struggle against its application to the day-to-day struggle.

### **Exorcising the Communists.**

The theoretical fight has proceeded with increasing sharpness in the Labour Party. The struggle for its application has been mainly in the trade unions and Trades and Labour Councils. No one at all familiar with the history of the Labour Party and the trade unions can look back over the last few years without being literally amazed at the rapid changes that have taken place in the movement, especially since the formation of the Communist Party. Up to this time the Labour movement had muddled along, asserting its independence in the mixed language of Christian Socialism and trade union Liberalism. Even after it had formulated its Fabian programme in 1918, it slowly bumped along as history swept British imperialism into the rapids of economic disaster.

It did not know upon which leg to stand—on industrial action or parliamentarism. It somehow thought political power necessarily took the form of parliamentarism, and yet was puzzled by the severe shocks it received when the unions came in conflict with the State. Black Friday was the culmination of this muddle when the spectre of a British October stood in the pathway of the British Labour movement, and called for a decision. This occasion was the most drastic of all. The challenge to the State had been faced in 1920 on the occasion of the threat of war against Russia, but this was deemed an exceptional situation which would not recur. Here, however, was an event developing out of their own inner experience—an event bound up with the fate of the economic life of this country.

Then it was decided by the Labour leaders and the I.L.P. leaders that these situations must not recur and all ideas associated with this event, directly bearing upon the question of revolution, must be fought.

The Communist Party crystallised the revolutionary implication of these developments and consequently became the storm-centre. The effect of this battle, expressing itself most fiercely in the Edinburgh Conference of 1922, has been continually to force the Labour Party leadership into a clearer formulation of its own programme as against the programme of the Communist Party.

### **Politicians Triumph.**

The culmination of this struggle is the Liverpool Conference where, for the first time in the history of the British Labour movement, the fight takes place all along the line, not simply on one or two issues associated with the question of the affiliation of the C.P. to the Labour Party, but in addition on a clear choice of programme in relation to the first principles of the October revolution and the line of policy. How far the Labour Party has travelled I have already indicated in contrast with the T.U.C. resolutions.

But more than these were put through. For the first time the Labour Party fastened itself completely to the Parliamentary machine. Hitherto it had left the situation open to question. Now, however, there is to be no question about it—only by Parliamentarism—is the answer to the unions in spite of 1921. As for the I.L.P., its Socialism is relegated to the realm of a personal religion in which secularists and Christians may unite for ethical purposes. Its politics are the politics of the majority in the Liverpool Conference. Its Socialism is what it would like if it dared to. Its politics are the politics of Liberalism, and poor Liberalism at that. This is the answer of the parties other than the Communist Party to the oncoming British October.

### **Bevin's Growl.**

It is one of the greatest ironies of history that the very people who are fiercest in the denunciation of the Communist Party, which contains the politics of the October Revolution, are repeatedly pushed into circumstances which compel them, time and again, to say and do the things which the Communist Party says are necessary.

For example, Mr. Bevin was exceptionally loud-mouthed in his denunciation of the Communist Party, but when he savagely tries to dissociate the Communist Party from the events of July, simply because he "did not care a damn what the Communist Party was saying or doing," he lays himself open to ridicule.

Everybody knows that for months and months we had been calling and working for a united front of the unions to the wage offensive, that the steps taken by the General Council and the trade unions, whether consciously taken in response to Communist propaganda or not matters not, were the steps advocated by our Party. And they were steps that proved effective. We did not claim that they were due to us only, we are not such fools as that. But neither Mr. Bevin, nor anyone else, can get away from the fact of the coincidence of our policy and what was recognised by the union leaders and the workers themselves as the right policy to pursue in the interests of the workers.

We are not worried about Mr. Bevin's personal feelings for us. More important than Mr. Bevin is the fact that the unions, in order to defend their interests, got together as we had said they must get together to defend them, and in the process proved the soundness of our revolutionary theories and demonstrated the correctness of our application of them.

Here we revealed that no amount of resolutions registered against us can defeat our Party providing history is for us and not against in the application of our political theories. Life is the test, not resolutions. It is in the realm of this historical test that the Communist Party has made the greatest headway, and it is such incidents as that which make Mr. Bevin squeal, revealing why the trade unions are brought nearer to us than the Labour Party, and why Scarborough contrasts with Liverpool.

### **Labour Party and Liberalism.**

The basis of the unions is not a political programme, but the immediate economic needs of the workers and their families. No amount of resolutions against the Communist Party will add butter to the bread, or increase the wages of the workers one iota. But to maintain wages they have, and are continually having, to fight against them being lowered. Everything which affects them, direct attacks, Dawes schemes, colonial exploitation, provide the grist to the mill which keeps them ceaselessly struggling. It is the relation of the respective theories to this struggle which is the test both of the parties and the theories as the workers endeavour to solve the problems of the struggle which counts. The more the struggle sharpens, the more experience proves to them one or the other.

Although four years ago many of the leaders ran away at the sight of "October," and left the workers in the lurch, the struggle did not stop. The ranks had to be re-formed,

and the evolution of the union movement from that time shows a remarkable approximation to the lines outlined by our Party as necessary.

We have only to recall the demand for more power to the General Council, the coming together of the latter body with the Unemployed Committees and the Trades Councils, and the growth of the Minority Movement. The reason is clear also. In each case the proposals are accepted not on the basis of principles, but as measures governed by expediency.

It is the working class learning by experience and responding to the challenge of its interests in the struggle. This is why the Trades Union Congress contrasts with the Labour Party Conference. The former discussed the issues of the day in terms of its experience. The latter discussed theories first and subordinated the issues to them. Hence the contrast.

This contrast is the measure not of the failure of the Communist Party, but of the failure of the Labour Party leadership to keep in touch with the workers' struggle and its requirements. The retreat of the Labour Party into the lap of Liberalism is the confession of futility in the face of a situation which drives the unions into conflict with them. It cannot be overlooked that during the whole period of retreat from the issues of our "October," the economic position of British capitalism has become steadily worse and offers less and less prospect of concessions to the workers.

In seeking to save capitalism in preference to saving the workers through leading towards our "October" instead of away from it, the Labour Party leaders seal their own doom and pave the way for the Party of revolution.

Of the role of the Left-wing we need say nothing at the moment. It has been badly singed and the stench has not yet vanished. All the Liverpool contingent can do at present is to weep, gnash their teeth and wish there were no Communist Party. But there is nothing doing. Our Party will not be put out either by resolution or persecution. Liverpool is already behind us.

# Notes for Discussion of October (1917) Revolution

[The following series of notes on the October (1917) Revolution are intended for discussion by all Communist Party locals at an aggregate members' meeting called to celebrate the 8th anniversary of the Soviet Republics.

For reasons of convenience and economy we print them in the "Review," believing the subject matter to be of general interest to all our readers whether Party members or not.—EDITOR.]

## 1. Introductory.

**S**OVIET RUSSIA under Proletarian Dictatorship intact for eight years. From chaos of Tsardom and civil war country being steadily reconstructed on Socialist basis under guidance of Communist Party. Counter-Revolutionary forces (Social-Revolutionaries and Mensheviks and petty bourgeoisie within, and organised imperialists without) successfully overcome. Power of workers and peasants steadily consolidated.

New Economic Policy represents transition period to full Communism. Not an abdication to bourgeois democracy, but a breathing space to entrench forces of social revolution. Unqualified success. (See October "Communist Review," article by Bukharin on Kautsky).

## 2. Bolshevism v. Social-Democracy.

Consolidation and extension of proletarian power an achievement of Communist Party and a justification of methods of Bolshevism.

Compare Germany where advice of Second Internationalists like Kautsky, Vandervelde and MacDonald was taken. All limited gains of German Revolution of 1918 lost. Famine, White Terror and cooliedom prevail. Reaction symbolised by Hindenburg on top. Workers' Revolution set back.

Germany a colony of international, especially American and British, finance. Workers bearing dual burden of own native and foreign bourgeoisie.

Russian working class on up-grade, labour laws formulated by trade unions. German workers—longer hours, low wages. Trade unionism low ebb and reaction rampant.

Russia the triumph of a strong centralised Bolshevik Party. Germany the defeat of Social-Democratic policy of class collaboration and gradualism. Chief lesson for us in Great Britain from survey of eight years' triumph of Bolshevism compared with defeat of Social-Democracy is need for establishment in this country, as in all countries, of a powerful Bolshevik mass Communist Party, united and disciplined under banner of Communist International.

### **3. U.S.S.R. and Small Nationalities.**

For international imperialism Soviet Russia a strong menace to stability of capitalism. It not only proves case for Bolshevism to workers in the West, but, embracing one-sixth of the globe, it is a beacon light for millions outside the U.S.S.R., millions of oppressed peoples in East and colonies.

Imperialists give lip-service to self-determination of small nations. Soviet Russia renounces all territorial aggrandisement and champions liberation of small nationalities. China most recent example where all Tsarist claims and spheres of territorial conquest have been renounced. Soviet Government openly supports revolutionary claims of China for national independence and autonomy.

Name U.S.S.R. indicates existence of large group of autonomous, independent republics. Against bogus "League of Nations," only a cloak for designs of powerful imperialist states, Soviet Russia puts slogan of a United Federation of free and independent republics based on proletarian power.

### **4. Security Pact.**

The imperialists are still trying to find a way out of mess created by war and infamous Treaty of Versailles, signed by Lloyd George on behalf of capitalists in Great Britain, and supported by present leadership of Labour Party.

Artificial frontiers and impossible barriers were erected which makes unity of peoples impossible. Big powers bid for support of small states by supplying arms, munitions and money. Competition for markets and struggle for allies to

sustain these, divides imperialists. Only thing uniting the big powers is necessity of bloc against Soviet Russia.

What are realities behind Locarno Conference? Franco-Italian-British rivalries over hegemony in the Mediterranean. Old Franco-German antagonisms; German-Italian rivalries over problem of Austria; Franco-British antagonisms over attitude towards Poland and Czecho-Slovakia.

Great Britain strives to win Germany away from Rapallo and Soviet Russia, and aims at leading Europe with France as second in new crusade against Soviet Union of Workers' and Peasants' Republics.

### 5. British Policy.

"Frankfurter Zeitung" for July 4th declared: "There can be no doubt that England is making the greatest effort to draw Germany into an anti-Soviet policy through the Guarantee Pact." In dealing with German objections to Security Pact, Paris correspondent of the "Times" for August 5th, 1925, says:

"The main reservation is still that raised under Article 16 of the Covenant, relating to military obligations attaching to membership of the League. But it appears that in the public mind these objections do not merely cover the purely political aspect of the matter, involving the exemption of Germany from participation in military action or in transit of troops across her territory. They extend themselves also to the economic blockade which is one of the sanctions of the League. . . .

"The reservations referred to above are always made with one eye upon Russia. It is the practice in discussing this aspect of the question here to distinguish very plainly between Russia and the Bolsheviks. Russia, it is agreed, will not always be Bolshevik. The Bolsheviks will have their day and Communism will go the way of dead faiths. Germans do not know whether they will have to preserve neutrality towards Russia or whether they may be allied with her, but they wish to eliminate at all costs the possibility of being counted in any circumstances among her enemies."

The article goes on to say that possibility of a military alliance is clearly conceived in terms of Rapallo Treaty and

that subjects of detailed schemes have been drawn up, not merely "by the rank and file of German Chauvinists, but by responsible German Generals."

It further goes on to say :

"This aspect of the question has not been lost upon British statesmen," and gives substance of a letter which was written by Chamberlain to Herriot on March 8th last. "There is no doubt that the defeated peoples of Central Europe are psychologically prepared for the idea of a military alliance with Russia and its enormous reserves of power. The possibility of a military alliance between Germany and Russia **increases as the internal situation of Russia becomes stabilised.** Revulsion against Communism and Internationalism will sooner or later result, and with the danger of a German-Russian military alliance the dream of the German and Russian Chauvinists will be at hand."

The correspondent further says :

"The letter goes on to point out that a Germany allied with other countries as signatory to a military pact (Security Pact) could not at the same time be the military ally of and co-operate with either the present Soviet Union or a future Russia. Russian aggression would not be able to be directed against Europe without the help of Germany. The participation of Germany in the Pact, therefore, seems the best means of attracting Germany into the League and getting their difficulties out of the way."—(Paris Correspondent of 'Times,' August 5th, 1925, on "Security Pact.")

## 6. The Baltic States.

British capitalists are also using Baltic States to draw cordon round Russia. Esthonia and Latvia owe to British capitalists 24 million roubles for arms used in crushing revolutionary movement in 1919.

In Esthonia British interests dominate Russian Baltic Shipbuilding Yard, linen mills of Narva and textile factories of Keogholm. (See "Communist Review," September, Editorial).

### 7. Poland, Hungary and Roumania.

"Statist," 28th February, 1925, reports loan made by British financial interests to Polish sugar industry, as result of negotiations between Union of Polish Sugar Manufacturers and British Overseas Bank, Ltd. Loan is stated to amount to £3,000,000. This journal also states that same interests are buying up 60 per cent. of shares of Anglo-Polish Bank in Warsaw while remaining shares are to be acquired by sugar industrialists.

"L'Information," made statement recently to the effect that British banking syndicate were at Lodz recently with object of arranging loan of £100,000 to Lodz textile industry.

Polish debt to Britain amounts to £4,953,000, bearing interest at 5 per cent. This debt is Poland's heaviest debt to any country, after that to U.S.A. which amounts to 178,560,000 dollars at 3 per cent.

Journal of Federation of British Industries, "British Industries," makes following remark in issue of 15th May, 1925: "As we need a peaceful Europe to consume our products, Poland's independence and security are of paramount importance to this country. **Some day Russia will be penetrated and developed. This can best be done via Poland. . . Let us see that penetration via Poland is directed by England and not by Germany.**"

In Hungary, England came to rescue when America withdrew from foreign loan to that country, by the Bank of England advancing £4,000,000 and, according to one report, receiving gratitude of Hungary and making possible conclusion of foreign loan of 250,000,000 kronen.

According to statement issued in February by Constaninesen, Minister of Industry and Commerce, as result of negotiations carried out during his stay in London and Paris, agreement was signed with Vickers, Ltd. for development of metallurgical industry in Roumania. Large works are to be erected. Also it was stated in "Times Trade Supplement" of 21st February, 1925, that negotiations were proceeding with Sir W. G. Armstrong Whitworth Co., Ltd., for erection of aeroplane factory in Roumania.

At Geneva Conference on question of arms, at which Soviet Government was not represented (though nations not

in League participated) resolved that only countries under no obligation to make known quantity and nature of arms and war materials purchased were Poland, Roumania, Esthonia, Finland and Latvia. It was assumed that as they border on Soviet Russia they are exposed to onslaught of Russian "Imperialism." When we remember that Denmark has deepened Drogden Canal and opened Baltic to English super-dreadnoughts, and rumours that Esthonia is handing over islands of Oisel and Dago to England, we are entitled to ask, what for?

What is significance of all this? It means that Britain is gaining control of these States in order to dictate policy and to use them against Soviet Russia. But everything is not right for imperialists. Poland, for instance, not at all pleased with turn things taking with regard to Security Pact, and disappointed with France because of her attitude. Besides, not only Poland, but other States can see growing economic reconstruction of Russia and asking themselves whether it would not be better to make her an ally in preference to Western powers.

#### **8. The Second International in the Service of Imperialism.**

Since capitalist forces are operating to crush Republic, part played by leaders of Second International tends to pave way for success of bourgeoisie.

German workers, despite orientation of their masters towards Western powers via the Security Pact, drawing near to workers of Russia. This proved by reports of their delegations and reception which reports have received. No one calculated to link up German workers with their bourgeoisie so effectively as leaders of the Second International (who are agents of bourgeoisie in camp of workers). The workers more likely to accept lies told about Russia if they come from so-called leaders of working class.

#### **9. Kautsky's Case against Soviets.**

Kautsky has gone so far in his attack in his book "The International and Soviet Russia," that even his colleagues have been compelled to protest. They fear that such a violent opposition must discredit the Second International in the eyes of the workers. Otto Bauer, Dan and others have written articles disproving some of the contentions of Kautsky.

This shows that they dare not attack Russia openly. The arguments of Kautsky may be summarised as follows:

(a) That the confiscation of the factories and workshops by Bolsheviks and the "confiscation" by bourgeois government (he instances inflation of Cuno Government as case in point) are one and the same thing. He argues that in both cases widows and orphans are robbed. Bukharin ridicules this and points out that if, as Kautsky suggests, all classes are robbed equally, by whom are they robbed? The plunderer must stand outside each class, ruling over each class "in fact like the spirit of God upon the waters." Bukharin further refers to the socialisation commission in Germany which sat so long and produced so many volumes of books. While the commission was sitting at the table making plans for socialisation, the generals outside were active.

(b) That in Russia there is the most terrible misery amongst the workers. "The misery of the masses became ever greater as the Bolshevik state power grew firmer." (See data appended to disprove this.)

(c) That there is a collapse of Communism and an increase of private capital in industry. Kautsky in this connection says: "And so the Bolsheviks must also strive to bring the process of production and traffic, which they crippled, once again into working order, on the one hand by sharing the monopoly in the exploitation of the Russian people, upon which their Communism is based, with private capitalists who pay well for the privilege and who understand much better how to conduct industry than the business politicians of Bolshevism, and on the other hand by breaking down the Chinese walls that they, just like the capitalist governments, have erected round Soviet Russia." And again, "Capitalist concessions and capitalist loans: what is the panacea for helping the seriously sick commune once again upon its feet?" The answer to this is to be found in the statistics appended. Bukharin points out that:

"Whilst nominally, under War Communism, nearly everything was in the hands of the State, actually, owing to illegal markets and illegal Black Stock Exchange, private businesses (small) were able to flourish better than the bigger State concerns. Now under the NEP while nominally the State has less in its hands than under War Communism, actually it has more, and is flourishing, and is able to compete successfully in the market against the private traders."

Bukharin develops the theme that war means disturbance of productive forces, and this was the position during the period of War Communism. That the same thing applied in Russia as applies in any war. When the period of War Communism came to an end and War Economy gave way to Peace Economy, and the NEP was inaugurated, then productive forces were let loose and reconstruction began. Kautsky further says: "They (the Bolsheviks) and their government system are based upon methods which lead to the collapse and not the progress of industry. It is very well possible that they will never achieve a stabilisation in Russia, only a ruination."

### 10. What the Bourgeoisie Think of Soviets.

"Economist," November 15th, 1924:

"Some of the more outward symptoms of the improved economic situation that have been reached early this year are well known. Improved transport and improved labour conditions, and above all the substitution of a stable currency in the form of State banknotes (chervontzi) for the depreciating Soviet paper—a change that was finally completed in the summer, were some of the noteworthy improvements, but methods in the finance and certain other departments, as well as every other definite rise in production were also symptoms of great importance."

"Economist," September 26th, 1925:

Official comparison of the production of State industry since the first complete year of the New Economic Programme shows:

				Percentage of pre-war Production.	
				1921-22	1924-25
Chemicals	...	...	...	27.3	79.7
Paper	...	...	...	14.0	74.9
Textiles	...	...	...	25.3	69.9
Coal	...	...	...	42.0	69.2
Oil	...	...	...	31.8	56.6
Metals	...	...	...	14.6	47.7
Ores	...	...	...	3.6	24.8

"The programmes for the coming business year, 1925-26 are very optimistic, in that nearly all of them provide for greatly increased, sometimes doubled, output, so that if only expectations are realised industrial production as a whole will be within sight of that of 1913 (on the present national area)."

Speaking of the suspicion of Soviet figures, the "Economist" of the same date says: "It should not, however,

be presumed that the whole elaborate system of Soviet statistics has for years past been erroneous or fraudulent; and a very marked recovery of industry since 1920 must be taken as a fact." After giving a number of statistics the "Economist" goes on to say: "The above figures give a very favourable picture of recovery. But it must be noted that, after an almost complete collapse, even a very moderate absolute increase involves a high percentage increase . . . **Making, however, a liberal allowance for errors and undue optimism, it seems certain that Russian industry is moving towards restoration.**"

### **11. The Communist Party.**

Best way to celebrate anniversary of October, 1917, is to rally workers of Great Britain behind Soviet Union. Mass of British workers wholehearted in solidarity for Workers' Republics; not all as alert as they might be to dangers of reactionary crusade for new intervention now being led by British capitalists.

The Tory Party encouraged by results of Liverpool Conference discussing best means to destroy Communist Party, prelude to attack upon whole working class movement, and in preparation for new war on Soviet Union.

**Our reply must be, double the Party membership.**

### **12. Colonies and Peasantry.**

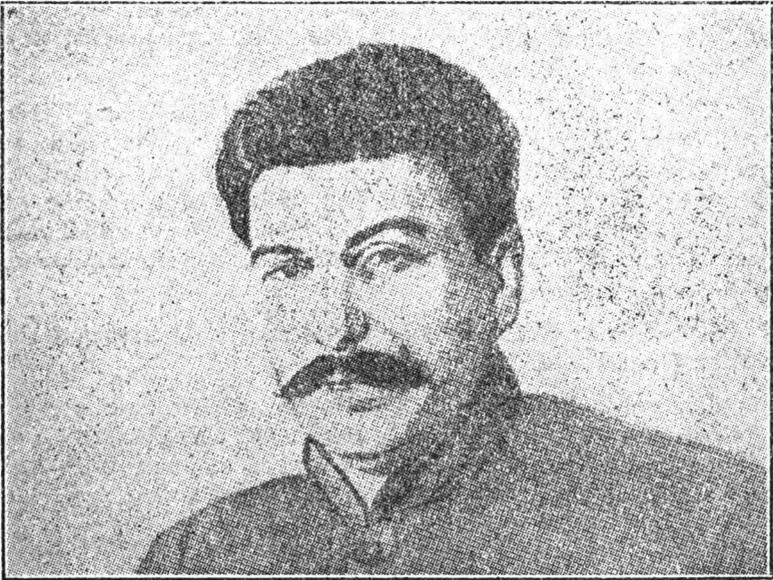
An important part of strength of Leninism has been ability to harness awakened consciousness of colonial peoples behind world movement against Imperialism. The Communist Party of Great Britain has, so far, only taken tiny steps in building up alliance of colonial and subject peoples of Empire with Trade Union and Labour Movements in Great Britain. Without alliance of colonial workers and subject peoples with industrial and agricultural workers at home, Workers' Republic of Great Britain cannot be secured.

### **13. International Trade Union Unity.**

Besides helping mobilise all oppositional forces in Labour Party and other working class bodies around defence of Soviet Union, most important task before us, and best way to honour memory and victors of October, 1917, to strengthen campaign for Trade Union Unity at home, and rally support for Anglo-Russian Campaign for International Trade Union Unity. Through International Trade Union Unity, we shall unite and put revolutionary bloc of working class against bloc of imperialists' international.

# Stalin

**J**OSEPH VISSARIONOVITCH (STALIN), the General Secretary of the Communist Party of Russia, was born in 1879. His real name is Djougachvili (Stalin is his revolutionary surname). His father, a Georgian peasant in the government of Tiflis, had carried on business as a shoemaker. Stalin was intended to follow his father's occupation, but he was put into one of the numerous schools founded by the Tsarist government for religious education and the creation of cadres of instructed



priests capable of combatting, with the aid of the police, the germs of the revolutionary movement.

This was during the period of Alexander III., the period of bigoted hypocrisy, darkness and the repression of revolutionaries.

The school satisfied neither the desires nor the spirit of the young Djougachvili, and before he had finished his studies he was expelled for his "subversive" ideas.

About 17 years of age (at the close of 1896) Stalin became identified with, and took part in, revolutionary activity. He joined the Social-Democratic Party, working at first as a

tutor in elementary Marxism, then in agitational work amongst the workers of Tiflis, Baku and Batum.

### Arrest and Siberia.

In 1902, for participating in the organisation of demonstrations in Batum, he was arrested, and passed the remainder of 1902 and 1903 in the prisons of Koutais and Batum. In 1903 he was deported to Eastern Siberia for three years.

After the split in 1903 between Bolsheviks and Mensheviks at the Second Congress of the Social Democratic Party, Stalin took sides with the Bolsheviks and Lenin.

In January, 1904, he escaped from Siberia and returned to his revolutionary work interrupted by prison and deportation.

The Tsarist police exercising an active surveillance over all revolutionaries, and, at any moment, being able to put their hands upon the organisations, Stalin was compelled to resort to clandestine action and to change his name on several occasions. Thus, we find him working under the pseudonyms of Stalin, Koba, Ivanovitch, David, Nijéradzé, and Peter Tchijileov.

But it is as Stalin that he best known now amongst the working masses of the U.S.S.R.

Following his flight from Siberia, Stalin took up his work in the Party. He was a member of the Committee of the Caucasian Union, principally occupied in journalism, and was editor of many Bolshevik organs, legal and illegal.

### Visits London.

In 1905, he appeared at the conference at Tammerfors. He also took part in the congresses of London and Stockholm, speaking under the name of Ivanovitch.

The revolution of 1905 was followed by the blackest reaction. Scared by the terror of the Tsarist government, the intellectuals and petty bourgeoisie deserted the revolution. The Bolshevik Party, however, did not slacken its revolutionary activity towards the organisation of the masses.

Stalin worked in Georgia, but, notwithstanding that he had changed his name and taken all kinds of precautions, the secret police succeeded in discovering him.

In 1908 he was arrested for activity on behalf of the Committee of Baku. Once more, prison and deportation.

This time he was sent away to the government of Vologda for three years.

But he could not resign himself to inaction, and in 1909 he made his escape and returned to Baku, where he resumed his revolutionary work. Once more he is followed by the police, and once more arrested at Baku. This time he was deported for six years to Solvuitchégodsk.

A year later he escaped and went to St. Petersburg (now Leningrad) where, within a month, he was arrested in connection with the activities of the Central Committee of the Party. After several months' detention, he was deported for three years to Vologda, escaping again in December, 1911.

In April, 1912, he was deported to the region of Narim. September of the same year finds him once again in St. Petersburg.

In March, 1913, he was arrested for the last time and deported to Touroukau, at Koureika, north of the Polar circle. He remained there up to the February Revolution.

### Active in Duma.

The frequent deportations to which Stalin was subjected never weakened his revolutionary energy. During the intervals between arrests and deportations, and whilst working illegally under the constant surveillance of the secret police, he maintained an intense activity and assumed important Party functions.

In 1913 he organised the campaign in St. Petersburg for the elections to the Fourth Duma of the Empire, subsequently leading the Bolshevik fraction in this Duma. 1912-13 saw him one of the editors of the Bolshevik papers "Isvestia" and "Pravda." After the February Revolution he was editor of "Pravda," "The Worker and Soldier," "Worker's Path," and "The Worker."

### Fighting Counter-Revolutionaries.

In 1917, Stalin became a member of the Pan-Russian Central Executive Committee and Commissar for Nationalities. In 1919-20 he was Commissar for Workers' and Peasants' Inspection, and from 1920 to 1923 he was a member of the Revolutionary Military Committee for the Republic.

The civil war obliged him, as with most influential members of the Party, to go to the front. Here he took part in

the campaigns against Yudenitch, against Denikin and against the Poles. For his military services he was decorated with the Order of the Red Flag.

### **His Posts of Honour.**

At the moment, Stalin is General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Russia, a member of the Presidium of the Central Executive Committee of the U.S.S.R., and a member of the Presidium of the Pan-Russian Central Executive Committee.

Amongst his best known works are :

- (1) The October Revolution and the Question of Nationalities. (1918.)
- (2) Collection of Articles. (1920.)
- (3) The National Element in the Organisation of the Party and the State. (1923.)
- (4) The Organisation of the Party.
- (5) The Theory and Practice of Leninism. (1924.)



# Lenin & Factory Groups

## HOW TO BUILD A MASS PARTY

By W. L. JAMES.

### I.

**T**HE more British Imperialism shows signs of decay, the more British capitalists have recourse to desperate measures. Day by day they are forced to throw off more brazenly the mask of constitutional democracy, and show the ugly face of dictatorship to the workers. Our Party is, therefore, forced more and more into the position in which the Bolsheviks of Russia found themselves when they were building their Party. As time goes on, the workers will have to learn the lessons which Lenin taught the Russian workers during his 30 years of struggle. But our Party, being the first to be attacked, should be the first to learn the lessons.

The supreme importance of factory groups as the basis of the Party is one of the lessons which we have begun to learn already. It follows from the spirit of Lenin's writings and work ever since the foundation of the Communist International.

But at times comrades have complained that Lenin did not tell us in so many words that we were to build factory groups. There is even some ground for belief that much conservatism and hesitation would have been more easily overcome had these comrades been able to satisfy themselves that there was a text on which they might "build their church."

But to-day we can go further back. We can go back to the days when the Bolshevik Party—like us a small Party, put together bit by bit, and welded in the flame of perpetual struggle—was fighting, like ourselves, in the midst of a huge mass of workers who were still largely apathetic to politics.

The reasons for the apathy are different; the Russian workers were apathetic because capitalism was young and had not taught them many lessons. In our case, the apathy is because capitalism is old, and has learnt in past years to keep the workers indifferent to politics by timely concessions out of its plundered gains. But the Russians found, as we

find, that the sovereign remedy was to go and build their Party deep down in the heart of the masses, so that it could participate in their daily struggles, win the leadership on that field, and thereby prepare the workers for fighting on a broader ground.

Furthermore, our Russian comrades had to fight, like ourselves, in the midst of an intense "competition"—if one might use the word—from other tendencies in the Labour Movement, who mocked at, or despised, or hated, their little Party, and from false friends who told the Party at every period of depression that it ought to go into liquidation.

Again, the cause of this competition—the apathy of the working class—was the same in Russia as it is in Britain, and only the form was different. In Russia the apathy of the working class had allowed a group of self-styled "Socialists" to come into the Labour Movement from the various sections of the middle class. In this country the working class itself has had time to produce its own intellectuals and petty-bourgeois liquidators.

But in Russia, Lenin, year after year, hammered into the Party the lesson that revolutionaries must go straight into the factories, where the chief and most class-conscious section of the working class was concentrated, and that there they could successfully defy both "competitors" and "liquidators."

What is our evidence for this?

## II.

### **On Factory and Area Groups.**

Lenin stated the problem in the most general way in his essay "Tasks of the Russian Social-Democracy," as long ago as 1897—a year before the first unity conference of the Bolshevik Party. There he was arguing with the Populists, the forerunners of the later Socialist-Revolutionaries, who wanted to form a Socialist Party out of all and sundry, including the peasants and middle class. Lenin wrote:

"Our work is directed first and foremost towards the factory workers of the towns. Russian Social-Democracy must not dissipate its forces, it must concentrate on activity amongst the industrial workers, the most responsive to Social-Democratic ideas, the most developed intellectually and politically, the most important owing to their numbers and concentration in the large political

centres of the country. The rise of a form of revolutionary organisation amongst the factory workers of the towns is, therefore, the first and essential task of the Social-Democracy, to be distracted from which at the present time would be unwise in the highest degree."

Only after that, Lenin added, could we go on to awaken the remainder of the proletariat and the peasantry.

This was stating the question in its most general terms, as has been remarked.

If we did not know that in Russia the actual grouping of the workers at the factories was the only way in which Lenin's "firm revolutionary organisation" could reach the factory workers, if we did not know that there were no mass organisations of workers, we might be disposed to ask: "But does Lenin's advice, therefore, mean necessarily that we should form our groups in factories? Might we not form them in the trade unions and in the Labour Parties?"

To this Lenin replied six years later in his "Letter to a Comrade about our Organisational Tasks" (1903). In this "Letter," which became the textbook of Party organisation for years to come, Lenin went over the different forms of organisation in which the Party members must work, including the legal and semi-legal organisations, like trade unions, co-operative societies, workmen's clubs, etc., and continued:

"Now about our factory groups. They are especially important for us. After all, the whole strength of the movement is in the organisation of the workers at the **big** factories, for the **big** factories include that section of the working class which is not only numerically predominant, but even more predominant in its influence, development, capacity for struggle. Every factory must be our fortress. . . .

"As for the area groups, I am quite in agreement with you that one of their most important tasks is the proper organisation of the distribution of literature. I think the area groups must be in the main **intermediaries** and even, for the most part, **transmitters**.

"The conspirative organisation of the proper distribution of literature must be their chief task. And this task is important to the highest degree, because if we can guarantee regular connections of a special area group of distributors with all the **factories** of the area, with the greatest possible number of workers' dwellings

in the area, this will have the greatest importance both for demonstrations and for other purposes.”

Here, almost at the very outset of the Bolshevik organisation—let us remember that the Bolsheviks only crystallised out of the united Social-Democratic Party in that year—we have Lenin’s principle of Party organisation, which applies equally to Britain as to Russia.

### Lenin on Liquidation.

The factories are the basis of our work; and the fact that you may have in a certain country a highly developed trade union movement does not alter this, because it is in the factories that we find the “most predominant” section of the working class, while in the trade union branches we find only a small minority of active members of the working class.

In Great Britain to-day we must not leave unchallenged the reformist leaders of the trade union machine, because it makes that machine helpless in the face of a capitalist attack, and moreover makes the Labour Party machine equally helpless. But Lenin’s point remains, that our main task is to win the leadership of the most important section of the working class, and that is only to be found in the factories.

Again, we see the area type of organisation in its proper perspective, even though Lenin has no Labour Party and Parliamentary elections to think about.

House-to-house work, distribution of Party literature and the Party message to all the workers in a given district, are very important. Undoubtedly—as Lenin’s later writings show us—he stood for the formation of special groups to work along these lines in the Labour Party, since the Labour Party machinery affords even greater opportunities for direct connection between the Party and the mass of the workers at their place of residence, yet Lenin says that this work, whilst important to the highest degree, is “intermediary,” “transmitting” work, i.e., auxiliary work, and this applies equally to the Labour Party and our work therein as it did to Lenin’s area groups.

The Labour Party, as well as the trade unions, may be considered as two great pieces of belting connecting the active minority of organised Labour with our Party, which must become their driving dynamo. But we must have our own belting which leads us straight to the mass of the working class, and first and foremost that section which capitalism organises for us in the factories.

We have some very interesting evidence bearing directly on this question in an article of Lenin's written in 1906 and entitled "The Crisis of Menshevism."

This was the period just after the first revolution. The workers' attack had been broken. The capitalist counter-attack was beginning. The Mensheviks were losing heart, and their most brilliant spokesman, Larin, was telling the workers what ought to be done. His proposal was that the "underground" Party—which in effect meant the Bolshevik Party—should be liquidated, the revolutionaries should join with the "other" Socialist Party—the Socialist-Revolutionaries—in a huge "Labour Party," after the British or Belgian model.

He pointed out that in this way, as against a small group of a few hundred, we would have a vast party (judging by the votes at the Duma elections) of 900,000. In short, Larin was proposing just what J. F. Horrabin proposed in the "Sunday Worker" of October 18th.

Here is how Lenin replies to the Russian Larin and the future British Larins:

" 'I don't want to dissolve the Party in the working class,' Larin states, 'I want only to unite the vanguard, 900,000 out of 9,000,000.'

"Let us take the official factory statistics for 1903. In all 1,640,406 factory workers. Out of this, 797,997 in factories with over 500 workers; 1,261,363 in factories with over 100 workers. The number of workers in the largest factories (800,000) is only a little less than Larin's figure for a Workers' Party amalgamated with the Socialist-Revolutionaries. . . . We shall achieve Larin's 'ideal' of 900,000 members of the Party—we shall even surpass it, by hard work along the same path, not by means of adventures. We really must strengthen the Party by proletarian elements now. It is abnormal that in Petersburg there are only 6,000 Party members. (81,000 workers in the province in large factories with 500 workers and over; 150,000 workers in all) . . ."

Notice that Lenin was not against a Labour Party, as he subsequently told us in 1920. He was not against blocs with the Socialist-Revolutionaries, as the practice of the Bolshevik Party showed repeatedly. But he was against the flabby, cowardly appeals of intellectuals to liquidate the revolutionary party just because it had been temporarily defeated, and to lose our identity in a shapeless "Labour Party."

Lenin said: "Strengthen the Party with proletarian ele-

ments." And when looking for these proletarian elements, Lenin's mind naturally turned to the factories, where he knew he could find them, and to the largest factories, where he knew he could find the most determined and militant section.

### III.

#### **Fighting Reaction.**

After 1907 the reaction burst with all its violence upon the working class. Every section of the Labour Movement was attacked. Even harmless Labour newspapers were broken up, or had their issues confiscated, by organisations which to-day we would call "Black Shirts," but who at that time were known as "Black Hundreds."

Right at the very height of this reaction, in December, 1908, there was a big conference of the Bolshevik Party, held underground. It described the political situation in the following way:

"The success of the counter-revolution at the present moment has created a temporary indifference to the Party amongst the workers who are revolutionarily inclined, but yet lack class-consciousness in the Socialist sense."

How did the Central Committee, whose leader was Lenin, decide to tackle this question?

"The Party must pay special attention to the utilisation and strengthening of the existing illegal, semi-illegal, and, if possible, legal organisations, which could serve as a base for agitation for propaganda and practical organisation amongst the masses, e.g., factory meetings, propaganda circles, illegal and legal trade unions, workmen's clubs, various workers' educational societies, etc.

"All this work will prove possible and fruitful only if in every factory there exists a purely Party group of workers, even a few in number, closely connected with the masses, and if all the work in the legal organisations goes on under the guidance of the illegal Party organisation."

The counter-revolution in Britain to-day has not yet succeeded. The magnificent fighting spirit of the working class, displayed on July 31st and at the Trades Union Congress, is not yet broken, and we must hope will not be.

But all this only means that we are in a better position than were the Bolsheviks in 1908 for making use of every

opportunity to develop and deepen our organisation, in the words of the resolution, "amongst the broadest possible masses of the workers."

Probably because the issues had to be put so clearly at that time we find Lenin again summarising his view of what then should be the Party organisation in a very few words :

"A strong illegal organisation of the Party Central bodies, a systematic illegal publishing activity, and, above all, Party factory groups, led by the foremost workers themselves living in direct contact with the masses—this is the foundation on which we are building and have built an unshakable firm core of the revolutionary Social-Democratic Labour Movement."—"On the Straight Road," 1908.)

#### IV.

#### Learning from Lenin.

These are the lessons Lenin teaches us. How shall we apply them? We are not a very large Party yet. But since 1920 we have become accustomed to fighting together, to criticising our mistakes and drawing the lessons therefrom. We have learnt how to act as a political party. We have learnt how to find our way to the heart of the workers. That has been shown by the success of our work in the Minority Movement, by the achievements at the Trades Union Congress, by the rising tide of opinion on our behalf in the Labour Party, which block votes failed to hide.

The sympathy of the working class—of its vanguard—is with us, even though this has not yet crystallised into "Communist consciousness." At this juncture the Fascisti, the employers and the banks, the reactionaries, all attack us. The capitalists and their dinner-table companions are trying to alienate that sympathy from us. We must fight them—in the Labour Party and in the trade unions. So far from losing our identity or liquidating our Party, we must be encouraged by the tremendous influence we have gained during our five years of struggle to strengthen our Party even more in these organisations.

We must go further and help those workers who are in honest sympathy with us or with our policy, but will not yet come into our Party, to organise themselves as a Left-wing. We must fight side by side with them.

But there is still more to do. This influence has been

won for our Party partly owing to its experience, but in the main because it has learnt **how to take advantage of the decay of capitalism**. The decay of capitalism is driving the mass of the workers objectively into revolutionary action, whether subjectively they realise it or not. That is why the Fascisti are preparing, why the bishops are issuing their call for "self-control," why the bankers are deliberately fostering unemployment.

We must hasten the work of re-organising our Party completely on the basis of factory groups. We must take it as an axiom that if the capitalists are prepared to hit the trade unions once, and the Labour Party twice, they will hit us at least three times. Our defence is the working class itself. It is that part of our organisation which is organically connected with the working class—the factory group—which will prove the indestructible steel framework around which our Party will continue to grow in spite of the F.B.I.

Re-organised from the bottom upward on the basis of factory groups, our Party can as surely lead the workers of Britain to victory, as Lenin led the Russian workers to victory over Tsarism,

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## **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**

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### **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* .....

# A Bible for Bolsheviki

(“What Is To Be Done?” by N. LENIN)

A REVIEW, BY JAMES McDUGALL

(Continued from last month)

## TRADE UNIONIST POLITICS AND SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC POLITICS.

In the next two chapters Lenin examines the manner in which this theory of submission to spontaneity has found practical expression in the spheres of politics and organisation. First he deals with politics. Martynov, in the “Rabotché Diélo,” has formulated excellently the difference of opinion between the “Economists” and the “Iskra” :—

“The ‘Iskra’ . . . is in reality the organ of the revolutionary opposition, which exposes the condition of affairs obtaining in Russia, and, above all, the characteristics of the political régime. . . . We labour and will continue to labour for the workers cause, in direct organic connection with the proletarian struggle.”

The “Economists” do not absolutely deny the need for “politics,” but they are continually deviating from the social democratic to the trade unionist conception of politics. Lenin then shows how these opportunists tried to narrow the political agitation down to mere trade union action and social reforms, such as “the right of combination.” The extension of the economic struggle in Russia had proceeded side by side with the diffusion of the literature of industrial exposures. The bulk of Russian social democrats were occupied with the printing and circulating of these illegal leaflets on factory grievances. But this was work of a purely trade union nature, bearing solely on the relations between the workers of each industry and their employers in the labour market, which did nothing to give the workers a broad outlook on politics and a social democratic consciousness. Not only must the political oppression of the proletariat by autocracy be explained to them, but also a definite agitation has to be conducted on each concrete manifestation of the tyranny of the absolute régime, no matter who the victims may be—workers, peasants, students, sectarians, soldiers, zemstvo landlords or any others. The need for the social democrats to assume the organisation of the political campaign against the autocracy was nominally recognised by the reformists, but in reality they were perpetually striving to limit the political action to a mere supplement of trade unionism. Here is how the matter was stated by the “Rabotché Diélo” :—

“ Is the political struggle of the working class actually anything other than the most developed, extended and effective form of the economic struggle? . . . At present the problem for social democrats is to know how to give to the economic struggle itself a political character. . . .”

And in the resolution of the congress of the “ Union of Russian Social Democrats ” :—

“ The economic struggle is the means most generally applicable for drawing the masses into the active political conflict.”

Lenin totally denies this thesis, and contends that all the arbitrary actions of the government, whether in connection with the economic struggle or not, are equally useful means of appealing to the masses. The suppression by the police of the workers' trade union action is merely one of the least of the evils which he has to endure under a régime of violence. Why, therefore, restrict in advance the scope of the political agitation to this single point and ignore all those others which are so suitable for arousing the masses? In reality the pompous phrase: “ To give to the economic struggle itself a political character ” simply conceals the traditional tendency towards debasing social democracy to the level of trade unionist politics. It means reducing social democracy to the position of a mere social reform party. Revolutionaries are not opposed to reforms, but “ they subordinate the agitation for reforms to the revolutionary struggle for freedom and socialism, of which the agitation for reforms is simply a part.” Then Martynov speaks of the social reforms he has outlined, and says, “ These are not vain words, and because they promise tangible results will be actively supported by the working masses.” That “ tangible ” irritates Lenin, and he exclaims passionately: The workers will actively support every protest against autocracy, even such as promise them absolutely no tangible results.

The book argues vigorously against the narrow “ Economist ” view of politics, in favour of the most extensive use of political revelations regarding all the sides of the government's activity, as the proper method of instructing the workers in Social Democratic opinions. As Lenin observes in a brilliant passage: “ The consciousness of the working masses is incapable of becoming a real class consciousness, if the workers do not know how to profit by the political facts and events of the times in order to observe each of the other social classes in all the manifestations of its intellectual, moral and political life, if they do not know how to apply analysis and the materialist criterion to all the forms of the activity and life of the groups, categories and classes of society.”

The workers cannot be politically instructed within the confines of the wages struggle. Their attention must be

directed toward the relations existing between all the classes and groups of society and between these classes and the state and the government. The ideal of the Social Democratic agitator should not be the trade union secretary, but the political tribune. The proletariat is the protagonist of democracy in general, and in order to enable it to fulfil its historical task in this regard, the Social Democrats have to penetrate with their agitation and organisation among all the classes of society.

### **THE ELEMENTALISM OF THE "ECONOMISTS" AND THE ORGANISATION OF THE REVOLUTIONARIES.**

Just as the exaggerations of the "Economists" regarding the industrial struggle lead to a narrowing of the scope of our political activity, so also do they involve a restricted view of our work of organisation. Submission to spontaneity, overvaluing of the economic struggle, is responsible for our elementalism in matters of organisation, and if we are to overcome the faults revealed during this third period, then this primitiveness must be pitilessly opposed. A centralised organisation of professional revolutionaries, led by the real leaders of the people, will have to be built up to give system and direction to the spontaneous upheavals of the masses. Lenin gives a picture of the operations of a typical Social Democratic group between 1894 and 1901, and shows that, because of the lack of experience among the members, the absence of connection between one group and another and the rapidity with which their composition changed, all their efforts, however courageous, almost invariably ended in the disaster of a big round-up by the police. He compares their fight against the police with that of a band of peasants, armed with sticks, against a regular army. The average period of the activity of a revolutionary before being arrested was during this period about six months. There is, says Lenin, a connection between this primitiveness in matters of organisation and the narrow view of our political activity summed up in "Economism." We cannot get rid of the one, without also ridding ourselves of the other. Both opportunists and terrorists are content with elementalism in matters of organisation, while we revolutionaries know that only a union of trained fighters can assure a character of determination, energy and continuity to the political struggle.

### **ECONOMISM AND TERRORISM.**

The criticism of the book is concentrated upon the "Rabotché Diélo," a reformist journal, of which the main contributors were Kritchevsky and Martynov. It is not the "Rabotchaïa Mysl," a consistent exponent of "Economism" (the theory that Socialists should practically confine themselves to the economic struggle), which is the most characteristic menshevik organ of this period, but the "Rabotché

Diélo," for the simple reason that the latter veered with every wind, and thus exhibits all the confusions and deviations of that time, all the concessions made to Revisionism, to "Economism," and to terrorism. The principal feature of this phase was a combination of petty reformism with a total indifference to theory. The leaders soiled the first principles of Socialism where they did not deny them; they converted the revolutionary theory of scientific socialism into a petty bourgeois mixture, diluted with the clear water of each new German textbook; the watchword of the class struggle did not inspire them to an action ever more extensive and energetic, but served rather as a kind of soothing syrup, for, they said, "the economic struggle is indissolubly connected with the political struggle"; the idea of party did not inspire them to create a revolutionary organisation for the fight, but was used as the justification for a kind of "revolutionary bureaucratism" and a childish playing at "democracy."

The whole of "What is to be done?" is directed against the theoretical, tactical and organisational errors that had sprung up during this phase, and the book terminates with these words: "We can give to the question put, 'What is to be done?' this brief reply: **Liquidate the Third Period!**"

### CONCLUSION.

In the conclusion of "What is to be done?" Lenin sketches briefly the history of the Russian Social-Democratic movement. The first phase, covering the decade from 1884 to 1894, witnessed the birth of the theory and programme of Social Democracy on Russian soil. The first adherents of the new view were a few intellectuals, among them Plechanoff, formerly members of the secret society, "Land and Liberty." There was no Labour movement, and, consequently, Social Democracy as a political party existed merely in the germ. The second phase, approximately from 1894 to 1898, saw the rise of Social Democracy as a social movement, as a movement of the proletarian masses, and as a political party. This was the period of infancy and adolescence in the growth of the movement. The intellectuals threw themselves into the struggle with the Narodniki (the old Slavophile revolutionary movement, which held that Russia would not require to pass through capitalism in order to reach socialism), and endeavoured to get into touch with the workers; a wave of strikes passed over the whole of Russia. The movement made immense progress. The leaders young, few of them more than thirty-five years of age, and full of enthusiasm, though in no way trained for their revolutionary task, did their work well before being whisked off the scene by the minions of the Czar. Most of these young men had grown up under the theoretical influence of the terrorist movement. But the capitalist conditions rising in Russia, the new forms of the struggle, sowed doubts in their minds as to the traditional ideas. They began to read the literature of all the

schools and on encountering the Marxism theory, welcomed it like a doctrine of deliverance. So that when these young Social Democrats proceeded into the labour movement, they forgot neither the Marxian theory which had brought them enlightenment nor the revolutionary task of the overthrow of autocracy. The formation of the Social Democratic Labour Party in the spring of 1898 was the most significant as well as the closing act of this phase.

The third phase, announced by several indications in 1897, definitely began in 1898 and continued up to the date of the publication of the present work in 1902. It was a period of dispersion, decadence and reformist deviations. In the youthful phase of the growth of the individual, the voice breaks. In this adolescent period of the development of Russian Socialism, its voice broke and began to sound false in the works of the "legal" Marxists, such as Struve, Prokopovitch, Boulgakov and Berdiner, and in those of I. M., Kritchevsky, and Martynov. While the leaders were retreating, the movement continued to make rapid progress.

There are certain lessons for British Communists contained in "What is to be done?" We must always maintain our political activity at the heights of the historical task of the working class, and never allow it to be narrowed down to what is immediately acceptable or comprehensible to the working masses. In Britain that means persistent agitation, propaganda and action in support of the colonial workers, proper methods of approach for the conquest or at least neutralisation of the great petty bourgeois section of the population; and an iron insistence on the ultimate methods of the working-class battle for freedom. As far as organisation is concerned we have to endeavour to overcome that ceaseless fluctuation in the composition of our groups, always one of the greatest hindrances in the way of serious and sustained revolutionary work in Britain, by means of the most intense theoretical training of our members.

J. M. D.



# Outlines for Party Training Group Leaders

*(Designed to meet the requirements of workers joining the Party with little or no political education)*

## Introduction.

**T**HE following outlines are for the use of Training Group Leaders when dealing with new members in the groups set up for Party Training. In drafting this outline we have in mind the large numbers of workers at present coming into the Party with little or no political training or experience of political parties, and the consequent difficulties confronting the leaders in providing an elementary course of instruction.

## Size of Group.

The size of the group is very important for the success of Party Training work. Groups averaging ten students give the best results, as it gives the Training Group Leader an opportunity for individual attention to each student and ensures collaboration between leader and student, so essential in getting the best result for the Party.

We are of the opinion that the Factory Group forms the best basis for grouping the students, but this does not necessarily mean that Party Training should not be carried on in the absence of factory groups. Steps must be taken to give every member a minimum of political education.

## Why the C.P.?

The Training Group Leader should open with a simple statement on the Party and relate some of the reasons why workers are attracted to the Party. This opens the way for a general statement on the failure of the various political parties to solve the economic crises of capitalism. It provides an opportunity for explaining the attacks now being made on the workers' standard of life, the growing extent of unemployment and the attendant evils of capitalism in its decline.

The Party, in order to attract workers to its ranks, must of necessity have something which appeals to workers. What is it? A policy for the working class which expresses itself in a struggle against the exploitation of the workers.

## The C.P.G.B. and other Parties.

Then go on to explain what distinguishes the C.P.G.B. from the other political parties: the I.L.P., Labour Party, Liberal and Conservative Parties. Show how the I.L.P. as a

party, does not accept the policy of class struggle, but believes that with education and propaganda the workers can achieve their emancipation by what is called constitutional means through parliament and, therefore, accepting the theory of class collaboration, does not rally the workers in a struggle against capitalism.

Explain how the Labour Party, though a working class party, is dominated as a party by the I.L.P. and an increasing amount of middle class people whose policy is leading towards Liberalism and whose conception is playing at politics (parliamentarism) as an end instead of as a means to an end. It is necessary to note here the results of the Liverpool Conference, where two policies were expressed—a policy of Liberalism by MacDonald, and a working class policy by the Communist Party.

The Liberal and Conservative parties are capitalist parties and as such desire to maintain the system of exploitation which at present is in force (in other words, to keep things as they are—a working class producing all the wealth of society and a ruling class who live by the exploitation of the workers).

Their interests may differ on minor details, but they are united in opposing the demands of the workers, as their class interests are distinct from the class interests of the workers.

### **Why Party Training?**

Why is it necessary for the workers to join the Communist Party? Because the workers need a Party which will fight for the needs of the working class. To carry on that fight the members of the Party must equip themselves to be **leaders** of the working class by taking part in, and leading the workers in, their struggle for emancipation. Hence the necessity for Party Training.

### **Illustrations of Organised Work.**

The Training Group Leaders should then go on to give concrete illustrations, borrowed from local experience, of Party work in the workshop, pit or factory, and the necessity of the group working in an organised manner. Dwell upon the importance of the same method of fraction work in the trade unions, the Labour Party, the co-operatives and all working class organisation. Show how with Party Training will come a clearer knowledge of why these tasks are necessary and how theoretical knowledge will be confirmed in the practical tasks set out.

But organised group work implies Party loyalty and discipline. Not a mechanical discipline imposed from the top

by a hierarchy of officials, but a voluntary discipline self-imposed by the member in his loyalty to the Party and the working class struggle. Only in this way will the members carry out conscientiously the Party instructions regarding various activities. The advantages derived from operating as an organised body under a centralised direction should be stressed.

The Group Leaders should start with the actual experiences of the workers in the dominant industry in the locality, picking out questions which arise out of the workers' life as illustrations, and making these the subject of discussion in terms of the Party policy to be pursued.

Here note the conflict which arises regarding the solution of these problems by other parties and contrast same with the Communist Party policy.

It is important to link up the struggle nationally, and finally internationally, and show here the structure of the Party in its relation to the group nationally and internationally, i.e., centralised direction from the group to the Comintern.

The centralisation of the Party is rendered necessary because the world is an economic whole, i.e., capitalism is international, and the centralised direction of the Comintern gives that international leadership in the fight against international capitalism. This can only be successful when each member realises his obligations to the Party and the member is a good Party member when he plays his part in the struggle in an organised manner.

The lessons can be supplemented by the Training Group Leader taking articles from the current issues of the "Worker's Weekly," the "Communist Review," and the "Communist International" and explaining to the group why the questions in the articles arise, what the Party policy is, what it means, and its application to the work of the group. Ample opportunity, at this stage, should be given to the group to enter into discussion, and in asking questions and receiving answers care should be taken by the group leader not to frighten or stampede the members. Our aim is not to puzzle the members or make them appear ridiculous before their comrades. Every encouragement should be given especially to the backward members by assisting in every possible way so that a bond of collaboration will grow up between the leader and the student. Patience, perseverance, and tolerance are essential qualities for a good training group leader.

A course of this character for a period of two months should pave the way to the larger issues of theoretical and practical work involved in the making of a real Bolsheviki Party.

Allowing for this elementary course to be covered in eight lessons, we append the following outlines to the Party Training Group Leaders as a guide which can be supplemented, either by the Training Manual or by the experience and knowledge of the Training Group Leaders:

**Outlines in Summary.**

**Outline 1:**

- (1) Why did you join the Communist Party?
  - (a) The capitalist offensive.
  - (b) The workers' struggle.
  - (c) Disappointment in other parties.
- (2) What is the Communist Party?
- (3) What distinguishes the C.P. from other Parties?
- (4) The other parties—I.L.P., Labour Party, Liberal and Tory Parties

**Outline 2:**

- (1) The building of the Communist Party—in order to help the workers' struggle.
- (2) The role of the Party—leaders of the working class.
- (3) The application of Party work:
  - (a) In the workshop.
  - (b) Trade unions.
  - (c) In the Labour Party.
  - (d) In the co-operatives and other working class bodies.
  - (e) Distribution of the Party organs, "Workers' Weekly," etc.

**Outline 3:**

The work of the Party organised and its centralised direction.

- (1) The Group.
  - (a) Discipline and loyalty.
  - (b) A part of a centralised body, the Comintern.
- (3) The Party Structure.
  - (a) Group.
  - (b) Local Party Committee.
  - (c) District Party Committee.
  - (d) Central Executive Committee.
  - (e) Comintern.

**Outline 4:**

The Party in the Workshop.

- (1) The function of a workshop group.
- (2) The production of a workshop paper.
- (3) The creation of a workshop committee.

(These three points can be related to the daily struggle of the workers and the necessity for the creation of the organs of working class struggle outlined.)

**Outline 5:**

The Party in the Labour Party.

- (1) The work of the fraction in the local Labour Party, Divisional Labour Party and National Labour Party.
- (2) The application of the C.P. policy.
- (3) The question of allies against the Right-wing raises the necessity of discussing the Left-wing.

**Outline 6:**

The Party in the Trade Union.

- (1) Work of the fraction in the unions.
- (2) The Minority Movement.
- (3) The Quadruple Alliance.
- (4) The Trades Union Congress and the General Council.
- (5) International Trade Union Unity.

**Outline 7:**

The work of the fraction.

In the co-operatives:

- (a) Directors' Boards.
- (b) Educational Committees.
- (c) Men's and Women's Guilds.
- (d) Co-operative Political Party.

**Outline 8:**

The Party work as a whole.

- (1) Recapitulation of the previous lessons to be worked into a harmonious whole reflecting all aspects of the working class movement operating under the direction and leadership of the Party.
- (2) The necessity of reporting in order to get this complete picture nationally and internationally, and the duties of members in charge to report and members to report to group leaders.
- (3) The Party member and the International.
- (4) National and international questions.

**Literature for the Course.**

The Reds and the Labour Party.

Unity.

The "Workers' Weekly."

The "Communist Review."

The "Communist International."

The literature is for the use of Party Training Group Leaders and can be supplemented. It should not be laid down that the members attending the class should be compelled to buy every book or pamphlet, but these, when referred to by the leader, should be on sale with Party literature at the Training Group meetings.



# BOOK REVIEWS

## ARTHUR PONSONBY APPEALS FOR PEACE.

*Now is the Time*, by Arthur Ponsonby, M.P. (Leonard Parsons. 5s.).

This is a sincere, but a pathetic book. Arthur Ponsonby really hates war and he writes against it with passionate conviction. With his arraignment and exposure of capitalist war, all can agree. It is when he comes to the remedy, that the pathos is apparent. For his remedy is so hopelessly inadequate, so painfully Utopian.

If anyone should know something of the tortuous ways of Governments and diplomats, the former Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, under the Labour Government, should certainly do so. And he provides us with a wealth of proof of the manner in which capitalist Governments make war and arouse national sentiment and passion in favour of war.

But—the remedy? Ponsonby says we must carry pacifist propaganda to the people; we must prove that war never pays; we must create a great passion of hatred for war, among hundreds of thousands, so that, when war comes, the prisons will be full to overflowing, and yet there will not be room for one-hundredth. Besides this, he bestows a conditional approval on the League of Nations claiming that it can be improved. But mainly he wants the Peace organisations to become really militant, and to bring the whole people into the Pacifist fold.

But he avoids the subject of the Regular Army and Navy. He also is sadly deceived if he thinks that a great national campaign can be successful, which is founded merely on a negation—No War! Only by rallying the masses to a crusade for positive, vital demands, can the masses really be moved. It is not enough to say "No War!" One must say: "War against capitalist war and the capitalist war-makers!" And that cry, also, must be linked up with

the needs of the masses for bread, for better conditions, for social opportunity.

That is why the Communist Party is the most realistic peace organisation in existence. It knows that the only way to end war is to end capitalist imperialism, which breeds war.

We can agree with Ponsonby in one thing especially, and that is expressed in the title of his book. "Now is the time," cries he, to rally the people for Peace. "Now is the time," say we, to rally the masses for war against Imperialism, and to destroy, for ever, the conditions which make for war.

And, another point which may be counted favourably to Ponsonby's credit: he excludes civil war and revolution from his attack. He says:

"By war I mean international war. I do not intend to extend my analysis to civil war and revolution. Although I am a profound disbeliever in force and violence, I am well aware that humanity has by no means grown out of a disposition towards brutality. But I purposely want to confine myself to the major case in which people are organised in cold blood to use force and violence with the sanction, approval and help of their governments for causes of which they are ignorant, and not to confuse this with the entirely different issue of civil war and revolution, when they take up what arms they can against the wishes of authority and are impelled to use force and violence by their own spontaneous and individual passions."

Although we can hardly agree with his definition of revolution that it is a product of spontaneous and individual passions, knowing, as we do, that it must be the product of class aspirations and struggle, yet we can agree that, in excluding revolution from the category in which he places international war, Ponsonby at least makes a tentative step in the right

direction. He is sincere, and is under no illusions regarding the late Labour Government, as is tacitly stated in many parts of the book. If only he were a Marxian, he would know how international peace must be attained. And he would realise that, in the Communist International, is the only hope for the war-weary millions of the earth, that they may have eventual surcease from fratricidal slaughter.

C.A.

### MY LIFE'S BATTLES,

by Will Thorne, M.P.

3s. 6d. Newnes and Co. Southampton Street, Strand.

There is a singular trait running through the life of the British trade union leaders that is common to all of them. Dr. Johnson, when asked one day to go into the country and see the green fields, pithily remarked, "Sir, when one has seen one green field, one has seen all green fields, let us take a walk down Fleet Street." So we might remark about our trade union leaders, especially the elder ones.

They all tell the same story. Born of poor parents in a slum district, after a scant education, forced out to work at an early age for a pittance of a wage, they grow into rebels. The need for organisation soon comes home to the rebel smarting under common industrial grievances, and the union is born.

The rebel becomes the trade union organiser, and eventually, the General Secretary with a substantial salary, and a seat in the House of Commons. The spirit of revolt is crushed beneath the load of "responsibility"; fraternisation with the good easy-going bourgeoisie, who generally set out to add weight to the sense of "responsibility"—and succeed—and your trade union "rebel" is complete. He becomes a "constitutionalist"; he becomes impatient with

youth knocking at the door, he becomes a pensioner on the Labour Movement.

Here and there sparks fly from the old spirit still flickering. A volume of reminiscences is sufficient to deceive the one-time "rebel," that he is still living in the past. But when heroes begin to dwell in the past it is a sure sign of approaching old age, to say the least of it.

"My Life's Battles," by Will Thorne, M.P., is typical of the autobiographies recently inflicted upon an already surfeited reading public. Autobiographies are only valuable in the measure that they reflect the age in which the author lived. The Labour movement is concerned only with the individual experiences, in so far as these enable us to keep a correct policy, and avoid the mistakes of the past. The details of Thorne's early life are certainly of human interest, though commonplace to all workers in the struggle against capitalism, but the story of the rise of the Gas Workers' and Labourers' Union has been told over and over again.

The passages in the book worth reading are the stories of his visit to Russia in 1917, the dinners and interviews with royalty anxiously looking for some soothing-syrup in face of the nemesis about to overtake them. These passages throw a brilliant flashlight upon the cunning and trickery of our ruling class in corrupting and using working class leaders to thwart the proletarian struggle for power.

The author's Social-Democratic education seems to keep troubling his conscience, until he takes refuge behind the jingo Kipling's "Walk with kings, nor lose the common touch." We need only repeat the old adage, "You can't touch pitch without being defiled." Thorne's experiences, especially since 1917, prove it to be a good proletarian watchword.