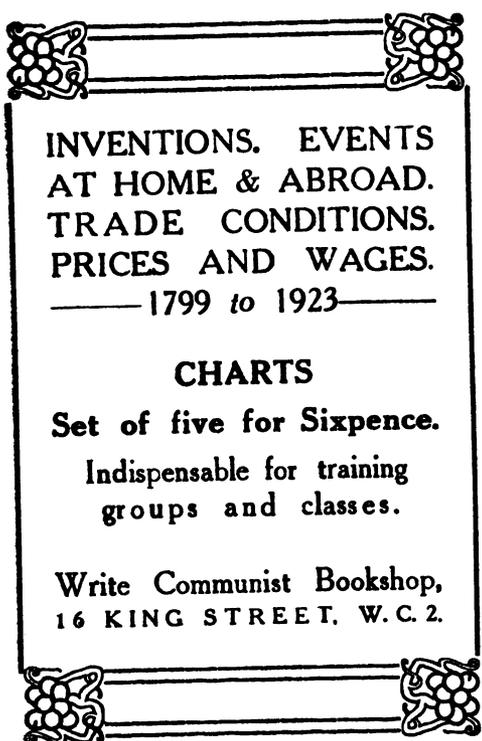


**THE  
COMMUNIST REVIEW**



INVENTIONS. EVENTS  
AT HOME & ABROAD.  
TRADE CONDITIONS.  
PRICES AND WAGES.  
—— 1799 to 1923 ——

**CHARTS**

**Set of five for Sixpence.**

Indispensable for training  
groups and classes.

Write Communist Bookshop,  
16 KING STREET, W. C. 2.

# THE COMMUNIST REVIEW

*A Monthly Organ*

Publishing Offices : 16 King Street, Covent Garden, London, W.C.2

PUBLISHER AND BUSINESS MANAGER : THOMAS HINES

---

---

Volume 6

DECEMBER 1925

Number 8

---

---

## C O N T E N T S

The Editorial View	- - - - -	341
The Soldier's Conscience	<i>Dr. Robert Dunstan</i> - -	344
The Pact of Locarno	<i>"A Student of the Revolution"</i> -	350
Mikhail Vassilievitch	<i>Charles Ashleigh</i> - - -	363
And Now to Action	<i>"Vanguard"</i> - - - -	364
The Miners and the Industrial Alliance	<i>B. Williams</i> -	370
Immediate Organisational Tasks of Communist Parties		
<i>W. Ubricht</i>	- - - - -	377
Book Reviews in Brief	- - - - -	383

---

---

*Notice to Contributors, &c.* M.S.S. and letters relating thereto should be addressed to Editor, COMMUNIST REVIEW, 16 King Street, W.C.2

*Subscription Rates.* HOME—Single copies, 6 months, 2s. 9d. postpaid. One year, 5s. od. postpaid. ABROAD—Single copies, 6 mths. 2s. 9d. postpaid. One year 5s. od. postpaid.

*Bundle Orders.* Home & Abroad, 12 cops. 3/- postpaid sale or return.

Business communications to Manager, 16 King Street, London, W.C.2

THE COMMUNIST PARTY of GT. BRITAIN  
Publications Department

---

*Now on Sale*

# THE ERRORS OF TROTSKYISM

A SYMPOSIUM



392 PAGES

**Paper - 3s. 0d. Cloth - 5s. 0d. Postage extra**

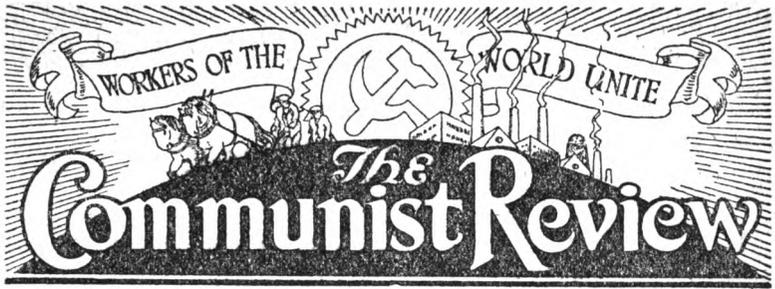
Contains, for the first time in English, the now famous Preface to Trotsky's book "1917" that started the recent controversy which has been so misrepresented by the capitalist press, together with the replies of the leaders of the Communist International.

Not merely a clash of brilliant personalities, but a permanent contribution to revolutionary theory. Not an intrigue for power, but the hammering-out of the tactics of the world revolution.

Get this book and get *all* the facts

---

**Order from the Communist Bookshop,  
16 King Street, Covent Garden, W.C.2**



## THE EDITORIAL VIEW

**T**HE most important political trial of modern times is, at the time of writing, still dragging along. Twelve of our Party leaders, representing in their persons the Communist Party and all that is vigorous and courageous in the Workers' Movement, are arraigned before the bar of capitalist justice. They are charged with (1) conspiring to publish and utter seditious libels and words: (2) conspiring to incite persons to commit breaches of the Incitement to Mutiny Act, 1797; (3) conspiring to endeavour to seduce from their duty persons serving in his Majesty's forces to whom might come certain publications and to incite them to mutiny.

In plain language they are charged with being concerned in outspoken criticism of the capitalist State, using words in addressing the working class from platforms and through the workers' press, which might have been listened to or read by working class members of the State forces.

If the prosecution establishes its case and the defendants are sentenced it will have been decreed that the only propaganda allowed in this country will be that of the ruling class. Those who innocently thought that the father, mother, sister or brother of a soldier had any right to discuss in the hearing of a soldier the problems confronting the workers, will be warned that a continuance of such discussions will be a criminal act. It will be established that, body and "soul," the soldier belongs to the enemy of the workers—the capitalist State. The only choice left to a soldier will be to choose which side in a quarrel between *capitalist* sections he will be on—as demonstrated by Dr. Dunstan in this issue. The worker must continue to pay for the upkeep of the armed forces, manufacture rifles, bayonets, guns and bludgeons to be used at the will of the ruling class—a ruling

class which can only continue its rule by the unrestricted use of force.

A verdict against our Party leaders will entirely shatter any belief that within the Constitution there is room for the emancipation of the workers. To those whose eyes will be opened the Communist Party cordially offers a place in the ranks of the working class vanguard which is determined to carry on the fight for the overthrow of capitalism. Before the bar of proletarian justice will be arraigned "parliamentary democracy," and a verdict against its apologists and supporters will be the beginning of the end of the slavery of the working class.

\* \* \* \* \*

Frunze is dead. The son of a peasant, a student, factory worker and revolutionary soldier, he was typical of many who served with distinction the Workers' Republic and the revolutionary cause. When the workers buried him by the side of the Red Wall in Moscow, near the mausoleum of Lenin, they honoured not only Frunzé but thousands of less-known heroes who have given their all for the workers.

Every town in the U.S.S.R sent its representatives to do honour to the dead peasant. Headed by members of the Government many thousands of the inhabitants of Moscow defiled before the grave well into the night. Factories throughout Russia were closed and ceremonies carried out in all the towns of the Union. It was the spontaneous expression of the grief felt by the Russian workers for the loss of a comrade.

Many men who have been proclaimed great have had their day and passed away; only in the case of Russia have they been sincerely mourned outside of their own circle. Frunzé has many millions of mourners throughout the world. It is on occasions such as this that we realise what the International really means to us all.

But while we mourn Frunzé, we can also rejoice that, strengthened by the efforts of such as he, Soviet Russia still lives, typifying all that is virile in the world movement for the emancipation of the working class. We glory in the fact that, in spite of all attacks, every day brings fresh victories. Not one of our revolutionary heroes has died in vain.

\* \* \* \* \*

The situation in China is providing many lessons for the student of revolution. Here is a huge country with a teeming population, to all intents and purposes divided up among the Western Powers and Japan. Practically every province is governed by the Great Powers, either directly or through their Chinese agents. Shipping, Railways, Factories, Mines and Customs are in the hands of foreigners, and they see to it that every ounce of value is squeezed out of the unfortunate workers and peasants who come under their control.

When the Sun-Yat-Sen Government was set up in Canton, a centre was provided for all those who were of radical or revolutionary tendencies. Trade Unions sprang into existence, openly in Canton, more timidly in other centres. Revolts and strikes broke out in factories controlled by foreigners in other towns. Workers and poor students formulated demands, at first only economic, but later widening to include every issue which foreign control had raised. Canton was the real centre of all these manifestations of discontent and there, around the nucleus of workers' organisations, grew a great national liberation movement. China was no longer an object of contempt. The Great Powers had to discuss with the Chinese as equals. Concessions to the Nationalists are being offered every day, and the more that is offered the more do the Chinese demand.

The lesson to be learnt from all this is the need for workers in all countries to support and protect any Government or authoritative body around which the workers can, as workers, rally. When the possibilities of further progress are baulked by conservative elements in a Government the workers, who by this time will have realised their strength and importance, can more readily brush aside any impediments and take over full control. At the moment what Canton does is right and demands our full support, so far as the national liberation movement is concerned. That provides an easy way to understand the "Chinese tangle." Out of this struggle will arise a strong and class-conscious workers' and peasants' movement. The ebb and flow of the class struggle will be seen more clearly and the Communist International will be the centre to which eventually the Chinese workers will look for guidance and support in the battles which are yet to come.

# The Soldier's Conscience

## A Unionist Discovery

DR. ROBERT DUNSTAN

(Barrister-at-Law, Communist Candidate West Birmingham Division, 1924).

**H**AS a soldier the right to obey the dictates of his own moral judgment and to refuse to act upon the orders of his superior officers? Or, to put it shortly, is the soldier allowed to have a conscience? This question is likely to be seriously discussed in the near future because if an industrial dispute arises the Government will not hesitate to use the troops, not only to maintain "order," but also to overawe the mining and industrial areas.

Apart from the position of the conscientious objectors during the War, the last occasion when this important subject was discussed was during the Home Rule crisis of 1912 to 1914. In those years the Unionist statesmen and lawyers not only indulged in seditious talk and action, but they evolved a theory of military discipline convenient to themselves and the history of that period of political struggle. Whilst the Executive and the House of Commons were in the hands of their Liberal opponents, who had thereby the means of directing and ordering the Army to suppress disorder in Ulster, the Unionists felt that they could rely upon the officer class and with their aid nullify any attempt to use the forces of the Crown against Sir Edward Carson's illegally trained and armed Ulster volunteers.

### The Duty of Disobedience.

As early as May 9th, 1912, the rebel Carson was asking what would be the effect upon the Army of an order to coerce "**their kith and kin.**" He answered his own question in the Caxton Hall by saying "that many officers would resign; that no army could stand such a strain upon them." Mr. F. E. Smith (now Lord Birkenhead) announced at Manchester (17-11-13) that, if the Government dared to use the soldiers against the loyalists of Ulster, the Army "would break in their hands." Whilst to add a military expert's opinion, Lord Roberts stated in the House of Lords (12-2-14)

that "it is unthinkable that the British Army should be called upon to fight against the Ulster Volunteers."

In order that an effective agitation could be carried on amongst the officer class it was necessary to find a theory of duty in support of disobedience. Mr. Bonar Law, the leader of the Unionist Party, made a series of speeches which deserve the closest attention. Speaking in the House of Commons (23-3-14), he said:

"The House knows that we on this side have, from the very first, held the view that to coerce Ulster is an operation that no Government, under existing conditions, has a right to ask the Army to undertake. And in our view, of course, it is not necessary to say it, **any officer who refuses is only fulfilling his duty.**

"The question has been raised in an acute form, and, in my belief, nothing can save the Army now except a clear declaration on the part of the Government, **that officers will not be compelled** (Hon. Members—"and men") **and men will not be compelled to engage in civil war against their will.**"

Mr. Law had already stated in the House on March 19th, that:

"If it is really a question of civil war, **soldiers are citizens like the rest of us**";

and he might have added, with a right to choose sides in the contest. On the 25th of March he elaborated the theory of conscience by saying:

"This is the position in which the soldier is placed. He has got to decide whether or not he will obey constituted authority or **refuse to do something which is against his conscience.**"

### **Conscientious Scruples.**

He was followed by Sir Robert Finlay, afterwards Lord Chancellor, and a well recognised Constitutional authority, who said in the House of Commons (1-4-14):

"Wherever you have an army which is composed of citizen soldiers, you reach a point where ordinary rules of action are strained to the breaking point, if you embark on **strife of a civil nature.** . . . You come to a state of things where **conscientious scruples must be**

respected and it would be indeed disastrous if you succeeded in reforming the Army to such an extent that such scruples were impossible."

Here is high legal opinion that even now under the existing Army Act, a soldier is entitled to follow the dictates of his conscience in spite of orders to deal with strife of a civil nature. This contention was also supported by Mr. F. E. Smith, to be later a Lord Chancellor and Keeper of the King's Conscience, who writing in the "Observer" (29-3-14) said:

"There never had been a case in history in which civil war had developed in which not only the officers but the rank and file of the Army had claimed their right to form their view as citizens on the issue presented to them."

Indeed it may be said that it was this lawyer who first raised the test of conscience, for as early as July 12th, 1912, he can be found saying in Belfast, that:

"On this we are all agreed, that the crisis has called into existence one of those supreme issues of conscience amid which the ordinary landmarks of permissible resistance to technical law are submerged."

The whole case, however, was best put by Mr. A. J. Balfour (now Lord Balfour), who speaking in the House of Commons on April 2nd, 1914, said:

"It is obvious, it is plain, it is admitted that the business of the soldier is to obey orders. . . . But everybody knows and everybody must know, that if either through the fault or the misfortune—call it what you like—of those responsible for power at the moment, you force the whole community, including the Army to say to themselves and each man to say to himself—'Obviously my first duty is to obey orders. I am a soldier. I obey and that is my duty. But here questions have been raised which go or seem to go beyond the day-to-day code which regulates me and which must regulate any army. What am I to do? Am I to obey orders or am I to leave them and take the consequences?' **Can anyone deny that such cases may arise?** Nobody can deny it . . . . the Government of the day does not press such questions and does not require the Army to do such a thing as to compel the individual soldier, be he officer or be he private, to do that which is against his conscience."

We are not interested here with the interactions of this Unionist preaching of the gospel of conscience and the outbreak in the Curragh Camp of March, 1914. It is enough to take this wealth of constitutional and legal teaching and apply it to the political situation of to-day.

### Soldiers and Industrial Strife.

In July and August last we were within near reach of a mining lockout and of a general strike under the direction of the General Council in support of the miners. In face of this threat of common action on the part of the Trade Unions, the Government avoided the contest by granting a subsidy to the mining industry, but this surrender was only made to gain time in order that the Government and master class could organise in preparation for further trouble. It is only too clear, from the statement of the Prime Minister in the House of Commons and from speeches of Cabinet Ministers since, that all the forces of the State will be used when next the challenge comes. Active preparations are being made by the capitalists for the struggle and within a few months the workers will stand face to face with the master class supported by a Government determined to use the Army as well as their special O.M.S. Corps.

What will the position then be of the individual soldier in relation to the issues raised? Will the situation not be one of those which Lord Balfour saw might arise apart from the Ulster question of that day? Can anyone deny that then there will be a danger of "*strife of a civil nature,*" where according to Lord Finlay "*conscientious scruples must be respected*"? It should be remembered that Lord Lansdowne defending the position of the mutinous officers of the Curragh Camp said in the House of Lords (25-3-14) :

"They (the Government) intended to bring about . . . . the subjugation of Ulster . . . by occupying in overwhelming strength every coign of advantage in the province, so that the loyalists of Ulster would find themselves effectually paralysed and throttled."

The disaffected officer class then prevented this move so effectively that the "Morning Post" (26-3-14) was able to declare that "The Army has killed the Home Rule Bill." In the event of trouble in the mining areas will the rank and file soldiers be allowed to exercise their consciences and refuse the Government the opportunity to "*paralyse and throttle*" the miners "*by occupying in overwhelming*

*strength*" the mining and industrial centres? The Labour Movement should see that these past teachings of the Tory statesmen and lawyers create a Charter, giving to the common soldier a right to say that as a matter of conscience he will not be used against his own class in any struggle.

### **Their Kith and Kin.**

Lord Carson cried out against the Army being used against their "*kith and kin*" in Ulster. There can be no doubt but that the relationship between the common soldiers and the workers is much stronger than that between the British Army and the Carson Volunteers. Ulster then stood to lose at the most some political rights and privileges, but now the miners and workers generally stand to lose every shred of comfort and decency they have ever had under the iniquitous exploiting industrial system we have to-day.

If, as Lord Birkenhead put it then, "*the rank and file of the Army claimed their right to form their views on the issues presented,*" have not the soldiers now the right to inform themselves of the true position of the present industrial struggle so that they may exercise their admitted claim of conscience aright? If they have this right it must follow that the Workers' Movement has a duty to perform. The General Council of the Trade Unions and the Executive of the Labour Party should at once organise "the systematic carrying of working class politics to the forces of the capitalist State, in order that workers in uniform shall understand all the industrial and political issues of the day from a worker's viewpoint and thus contribute to solidarity in action of all workers whether in uniform or not." It is good to note that resolutions in the above terms have already been adopted by a number of Trades Councils in the country. But there is no time to lose in the presenting of these "*supreme issues*" to the troops and in reminding them that their "*kith and kin*" are struggling against poverty and coercion and that they have the right and privilege to refuse to obey orders where they conscientiously feel that their moral judgment revolts against their taking action to coerce or suppress their working class relatives and friends engaged in an industrial struggle with their exploiting masters.

### **Bold Leadership.**

Will the Labour Movement rise to the occasion or will things be merely allowed to drift under the timid leadership of the political chieftains? One can admire the bold leader-

ship of the Tory statesmen and lawyers on the Ulster issue and the least the workers should demand is that their leaders should be equally bold and effective.

At that time Lord Willoughby de Broke demanded "in the name of justice to the Army" that the Annual Army Act be dealt with "in such a way that it could not possibly be made available for the purposes of the Government." Is it too much to ask the Labour Party to organise a national agitation for the amending of this Act so as to allow the rank and file to refuse, as a matter of right, to be used against their "kith and kin," or in the words of Lord Balfour that no soldier shall be compelled "to do that which is against his conscience"?



# The Pact of Locarno

By A STUDENT OF THE REVOLUTION.

## 1. What Prompted Locarno?

What were the special troubles worrying each of the chief capitalist States during the negotiations at Locarno?

**The United States.**—(i) American finance capital has become the ruler of Germany under the Dawes Plan. The payment of reparations, the running of the German railways, the ultimate disposal of five milliard gold marks' worth of shares in German industries, are all controlled by the American bankers. They want this state of affairs stabilised in order that they can go on investing their capital profitably in Germany.

(ii) American finance capital wants to use German reparation goods to the best possible advantage. They can be used successfully, as the last twelve months show, to drive British goods out of the European market; but still more important would be to capture the Russian market. In the words of Hoover last year: "After the stabilisation of Germany, we must think about the stabilisation of Russia. Russia must also have its Dawes Plan."

(iii) American finance capital is concluding a series of agreements with its former Allies to ensure the stabilisation of their finances by fixing the amount of debt they have to pay the U.S.A. Any agreement tending to eliminate war in Western Europe, and to strengthen the hold of American finance, helps this object.

**Great Britain.**—(i) British finance capital wants a free hand to deal with the 'menace of Bolshevism,' i.e., with the tide of working class revolution which, apart from its effect on the British workers, is by its mere existence evoking an even higher tide of revolt in the countries most oppressed by British Imperialism, because they are most valuable to it—India and China. British finance capital wants to enlist French Imperialism in this cause, using the revolts in Syria and Morocco as an argument. The settlement of the western frontier troubles frees Britain's hands to a considerable extent.

(ii) British finance capital is interested, like American capital—but to a greater extent, because the position of British industry is more desperate—in the diversion of German reparation goods away from British markets into “safe” channels and first and foremost Russia. In this the bankers have the support of the manufacturers, who have not minded using cheap German goods within reason, in order to drive down conditions of the British workers, but naturally draw the line when reparations deliveries threaten to drive them out of business altogether.

(iii) British finance capital wants France’s military expenditure reduced in order that France can begin paying her debts to Great Britain.

(iv) British finance capital hopes that the settlement of inter-European disputes, skilfully made use of by U.S.A., would lay the foundations of a European united front not only against Russia, but also against America.

**France.**—(i) French finance capital is anxious to detach Germany from Russia and to bring German militarism within its orbit, scrapping the Polish alliance if necessary, as a preparation for an attack upon Soviet Russia, in order to restore the supremacy of French finance capital in Russia built up during 15 years of Tsardom. At the same time, French finance capital wants to retain Poland on its side as long as possible, for the same reason.

(ii) French heavy industry, with a section of French finance capital, is anxious to carry out in real life the gigantic plan of uniting French metallurgy (Alsace-Lorraine) with German coke (the Ruhr and the Saar), which was planned during the war, attempted by military methods in 1923, and then by means of private contract at the end of the same year. Experience has shown France that it is essential to pacify Germany first.

(iii) French finance capital wants to pose as pacifist before the French workers and peasants, who are not only sick of war, but beginning to revolt against financing it (the failure of the last Government loan, the pressure for a capital levy). At the same time, it wants a free hand to deal with its colonial troubles.

**Germany.**—(i) German finance capital desperately needs more foreign credits, in order to enable its industry to develop still more and thus meet reparations demands. At the same time, credits will enable it to postpone further wholesale inroads upon the German workers’ standard of

living, just as the loan of 800 million gold marks granted under the Dawes Plan did. This helps to stave off for a time the revolutionising of the German workers.

(ii) German finance capital wants to free its hands as much as possible from the shackles imposed by the Versailles Treaty, even if it means cutting losses. It is ready to give up its claim to Alsace-Lorraine once for all, if thereby (a) the economically essential Rhineland and Saar are evacuated; (b) some hope of a colonial "mandate" is held out, to which capital might be exported; (c) some hope is given of a revision of the Eastern frontiers, with a view to getting back some of the mineral wealth of Silesia, etc.

(iii) German finance capital and the German Social-Democratic leaders are only too anxious to place their services at the disposal of an attack upon Soviet Russia, the existence of which they feel is a constant source of inspiration to the German workers. (The German Workers' Delegation to Russia has held over 1,000 meetings since its return, mostly in factories, at which 90 per cent. of the audience have been Social-Democratic or non-Party workers, who have since been increasingly disillusioned in their officials.)

These were the chief special troubles of the respective capitalist Powers at Locarno. While ultimately they cut across one another very sharply, for the time being it was not very difficult to find a common expression for them.

## 2. Locarno—The Sequel to the Dawes Plan.

The Dawes Plan introduced a certain element of system into the payment of reparations and also reduced their theoretical volume. But thereby they only rendered more acute the fundamental **practical** contradiction of reparations, namely, that they tend to ruin the country which receives them.

This did not particularly affect the bankers who reap the profits of the Dawes Plan—whether American, British or French. But it does affect the manufacturers, particularly in Great Britain, and still more the workers. The bankers could not face with equanimity the complete ruin of British industry and the revolutionisation of the British, French and Belgian workers.

The first suggestion that German reparations goods might be most usefully diverted into Russia, enabling Germany to pay without ruining her creditors, came from a number of German industrialists, after the Russo-German

Treaty of Rapallo in 1921, when hopes were entertained that the famine was making the Soviet Government "climb down." The manufacturers soon realised, however, that the Soviet Government had no intention whatsoever of abandoning the monopoly of foreign trade, and had to give up the idea of flooding Russia with their goods.

The idea was revived, however, after the Dawes Plan had been carried through, by the statement of Hoover already mentioned. The suggestion was eagerly seized on by the German capitalist press. As an example, we have a series of articles in the "Mining Gazette," which laid down that Russia ought to be "restored," in order to enable her to absorb German reparations. This involved a commission of experts sitting on her economic conditions, an international loan to enable her to buy foreign manufactured goods, foreign control of her home trade, etc. Above all, it meant that Russia must "drop the luxury of a native industry," and become "an exporter of raw materials," i.e., become a purely peasant colony, supplementing Germany as the industrial colony of Anglo-American Imperialism.

Although the British capitalists were not so cynically outspoken, both the press and the politicians, including Baldwin himself, made fairly clear indications of what they expected. Thus, the "Spectator," in August, 1924, wrote that the restoration of the Russian market was essential to complete the edifice of "European economic reconstruction." Without this no scheme on the lines of the Dawes Report stood any chance of success.

All this was prophecy. But a year later, in the summer of 1925, it was no longer a question of prophecy. It was a question of action. The Dawes Plan, which began to work in the autumn of 1924, set out the following calendar of payments which Germany must make from various sources:

1st year	.....	1,000	million	gold	marks
2nd	„	1,220	„	„	„
3rd	„	1,220	„	„	„
4th	„	1,750	„	„	„
5th	„	2,500	„	„	„

(and thereafter for approximately 50 years at the same rate).

The burden of the first year's payments, both for Germany and for the Allies, was lightened by a loan of 800 million gold marks, raised principally in New York and London. Yet the burden of payments—and the burden of receipts of the cheap German goods produced under slave

conditions (10-hour day, etc.)—has already had a very “undesirable” effect upon German and British workers alike. If this was the case with a payment of 200 million gold marks in 1924-25, what would be the effect of a payment of 1,220 millions in 1925-26?

We have seen that U.S.A. wants stability in Germany, France and Britain, and a safe market for reparations goods; Britain wants the same, for political as well as for economic reasons. It was natural that the situation at the end of the first “Dawes Year” should bring up the problem of colonising Russia, now no longer as an idea, but as something demanding immediate settlement.

The French concern about frontiers and German coke gave a convenient excuse for the outward form of the Pact. “The Treaty of Locarno” wrote the “Financial News” on October 21, “supplies a motive for carrying out the Dawes Plan which before was wanting.” The servility of German finance capital, and the hatred of Soviet Russia amongst the German Socialist leaders, gave a guarantee that the negotiations would be a success.

The Treaties of Locarno are a first logical sequel to the Dawes Plan and prepare the way for a second sequel—an attempt to transform Russia into an Anglo-American colony.

### **3. Locarno—The Prelude to an Attack on Russia.**

German reparation goods can only be diverted into Russia by breaking down the monopoly of foreign trade. That cannot be done without overthrowing the Soviet Government. The Chinese and Indian peoples cannot be prevented from finding inspiration in their fight against Imperialism from the existence of the Soviet Government, unless that Government is overthrown. The former grip of the French financiers on the natural wealth of Russia cannot be restored without abolishing the nationalisation of industry and transport. Again this involves the overthrow of the Soviet Government. And, finally, the German workers cannot be prevented from visiting the Soviet Union, and seeing for themselves the practical difference between a Social-Bar-mat Government and a Workers’ and Peasants’ Government, so long as that Government continues to exist.

To achieve the various objects of the capitalists who negotiated at Locarno, therefore, war must be made on the Soviet Union. Whatever interests vary, all coincide on this point. And it is quite possible this very reason determines the exclusion of any mention of the Soviet Union from the Locarno Treaties.

The capitalist diplomats, however, may be ever so discreet, but their colleagues in other fields are disconcertingly frank. "It is a true instinct," wrote the "Cologne Gazette" on September 21, 1924, after the signing of the Dawes Treaty, "that tells the Bolsheviks that there is now a possibility of Europe uniting against them." But the workers have more than their instinct to guide them to the truth.

They have, amongst other things, the astonishing secret memorandum prepared by Mr. Chamberlain for the use of the Cabinet and published in the "New York World," of May 10, 1925. The memorandum was never repudiated point blank. There are many interesting and instructive passages in it, but the most interesting for the moment is the following :

"Europe to-day is divided into three main elements, the victors, the vanquished and Russia.

"The Russian problem, that incessant though shapeless menace, can be stated only as a problem; it is impossible to say what effects the development of Russia will have on the future stability of Europe. It is true, on the one hand, that the feeling of uncertainty which is sapping the health of Western Europe is caused to no small extent by the disappearance of Russia as a power accountable in the European concert.

"On the other hand, the Russian problem is for the moment Asiatic rather than European, to-morrow Russia may again figure decisively in the balance of Continental power, but to-day she hangs as a storm cloud upon the Eastern horizon of Europe, impending, imponderable, but for the moment detached.

"Russia is not, therefore, in a sense, a factor of stability; she is, indeed, the most menacing of our uncertainties, and it must be in spite of Russia, perhaps because of Russia, that a policy of security must be framed."

These are the views of British officialdom, which does the bidding of British finance capital. What does French officialdom say? Listen to the leading article of the "Temps," the recognised mouthpiece of the French Foreign Office, writing on July 2, 1925 :

"Berlin is in vain at such pains to repeat that under no circumstances would the signature of the Rhine Pact and the entry of Germany into the League of Nations signify a change of German policy in respect of Soviet Russia. In Moscow they are not mistaken in the meaning and signifi-

cance of coming events, and recognise perfectly that Germany politically draws further and further away from the U.S.S.R., to precisely the same extent that it draws closer to Britain."

After this, it is necessary to remind the reader of three declarations (out of many) which have already made their mark, but which will bear repetition.

The first comes in the "Statist"—the semi-official Tory economic journal—of October 10. "The Government are now actively engaged in a vigorous thrust against Russian Communism on the foreign front. The Locarno Conference, where the details of the Rhineland Security Pact are being discussed, is not, of course, aimed expressly against the Russian influence in Europe. It is none the less true that, if the Conference is successful, a fatal blow will have been dealt to Russian Communism in Western Europe . . . Soviet Russia would be faced with an enormously strengthened League of Nations; the opportunities of organising trouble in Middle and Western Europe would be greatly reduced; **the possibility of the formation of an anti-Russian bloc would at once come to the fore.**" (The black type is ours.)

The second occurred in the "Morning Post," on October 12, after the first few days of Locarno: and let it not be forgotten that the "Post" commands the allegiance of at least half the British Cabinet, if not more, and speaks their mind—perhaps too incautiously, on occasion.

"If Germany prefers close relations with the enemies of Christendom and of civilisation, then she can follow her own course, and we can follow ours. There was a time when the Teutonic Knights were the vanguard of a Christendom almost overwhelmed by the mediæval equivalent of the modern Bolshevik. She stands at the parting of the ways; but if she prefers Moscow to Geneva, she will certainly in the long run have bitter cause for repentance."

And, finally, we have the famous statement of Mr. Ormsby-Gore, Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, on October 24th, which was considered such a regrettable indiscretion by Mr. Garvin, of the Tory "Observer," and Mr. J. R. MacDonald of the I.L.P. (?) "Forward."

"The Pact has drawn together the Western Powers of Europe in defence of Western civilisation . . . The solidarity of Western civilisation is necessary to stand against the most sinister force that has ever arisen in European history. The issue at Locarno, as I see it, is whether Germany shall regard her future as being bound up with the fate of

the great Western Powers, or whether she is going to work with Russia for the destruction of Western civilisation. . . . Locarno means the detachment of Germany from Russia, so far as the present German Government is concerned. and the throwing in of Germany's lot with her Western neighbours."

It may have been a regrettable indiscretion on the part of Mr. Ormsby-Gore: but it represents a perfect combination of the ideas, almost of the very words, of the Chamberlain memorandum and the "Morning Post" leader.

#### 4. The Pact and Security.

One of the most striking features of the five Treaties and the final Protocol of Locarno, covering almost a whole newspaper page of close print, as already mentioned, the entire omission of any reference to the Soviet Union in it. Combined with the declarations just cited, the conclusion is almost irresistible.

Yet, if further persuasion were needed, we find the Paris correspondent of the "Times"—one of the best-informed journalists in Europe—writing so innocently on October 1: "It is believed here that Germany has in some way bound herself to refrain from any aggressive acts towards the Soviet Government, and that, in consequence, the German Government continues to find it difficult to agree to the stipulation of Article 16 of the Covenant. To this it is objected here that the only case in which a difficulty of such a nature could possibly arise would be if the Soviet attacked Poland while Germany remained neutral. The most definite assurance is forthcoming in official circles that, in this case, France would not dream of sending units of her army over a long communication line through Germany. In 1920, when Poland was overrun by the Bolsheviks, French assistance took the form of the despatch of a small military mission under General Weygand and of military stores by sea. This course would be taken again if the necessity arose."

The only things the innocent correspondent was not told by his official informants are that in 1920 Germany had not been as completely disarmed as she is in 1925, while her financial rulers had not been reduced to their present condition of crawling servility. Of course, no one could possibly suggest to him that, if France or Britain wanted to attack Soviet Russia, it would not be difficult to arrange for Poland to pick a quarrel which could be represented as an "unprovoked attack" upon her—just as he himself speaks of Poland

being "overrun" in 1920 and forgets that the Ukraine was first of all "overrun" by the Poles.

But let us turn to the Pact itself.

The first thing that strikes one is that, as a guarantee of peace in the West, it is absolutely valueless. The "Treaty of Mutual Guarantee," in its preamble, says that the countries signing it are "anxious to satisfy the desire for security and protection which animates the peoples upon whom fell the scourge of the war of 1914-1918." In clauses 1 and 2 it lays down that "Germany and Belgium, and also Germany and France, mutually undertake that they will in no case attack or invade each other or resort to war against each other," except in case of breaches of the western frontiers guaranteed by the Versailles Treaty, or of assembly of forces in the demilitarised zone of the Rhineland.

Even forgetting for a moment that this means that France can mass her forces right up to the German frontier with impunity, while Germany may not approach her own boundary within fifty miles as far as troops are concerned, there is another clause which gives considerable food for thought. This is clause 6, which says: "The provisions of the present Treaty do not affect the rights and obligations of the high contracting parties under the Treaty of Versailles, or under arrangements supplementary thereto, including the agreements signed in London on the 30th August, 1924."

If this clause means anything, it means this—that France retains her asserted right to attack, invade and wage war on Germany for what she may choose to consider a breach of the Versailles Treaty, whether referring to reparations, disarmament, relations with Austria, or any other point. It will be recalled that it was just in virtue of this "right"—which was sanctioned by the London agreements referred to (the Dawes Treaties)—that France marched into the Ruhr!

**In other words, the security given to Germany is a fraud and a sham.** Germany has no security: France "reserves all rights" towards her. And to prevent any doubts on the matter, the French Government expressly said so in the first draft of a reply to the German Pact proposal which it submitted to the British Government. Chamberlain raised a feeble question about it in his reply: and Briand got out of the dilemma very simply—by not referring to the matter at all in his second letter!

### 5. The Pact and Soviet Russia.

Still, we know that the security of the Rhine frontier does not depend upon Treaties. It depends on France's desire to work peacefully with German industry across the Rhine and on Germany's willingness to accept the Rhine frontier (i.e., to give up the claim to Alsace-Lorraine) at the price of credits from America, evacuation of Cologne, etc. And we know, too, that the Locarno negotiations were made necessary, not by the fear of trouble on the Rhine, but by the need and desire to prepare an attack on the Soviet Union.

Does the Pact achieve this? To this there can be only one answer: it does, by a series of ingenious provisions dovetailing into one another.

**First.** Article 2 of the "Treaty of Mutual Guarantee" says that the stipulation about mutual non-invasion, non-attack, etc., shall not apply in the case of, amongst other things, "action in pursuance of Article 16 of the Covenant of the League of Nations."

**Second.** Article 16 of the Covenant says that, if the League declare any State to be an outlaw (by reason of an "unprovoked attack" on a member of the League), every member of the League is **obliged** to join in blockade, boycott or similar penalties, and must **be prepared** to "facilitate" military action against the offending State.

**Third.** Article 4, clause 1, says that, if a violation of Article 2 (i.e., of Article 16 of the Covenant) has been "or is being" committed, the Council of the League of Nations shall decide whether action shall be taken by the signatory Powers.

**Fourth.** Article 4, clause 3, however, says that, in case of a "flagrant" violation of Article 2 by one of the high contracting parties, each of the others will **immediately** go to the help of the party against whom it has been directed, "**as soon as the said Power has been able to satisfy itself that this violation constitutes an unprovoked act of aggression** and that, by reason of the crossing of the frontier, or **of the outbreak of hostilities**, or of the assembly of armed forces in the demilitarised zone, **immediate action is necessary.**"

And now let us state the case in concrete terms.

Problem: Britain and France want to attack Soviet Russia through Germany. Condition: they want to persuade the British and French workers that they are acting quite constitutionally, and it is the Soviet Union which is breaking the law. How do they go about it?

**First.** Poland picks a quarrel with Soviet Russia—say, by some more than usually impudent raid on to Soviet territory, in which peasants are killed and property destroyed. Red troops enter Polish territory.

**Second.** Poland appeals to the League of Nations, dominated by France and Britain, which decides that Soviet Russia is an "outlaw State." Germany is bound under Article 16 of the Covenant to **join** in "economic sanctions," and to **facilitate** military sanctions.

**Third.** Germany refuses to participate in sanctions, thereby committing a "flagrant violation" of Article 2 of the Pact. France satisfies herself that (a) "this violation constitutes an unprovoked act of aggression" against Poland, and (b) immediate action is necessary, by reason "of the outbreak of hostilities" (whose, against whom, is not stated in the Treaty).

**Fourth.** France (or Britain) immediately goes to the help of Poland, crossing German territory under pain of war against a disarmed Germany—unless we accept the correspondent's story that France "would not dream of doing such a thing."

And that is how the trick is done. To make assurance doubly sure, France signed at Locarno a special "treaty of guarantee" with Poland. And here the following provision is made:

"In the event of the Council of the League of Nations, when dealing with a question brought before it in accordance with the undertakings," (at Locarno) "being unable to succeed in making its report accepted by all its members other than the representatives of the parties to the dispute, **and in the event of Poland or France being attacked without provocation**, France, or reciprocally Poland, will immediately lend aid and assistance."

Thus the whole elaborate machinery of reference to the League and of guarantee for the Rhineland frontier—even though ample provision is made therein for a joint attack of "Christendom" upon "the enemies of civilisation"—is shown up as a sham and a swindle. Whether the Council gets agreement or not, and Rhine frontier notwithstanding, France binds herself to help Poland—which means crossing German territory—of course, on condition of "attack without provocation"!

Of course, there are naive people who say: "Why doesn't Russia join the League of Nations and get a say in

the matter?" The Locarno Treaties show that, whatever Russia might say, it would be the capitalist states who would act: and the capitalist states will and must remain sworn enemies of a Workers' Government.

### 6. Labour and Locarno.

The Locarno Pact is one of the most carefully laid schemes for covering an attack upon Russia that could have been imagined. At the same time the economic and political aims of the capitalist groups involved make it impossible to doubt that the attack is being prepared.

What was the real price paid to the German capitalists we can only guess at. But we may be fairly sure that it had some connection with the visit of Herr Schacht, President of the Reichsbank, to New York, during and since the negotiations.

At all events, they have been bought, and at the moment it does not seem likely that the anti-Entente forces amongst the bourgeoisie and the pro-Soviet forces amongst the workers of Germany are strong enough to overcome them.

All the more is it incumbent upon the British working class to assert itself and break this conspiracy against Soviet Russia and for world war, masquerading as a plan to secure peace.

Our Party was the first to raise its voice to expose and denounce the Pact before the workers; and it is still the only Party which is pursuing this policy without hesitation. The workers, who are rapidly learning by bitter experience that they cannot trust the capitalists, are beginning to listen—even sooner than they did to our campaign against the Dawes Report.

It is no use trying to make the best of both worlds and reconcile the irreconcilable, as Brailsford does in the "New Leader" of November 13, or the resolution put down by the Labour Party "back benchers" in the House of Commons. If the Treaties may "be misused, though their text may be harmless," one must be prepared to say **how** they may be misused.

Either this means that the Treaties provide a loophole for misuse, in which case their text is **not** harmless and Brailsford's phrase is pure nonsense, or this means that the text does not bind the capitalist States, who simply go on with their own schemes. In that case, if one is an honest Socialist, i.e., out to lead the workers and not merely to furnish explanations when they have already formed their opinions, one must explain **what** their own schemes are, and how they use the Treaties to deceive the workers.

But of all this, Brailsford tell us nothing. He simply bewilders us by telling us that the Treaties may be misused, and that Russia ought to protect herself by joining the League (we have seen earlier what a fine protection that would be!). And, to make confusion certain, Brailsford tells us (1) that when the League was formed, its founders were blockading and fighting Russia (2) that it was only last year that any of the Powers composing it deigned to recognise her Government, (3) that Russia has said nothing worse about the capitalist Governments which compose the League than the Second International itself has said.

But why then, in the name of Heaven or the devil, must Russia enter the League? It is composed of her sworn enemies: at any moment they may turn and misuse the Pact against her: by entering the League she not only accepts responsibility for its far-famed championship of the smaller nations, but also undertakes to carry out majority decisions (of capitalist States) directed against herself (a Workers' State). Why should Soviet Russia join the the capitalist League?

Brailsford's disgracefully muddled, loose and dangerous argument is only one example of how the capitalists, who arranged Locarno in order to have a "constitutional" screen for an attack on the U.S.S.R., have succeeded so far in deluding even honest enemies of Imperialism and making them into unconscious tools of their own for deluding the workers. It is time Brailsford and Lansbury and those who subscribed to the back-benchers' resolution in Parliament, began to realise that by this loose talk about Russia entering the League, and by this suggestion that the workers can passively watch the Pact being concluded but will be able somehow to prevent its being "misused," they are not only following in the footsteps of MacDonald, but are doing exactly what the Imperialists want them to do.

Those who are definite friends of Soviet Russia, who know the capitalist character of the League (not in theory but in practice), who genuinely want to prevent war, must stop dragging at the tail of events, "registering" opinions after the workers have formed them, and leaving them meanwhile helpless and without guidance in the hands of the Chamberlains and Briands. They must tell the workers that the only way to ensure peace is to smash the Pact, by fighting it in Parliament, in the streets, in the factories, arousing the workers up and down the country, and thereby smashing at the same time the Tory Government. This may be a tall order: but the Labour Movement is strong enough to bring it about, if it makes up its mind.

# Mikhail Vassilievitch Frunzê

By CHARLES ASHLEIGH.

There were long years of struggle, Mikhail Vassilievitch;

Years when a man's nerves and mind and body were tried in the bitter fight.

There were years of prison; the long, grey days; enclosed in steel and stone; the harsh orders of warders, and the longing to be back in the battle.

There were many weary months of waiting, of planning and of longing.

And there was the fierce joy of conflict; the arduous fostering of the rebel knowledge and courage, as slowly the sleeping masses began to stumble towards enlightenment.

The rewards of the life were rich; there was the vision of the battle to be, when the thunderous clash of class fighting would release the forces which, with patient hands, you and your comrades guided.

And, one day, it came. It came, the giant struggle for which with loyal lion heart, you had so striven.

Over the dull sky a Red Dawn had broken; and its light warmed the breasts of all who suffered beneath the whips of capitalism, the world over.

You led the ragged heroic soldiers of the Revolution, in those first hungry glorious years.

The White beast was forced back, and entirely defeated.

And a new time, of building and strengthening, came.

This was your reward, Comrade; and a better no man can have.

When the whole world is free, Mikhail Vassilievitch;

When, from the workers of all lands,

The song of victory goes up, strong and unconquerable—

Then will a fitting tribute be made to you, and to the life you gave for us.

# And Now to Action

## A Left-Wing Policy

By "VANGUARD."

**I**N the past month or two, much energetic discussion has taken place in the "Workers' Weekly" and "Lansbury's Labour Weekly" on the foundation and policy of a Labour Left-Wing and its relation to the Communist Party. This discussion has now reached a stage at which it is possible to say: "Now we have got to some ground on which all who want to see a Left-Wing organised may stand together and launch their common campaign." Having reached that ground, we must make quite sure that we understand the meaning of the phrases and formulæ that we are using. If Communists and other working class fighters are going into action side by side, they must be sure that their watchwords do not mean this thing to one and that thing to another. Particularly, we must be sure that we all clearly understand the meaning of the name "Left-Wing." We shall come back to that latter. But first of all let us recount briefly the results of the discussion which has led us to see clearly where our common ground lies.

### Relations with Communists.

Comrade Postgate, formerly a member of the Communist Party and now assistant-editor of "Lansbury's Labour Weekly," was moved by the terrible failure of the so-called Left-Wing of the Labour Party (Lansbury, Maxton, Ellen Wilkinson, etc.) at Liverpool to write some articles in Lansbury's journal proposing bases for a genuine Left-Wing. We of the Communist Party found it necessary to point out, in the "Workers' Weekly," that comrade Postgate was making some mistakes which were rather curious for one who had been formerly very fully acquainted with the Communist views and policy. We had to correct comrade Postgate for certain distortions of Communist policy which he made in the course of his efforts to lay down a Left-Wing basis. Also, we had to reproach comrade Postgate for offering as his own contributions towards a Left-Wing programme those very points which for a long time had been urged, in season and out, by the Communist Party.

The working-class reader may ask: "Well, who the devil is Postgate that you should for ever be worrying us with his faults?" Our answer is that comrade Postgate has

endeavoured in a very important working-class journal, to propose a basis for a Left-Wing which should deliberately exclude the Communist Party. He continually inferred, or declared directly, that none of the Left-Wing plans could be expected to work if they were controlled by "Party managers at King Street."

Of course, "Party managers at King Street" have neither the will nor the power to control the British Labour Left-Wing. But the use of such a bogey to frighten the Left-Wing into barring Communists was simply a disguised way of kow-towing to the mandarins of the Right-Wing who, at Liverpool, ordered that the Communists should be excluded. That this was the intention is shown by the fact that comrade Horrabin, editor of the "Plebs" and a close collaborator of Postgate, wrote in the "Sunday Worker" at the same time suggesting that there were two courses open to Communists, after the Liverpool decision; one, "That they compel their fellow-members of the Labour Party (who also have a Party discipline to observe) to expel them, by refusing to give up their membership of the Communist Party;" the other, "That they face the existing situation, resign their membership and remain in the Labour Party as Left-Wingers."

### **The Communist Position.**

To that we replied that there was a third course—and we had chosen it. It was to remain in the Communist Party, remain in the Labour Party and carry on a struggle to induce the rank and file of the Labour Party to refuse to apply the Liverpool decisions. We believe that the mass of Left-inclined members of the Labour Party, who are looking for a militant lead, are with us in that attitude and that to them the idea of an organised Left-Wing which does not include the Communists is unthinkable. It was for this reason that we joined issue with comrade Postgate, for stating, in the important paper for which he is partly responsible, a case which misrepresented not only the Communists but the views of a very large body of members of the Labour Party.

### **A Basis of Agreement.**

However, the discussion went on and as we made our differences clear, so our common ground emerged. So far as the statements of comrade Postgate can be taken as representing the opinions of the group with which he is associated, we find that we can agree with that group on the following points, as stated in the "Workers' Weekly" of November 6:

1. A "Don't shoot the Workers" campaign for soldiers and sailors.
2. We are in favour of "workers' constables and protective forces generally" to defend the workers' organisations against the Fascisti, the O.M.S., etc., "but we are not in favour of arming them except as a definite reply to armed attack."
3. We must "ally ourselves generally with all 'native agitators' who are attacking the British bureaucracy," and help their countries to withdraw from the British Slave Empire.
4. We must stand by, assist and help to organise the colonial workers in particular, to raise their standard of living.
5. We stand for national trade union unity, from top to bottom and for international trade union unity as well.

#### Now is the Moment.

In addition, the suggestion was made in that issue of the "Workers' Weekly" that there should be a consultation on policy, with periodic consultations to follow, of the three Left-Wing organs—the "Workers' Weekly," "Lansbury's Labour Weekly" and the "Sunday Worker." In this latter paper too, a very clear statement of Left-Wing aims has been made. There is the common ground as we see it from the Communist angle. And it is not common ground only as affecting the Communist Party and a small group of self-styled Left-Wingers, who might be dismissed by the "rank and file" as intellectuals. Whatever happens to the "Lansbury's Weekly" group—and it must either come into the general Left-Wing movement or die—the common ground which we have discovered exists as a field for assembling all the fighting forces of the working class, in the Labour Party and in the trade unions. The assembling of these forces has already begun and current events are producing a very stimulating effect on the movement. The Liverpool decision is providing an incentive rather than a discouragement, as far as the Labour Party rank and file is concerned, to Left-Wing collaboration with the Communists. The legal attack on the Communist Party has restored members of the Labour Party to a proper point of view.

MacDonald, plus the capitalist press, had hypnotised many into the illusion that the "Reds" were the real enemy of the Labour Movement. Joynson-Hicks has obligingly brought the movement out of its trance and directed its eyes once more to the real enemy, the capitalist class. And the

legal pandering to the Fascists, who held up and wrecked by violence the "Daily Herald" van, has added just the final touch.

### What 'Left-Wing' Means.

Now is the moment, therefore, to weld the Left-Wing. Out of the indignation of the workers a sharp weapon can be forged, a solid organisation constructed. And solidity in the organisation of the Left-Wing is the first necessity. We have got used to the phrase "Left-Wingers" applied to themselves by all manner of people in the Labour movement, with no very precise meaning. We have learned to smile a little cynically at the person who says, "I am just a Left-Winger," because too often we have found that to be a cloak for indefiniteness, for opportunism, if not for sheer cowardice. The term "Left-Wing," as we are to understand it in the future, must admit of no vagueness in its meaning. It must stand for clearly-stated aims and for organisation to secure those aims. Only in this way can we guard ourselves from the danger of being misled by fluent fellows who conceal opportunism and cowardice under the assumed "Left-Wing" cloak. It is because the present moment is critical and the need for such a Left-Wing as is described urgent, that we have been at such pains to come to an understanding with the "Tansbury's Weekly" group. But, still standing on our common ground, we must ask our comrades, not only in this group, but all who are in any way inclined to ally themselves with the Left-Wing, some more questions.

### The Work to be Done.

What, comrades, do we expect the Left-Wing to do? Supposing we take the five points for a Left-Wing programme quoted earlier in this article, and we say: "Yes, we agree that a Left-Wing ought to adopt these aims." But that is not enough. Adopting a programme of Left-Wing aims does not ensure their fulfilment. It is only the beginning, which has to be followed by action. The aims of the Left-Wing are more determined defence of the workers against the capitalist class, in preparation for the time when the working class will be on the offensive against the capitalists. They are therefore a challenge to the capitalists and so the Left-Wing stands as the challenger of capitalism. In so doing it forms a united front of all the fighters of the working class and, at the same time, it produces a division. We cannot avoid or conceal this. It divides those who challenge and prepare themselves to fight capitalism to the death and those who co-operate with capitalists. It separates all

those who have understood the realities of class war from those who are under the hypnotism of Macdonald's idea of the State, or what not. And so we cannot reckon on a clear-cut fight with the capitalists. We have also a struggle within the Labour Movement which we cannot shirk.

### **The Way Forward.**

What is the policy of the Left-Wing in this matter? What has been the policy of Left-Wingers in the past? Recall the quotation from comrade Horrabin, given earlier in this article, regarding the Liverpool decision to exclude the Communists. Members of the Labour Party, he says, "also have a Party discipline to observe." That is, even if they are Left-Wingers and are therefore opposed to MacDonaldism, as members of the Labour Party they must obey a MacDonaldite fiat which contradicts entirely their Left-Wing beliefs. A Left-Wing is impossible without the Communists, but we, the Left-Wing, when the mandarin orders us to break our weapons, obediently do so and kow-tow, waiting for him to cut off our head and present it as a token of goodwill to his capitalist friends. Now even supposing that, after this ceremony, the truncated corpse preserved some life, what could it do? Clutch at the skirts of the triumphant mandarin, begging him to restore its head and be traileed around in the dust behind him as a mark of his contempt.

The picture may seem fantastic and unreal, but those who have in the past attempted as Left-Wingers to remain "loyal" to MacDonald or to the policy which he represents will realise its bitter truth. Let us remember that Lenin, over twenty years ago, was warning his friends of the then Left against "dragging at the tail" of the Right. It is harder for us in Britain to grasp the importance of this advice, because our parties and movements have never fought out, as in Russia, Germany and France, the battle of reformism against revolutionary Socialism on the theoretical ground.

The immediate objects of the Left-Wing, as indicated, for instance, in our common ground of five points may not seem to our "practical-minded" trade union leaders and Labour M.P.'s to have much to do with the revolutionary theories of Marx. But they do stand, among us, for the battle of revolutionary Socialism against reformism, that is, for the understanding of the class war and what we hope to achieve by winning it, against the abandonment of the struggle and the attempt to modify capitalist domination by

“co-operating” with it. The Left-Wing, therefore, is not an association for furthering certain immediate aims. It is an organisation to take up and extend the preparation of the British Labour Movement for Revolutionary Socialism.

### Some Practical Considerations.

And if that is our answer to the question, “What is the the Left-Wing going to do?” we cannot ignore the fact that Eccleston Square will continually be making official decisions designed to frustrate our objects. Is “Party discipline” then going to compel us to abandon our objects? Why should it? Does “Party discipline” weigh with MacDonald when he has decided his course? Remember Liverpool, comrades who may have illusions on this score. Within the I.L.P. delegation to that Conference, the voting on the proposal to exclude the Communists was 13 for and 10 against. Consequently all the Left-Wing I.L.P. delegates, although they disagreed with the decision, sat silent during the debate and the whole of the I.L.P. delegation’s vote was cast against the Communists.

“Party discipline is necessary,” you say. Yes, but supposing the vote inside the I.L.P. delegation had gone the other way by an equally narrow margin—and it might easily have been so—do you believe MacDonald would have sat silent and agreed to a course to which he was most bitterly opposed? Find the I.L.P-er who thinks so!

So long as the Labour Party is an organisation of workers, and so long as MacDonald, Thomas and the rest remain within it, we must fight inside the Labour Party. Further, while the Labour Party is an organisation of workers and therefore supremely important for the Left-Wing, it is mis-called a Party. It has not the machinery of a disciplined Party, only the organisation for securing votes at elections. To that fact, probably, is largely due the ascendancy which MacDonald and such bourgeois reformists as Webb have been able to maintain in the organisation. The Left-Wing regards the Party as a self-disciplined body of workers, with clearly defined aims and the building of this out of the material of the Labour Party is one of our objects. Once again, therefore, the logic of our aims will force us not to submit to the dictates of MacDonald out of any false sense of Party loyalty, but to fight him for leadership of the working-class forces.

If these are our common conclusions, let us now go forward into action.

# The Miners and the Industrial Alliance

By B. WILLIAMS.

**F**OUR years of oppression have left their mark on the minds of the miners of this country; underneath their apparent calm there is accumulating, as a consequence of the brutal offensive of the coalowners, such a volume of sullen resentment as will sooner or later find expression in one of the most bitter struggles that have taken place in the history of working-class revolts in modern times. That the miners can fight, when roused, with doggedness and determination is not open to question. Indisputable evidence of this was provided by their magnificent struggle, unaided with the sole exception of the Communist Party, in 1921, only to be driven back to conditions obtaining fifty years ago. To those who are merely talking of preparations for the struggle in May, we would say that the offensive has commenced. While the Commission of Inquiry is engaged in talking and searching for remedies for the restoration of private enterprise in the industry, the coalowners are busily engaged in applying the only "remedy" that, to them, seems effective, namely, an attack on the miners' standard of living. Old customs that have existed for generations are being cast aside, while basic rates are being attacked colliery by colliery. In this way they hope to undermine the foundations of the national organisation of the miners, the very essence of which is National Settlements. They are succeeding in this by playing upon the fear of the miners that, unless they accept reduction, the pits will close down.

That the clash is coming is not open to doubt. It will come, not as the capitalist press says because of the existence of agitators who are trying to stir up strife, but because the miners will be driven to defend their very existence. The success or failure of the battle will depend upon the preparations which are made to meet the situation. It is not enough that the miners revolt against the conditions imposed upon them; it must be an organised revolt.

The miners have made their appeal to the other big unions to join them in a new Industrial Alliance, but if this

proposal depended for its success only upon the goodwill and sentiment of those unions, then it would be doomed to failure. The basis of common action rests not on goodwill and sentiment, but upon common interests and common needs, with a common enemy to face. Let us see if there is a basis for common action. We will not dwell longer on the position of the miners. It has become fashionable within recent years to set up Commissions of Inquiry into the mining industry, with the result that there is available an abundance of statistics dealing with mining matters. If coal production has declined, there has certainly been a tremendous increase in the production of statistics.

### **The Railways.**

The "Manchester Guardian" (9-11-25) contains a report of a speech of Alderman Dobbie, president of the N.U.R., a portion of which is as follows: "A railway crisis was nearer than railwaymen realised. He did not care to talk about strikes, but the National Union of Railwaymen was determined to use the whole of its economic force to prevent any reduction of wages or the lowering in any way of the conditions of railwaymen." The report went on to say: "A resolution was unanimously carried recording the meeting's firm adherence to the national programme for definite improvements in the current conditions of service and affirming its strenuous opposition to the railway companies' counter-proposals."

After long delays the All-Grades Programme was announced on Dec. 10th, 1924. This programme lays down the claim for a minimum of £3 a week. The present wage position, as compared with pre-war, is as follows: The percentage increases over pre-war wages on the railways range from 80 per cent. in the case of the higher paid workers to 150 per cent. in the case of the lowest categories. A porter in 1913 received the princely sum of 18s. a week and at present it is only 45s. To this programme, which aims at increases for all grades, the rail bosses have made counter-proposals involving decreases of 4s. and 6s. for all grades except shopmen and in this case they are demanding a reduction in the war bonus from 16s. to 10s. 6d. Owing to the inclusion of the shopmen in the All-Grades Programme, the railway companies claimed that they could not be dealt with as the machinery of the National Wages Board does not include them. Despite the fact that the E.C. of the N.U.R. decided that the programme should be discussed as a whole, Thomas succeeded in getting this decision reversed. Everything points to the conclusion that Thomas is, in face

of the resistance of the companies, working for the scrapping of the All-Grades Programme. The railway companies are also resorting to another form of attack. They are carrying out dismissals of men and putting others on short time. There is nothing before the railwaymen but acceptance of the owners' terms, or a fight. In spite of this situation the reactionary officials have withdrawn the union from the Alliance. They will yet need the support of the workers in the other unions.

### **The Engineers.**

The employers are determined that the workers in the engineering trades shall be bled in order that this industry, which is on the sick list, may be revived. As a first step the employers are putting forward a demand for the abandonment of the 47-hour week and "to further assist the industry," the workers are asked to agree to a reduction in overtime rates. It is a long time since the engineers put in their demand for a £1 a week increase in wages and this has yet to be realised. The counter-proposals of the employers have been summarised in the "Monthly Circular" of the Labour Research Department of June, 1925, and are as follows:

1. Day shift to be 50 hours instead of 47 at the same hourly rate.
2. Night shift to be 52½ hours instead of 47, also at same rate.
3. The present 10s. war bonus to be increased by 1s. after six months, but this 12s. not to be taken into account, as the old 10s. was, for overtime, night-work, or payment by results percentages.
4. Overtime rates to be reduced to time and a quarter for first two hours, then after, time and a half; night shift to time and a quarter.

The "Circular" goes on to say: "As explained in the 'Times' summary the effect of the proposals would be that a man on day shift would work three hours extra and receive 5s. extra pay; on night shift he would, owing to the reduction of percentages, work 5½ hours more for an increase of 1s. 7½d."

The percentage increase in 1924, over that of 1914, is given by the "Labour Gazette" as follows:

<i>Occupation</i>	<i>Weekly wage</i>	<i>Above 1914</i>
Fitters and Turners ... ..	56s. 6d.	45 per cent.
Ironmoulders ... ..	60s. od.	44 " "
Patternmakers ... ..	60s. 11d.	45 " "
Labourers ... ..	40s. 2d.	76 " "

The cost of living index figure on October, 1925 was 76 per cent. and though this index figure does not express the actual increase in the cost of living to the working class, it will be seen how far below the pre-war standard of living the engineers are. But this is not all. When the number of unemployed and those on short time are taken into consideration, one gets an idea of the deplorable condition of the workers in the engineering industry. The percentage of registered unemployed in the engineering trades in April, 1925, was 12.7 per cent. In the shipbuilding industry unemployment was 30 per cent.

### **The Transport Workers.**

The transport workers also have their problems to face and the struggle which is being waged over the question of casual labour and re-registration still goes on. The transport workers are faced with a large army of unemployed for which there seems not the slightest possibility of employment. The "Labour Gazette" gives figures of pre-war rates of wages for dockers as 4s. 6d. to 6s. 8d. in 1914, as compared with 11s. to 13s. 6d. at the end of 1924. According to the Shaw Committee in 1920, four was considered to be the average number of days worked. It must be considerably less to-day. The wages of the Road Transport men (one-horse drivers) in 1914 was about 25s. 7d.; in 1924, 53s. 2d. Unemployment in transport is about 14.4 per cent.

In this way it would be possible, if space would allow, to show the conditions of the workers in the various industries, but let us content ourselves with a few general figures, which will indicate the appalling state of affairs which exists.

### **What the Workers have Lost in Wages.**

The following figures taken from the "People's Year Book, 1925," gives an indication—a very moderate estimate—of the losses sustained by the workers in wages since 1921.

The workers in industry lost through wage cuts in 1921, £312,000,000; in 1922, £218,400,000; in 1923, £15,000,000. These figures refer to insured workers only.

Taking into consideration short time, unemployment, etc., the workers must have lost during this period at least £1,000,000,000.

As a result of fights put up during 1924, wages increases took place to the extent of about £15,000,000. There is, however, still a loss of about £15,000,000 a week in wages. For the nine months, Jan. to Sept., 1925, 967,000 workers suf-

ferred reductions in wages to the extent of about £152,200. Unemployment has risen from 1,210,201 in Oct. 1924, to 1,258,800 in Oct., 1925.

What is the explanation for this condition of affairs? It is due to the fact that capitalism has entered its period of decline and is no longer able to give its wage-slaves even the bare means of existence. The stage has been reached which was foretold by Marx, the stage when capitalism has become a fetter on the further development of the productive forces. Capitalism is in the process of collapse.

The further it proceeds towards dissolution, the more it is compelled to attack the standard of living of the workers. Not only so, but it is compelled, in face of the growing resistance of the organised working class, to drop its cloak of "constitutional democracy" and adopt methods of open and brutal repression. Its dictatorship becomes every day more apparent. Once this is clear we shall understand the reason for the drive towards unity of the workers of this country.

Since 1921 there has been a considerable development of revolutionary consciousness on the part of the workers and a real desire to create new weapons for the class war. The decision of the Trades Union Conference at Scarborough can be taken as an indication of the growing revolt of the working class. It is not to be wondered at that the capitalist press poured out its wrath against the revolutionary decisions of the Trades Union Congress.

Early in the year the miners sent out invitations to the big unions to discuss the possibility of a new Industrial Alliance. It was not until July 4th that the unions got together. At this meeting a committee was appointed to go into the whole question. This committee appointed a sub-committee to prepare a draft scheme and place it before a further meeting of the Executives of the various unions on July 17th. The scheme presented at the meeting was unanimously accepted for consideration by the unions. The objects of the Alliance, as stated in the draft constitution, are as follows:

"To create by means of an alliance of the specified organisations, a means of mutual support, to assist any or all of the allied organisations in defending the hours of labour and wage standards, securing advancements of the standard of living, or to take action to secure acceptance of, or to defend any principle of an industrial character which may be deemed vital by the allied organisations."

The scope of the Alliance is to be seen from the clause dealing with the Constitution, which reads :

“That Alliance shall consist of organisations representing workpeople engaged in all forms of transport (railways, docks, waterways, road, sea, air), engineering, shipbuilding, iron and steel production, mining and all forms of power production and distribution.”

Clause 7 gives the form in which assistance may be given :

- (a) Negotiation ;
- (b) Financial ;
- (c) Partial sympathetic action ;
- (d) Sympathetic action by stages ;
- (e) Complete sympathetic action.

The organisations whose Executive Committees considered this draft, are the Miners' Federation, the Transport and General Workers' Union, the Transport Workers' Federation, the Iron and Steel Trades Federation, the Amalgamated Engineering Union, the Engineering and Shipbuilding Trades Federation, the Electrical Trades Union, the Moulders' Society, the National Union of Railwaymen, the Associated Society of Locomotive Enginemmen and Firemen, the Railway Clerks' Association and the Boilermakers' Society. Later the General Workers' Union joined in.

At the Conference of the unions concerned, which was called on November 5 to consider the amendments tabled by the various unions, the N.U.R. put forward an amendment to the Constitution, which was to the effect that the condition of membership of the unions represented shall be that they prepare schemes for fusion wherever possible, etc. This is an amendment which is put forward ostensibly to press for the principle of Industrial Unionism, but the real motive is revealed in an article in the “Times,” Nov. 7, 1925. It says, “Had the proposal (the N.U.R. amendment) been accepted, the railwaymen would have suggested a further amendment.” The fact of the matter is that this was a not too plausible excuse to withdraw from the Alliance. For what is Thomas so concerned about an Industrial Union? For fighting purposes? Obviously not. The same article goes on to say that the N.U.R. has always insisted on its autonomy remaining unimpaired and, further on, reminds its readers that “less than two years ago the Associated Society was engaged in a strike which the N.U.R. reprobated.” While the Communist Party has always stood for Industrial Unionism, it has always maintained that a craft union which fights is better than an industrial union which does not.

Organisation is not an end in itself; it is a means to an end. Other officials, who can see the consequences of a united struggle and are afraid, are talking about the difficulty presented by the constitutions of the unions. Is then a union constitution something sacred, something which it is sacrilege to touch? Is it such a terrible thing to scrap certain rules and forms of organisation which no longer meet the requirements of new conditions? Constitutions did not stand in the way of setting up Councils of Action against the attack on the Soviet Republic in 1920.

So far as the conservative claim of certain trade union officials for "union autonomy" is concerned, surely this has been flung sky-high after the result of the miners' action in handing the conduct of their struggle over to the General Council of the T.U.C., with the result that that body could call on the railwaymen not to handle coal after midnight on July 31st. and could rally the other unions in support of the miners. Was it not due to this splendid demonstration of solidarity on the part of the whole Trade Union Movement that the attack on the wages of the miners was checked for a time?

In conclusion, it is necessary to utter a word of warning. The Industrial Alliance must not take the place of the General Council of the T.U.C. It is the General Council of the T.U.C. which must be the co-ordinating body, the general staff, because it is representative of the organised Trade Union Movement. The constitution, as it stands at present, only provides for the General Council to be kept in touch with developments and for seeking the assistance of the General Council when the Alliance sees fit. This should be amended so that the Alliance shall come under the direction of the General Council, with its local organisations closely linked up with the Trades Councils. There should be representatives of the General Council on the Executive of the Alliance.

Everything points to the fact that the workers are marching towards the creation of new weapons for waging the struggle against the ruling class, and in order that this process shall not be checked, the workers in the unions concerned in the Industrial Alliance, but who have not yet accepted its constitution, should carry on a ceaseless agitation for linking up with the Alliance.

# Immediate Organisational Tasks of Communist Parties

By W. UBRICHT.

**E**MPLOYERS throughout Western Europe are carrying on an intense offensive in connection with the realisation of the Dawes Plan to reduce the standard of working conditions. At the same time joint work is being developed between the employers and the State organs in the struggle against Communist Parties, so that Communist work in the factories is rendered to a certain extent more difficult. On this account certain tendencies are becoming manifest in Communist Parties to carry out educational and propaganda work primarily in residential districts, because less difficulties are encountered there than when working in factories. But just now it is especially necessary to devote all energy to the development of factory nuclei, to make them more active and to instil into them political life, because only in the factories is it possible to prepare for the struggle and consolidate the united front of the workers.

## **The Struggle against the Imperialist War.**

The struggle against the Moroccan war is the most apt example of the need for strengthening our work in the factory nucleus. The Moroccan war is the first imperialist war since the close of the world war and shows us in what manner Communist Parties in all countries must prepare the struggle against imperialist war. The first task is to carry out mass agitation and to organise the masses for the struggle. For this it is necessary for Communist Parties to possess a propaganda department which functions well and is able, even though newspapers be suppressed, to influence the masses by means of leaflets, etc., through the activity of the local groups, in nuclei, and with the assistance of factory newspapers and other agitational matter. Even in circumstances where the Party is semi- or entirely legal, it is possible to carry out a struggle against imperialist war quite successfully, if the nuclei are active. The more active our Communist factory nuclei are, the easier is it to create organs of the united front in the factories and then to co-ordinate these on a district

scale. In this connection special attention should be paid to nucleus work in armament factories, in transport and large-scale industry, and at centres of electric power production. General agitation in the press is not sufficient; we must be capable of controlling the most important factories in such a way that, at a given moment, it will be possible to carry out a general strike and, under the leadership of the Committee of Action, to bring about a standstill of transport. This is of especial importance in view of the united front of the imperialist powers against Russia and the increased agitation for a struggle against the Soviet Government.

The Communist Party of France has mobilised the masses in the struggle against the war by forming committees of action in the factories and by organising workers' congresses. How this work has been carried out with the assistance of factory newspapers is seen from the following example from the factory Lefranc-Ripolin. Under the title, "Men and Women Workers up against the War!" we read, amongst other items, as follows:

"Workers, who have struggled for four years on behalf of civilisation, for the freedom and the rights of peoples, your sons, after an interval of five years, are being sent to Morocco to fight against the rights of a people.

"Make sure that our brother soldiers know that you call on them to fraternise with the Rifis; do not become the murderers of a people which is fighting on behalf of its freedom. French capitalists alone are your enemies. Turn your weapons on them! We are with you; follow the example of the Black Sea sailors! Do not let yourselves be slaughtered for something that is no affair of yours. A worker may not become the murderer of an insurgent who is fighting for his freedom. In Lefranc-Ripolin, where dyes are manufactured which were intended for the last war, when the shareholders pocketed scandalous profits, the workers are being disgracefully exploited, especially the colonial workers. Colonial workers are appointed at a wage of 2fr. 35c. and the French workers at 2fr. 75c. Does not bread cost the same for everybody? The French capitalists give everybody the same guns for the slaughter in Morocco. There are no hygienic arrangements in the tincture department; comrades leave the factories with the dirt on their bodies, because they are not able to wash it off. Why does the management delay to instal shower baths, to maintain the health of its slaves?

“Send a delegation of 100 workers to the Congress which the Committee of Action is organising in order to protest against the Moroccan war. All factories, all workshops, all building sites, must be represented at this protest Congress.

“For immediate peace with the Riffis!

“For the immediate military evacuation of Morocco!

“For the self-determination of the Riffis!

“For the defence of our children against murderous capitalism!

“Against continuous increase in the cost of living!

“Against new taxes!

“Without any further delay, make the united front a reality!”

This extract shows how factory nuclei combined a campaign against the Moroccan war with definite factory questions.

It is essential that the struggle against imperialist wars should be carried on in this manner also by the workers of other countries, and that contact on an international scale should be established between the workers in the most important factories. The first beginnings of such contact have already been created. However, it is necessary that systematic contact be established between German, French, Italian, British, Czech, Scandinavian, American and Russian factories. Not only should the correspondents from the factory workers give information about working conditions, about political conditions and experiences in the struggle, but it is also necessary that factory newspapers, factory wall newspapers and other such factory agitational matter, should be exchanged, and when greater struggles are being prepared, delegates of the factories in question should get into personal touch with the factory workers in other countries. Those sections of the Comintern, whose task it is to carry on propaganda in colonial territories, must endeavour to establish contact between the workers of the mother country and of the colonies.

#### **Political Activity of Nuclei.**

Former experiences of Communist nucleus work show us that the nuclei devoted too little attention to political life. They have still to learn to carry on the struggle of the workers in all phases and under all perspectives of the revolution. Factory nuclei can only gain the confidence of the workers and accumulate experience which is necessary for

the organisation of large-scale mass movements by the greatest activity in supporting the interests of the workers.

During the customs campaign in Germany there was a noticeable increase in factory agitation. An attempt was then made, by creating united front organs in the factories, to mobilise larger sections of workers under Communist leadership. If the results were only negligible, this is to be accounted for by the fact that political work in factories had hitherto received inadequate attention.

In Norway also there is a gradual vitalisation of nucleus work noticeable. From the following report we can note what progress has been made :

"There are 140 workers in the factory; 135 of these are organised in trade unions. The nucleus consists of 16 members, whilst the Tranmaelites possess 20 active people. As a result of the work of the nucleus, trade union organisation is under our leadership. Nucleus meetings are held regularly every fortnight at which party, political, trade union, economic, and in short, all kinds of actual questions are discussed. Even the article from *Imprecorr* was dealt with. (The comrades are delighted that comrade Zinoviev, in his speech at the Enlarged Executive on Bolshevisation, quoted reports from the Czech nucleus members).

"When the nucleus began work there were only six members, but now we are 16, and possess a circle of sympathisers. The nucleus has won authority by taking the lead in a strike and by discussing the daily questions concerning the workers."

#### An Austrian factory nucleus reports :

"In connection with the Hakenkreuzler murder in Mödling, a factory meeting took place at the instigation of our nucleus. A resolution was adopted and a half-hour protest strike resolved on.

"When comrade Eric Mühsam was refused admission by the Austrian authorities to attend a meeting of the Red Aid, the nucleus, after working hours, organised a spontaneous demonstration which was joined by other factories in the neighbourhood and a joint meeting was held."

#### An Italian factory nucleus reports :

"Discussions of a political nature took place in the nucleus on the occasion of the last provincial Party Congress, and about the tactics of the Party towards the fascists and the Aventino. Further discussions were held on economic struggles, increased cost of living, women's work, night work and hygienic conditions in the factory."

The last example does not stand alone, it could be supplemented by numerous reports from other sections of the Comintern. As a rule, nuclei participate in political campaigns of the Party when they receive several written and personal requests from the Party Executive. The chief task of the Party Executives at present consists in developing nucleus work in such a way that the nuclei develop the necessary independent initiative within the bounds of the Party decisions.

Regular publication of factory reports in the daily press makes it easier to secure subscribers in the factories and increases the sales of our papers outside factories. A workers' correspondent from Norway reports for example in respect of the activity of the nucleus as follows:

"Last year in June the nucleus decided that every nucleus member should order 20 Party newspapers in a certain week. These were to be sold during the midday break, between 1 and 2, outside the factory. In this way, we secured not only the sale of 20 newspapers, but also 70 or 80 workers in the factory as readers of our Party organ, because of the nature of their work. Further, the nucleus gained a net income of 420 kroner yearly, although we sold the papers only at 15 öre each. We are all agreed that this is the very best method of agitation which we could carry on."

Reports from other factories show that instructions were issued that every member should secure at least **one subscriber** within a given period. This method adopted by the nuclei to create a mass circulation of the Communist daily press creates a firm basis for the systematic winning of Party members. This workers' correspondent from Norway reports further:

"The propaganda of members in the nucleus was carried on in such a way that every nucleus member was commissioned to secure at least one member. Those who sympathised most with us were singled out and agitation was carried on amongst them until they were finally won over."

From the London district, the following report has been sent in as regards recruiting work:

"There are 249 members in the factory nuclei, of whom only 136 were Party members before work was carried on on behalf of factory nuclei. The remaining 113 were secured during agitation in factories within 4 or 5 months. That is to say, there has been an increase of 80 per cent. In the same period the 31 factory nuclei lost only seven members."

Successes such as these in recruiting in the factories are only possible if the Party members **consider recruiting work as a daily Party task**, and if they really understand how to sponsor the interests of the workers in their struggles against all daily difficulties. The factory is the most favourable ground for recruiting work generally, for there it is easiest to explain graphically to the workers by means of their own experiences the essence of Communist policy and the policy of our opponents. These advantages of our agitation in factories and propaganda generally necessitate that work of all branches of Communist activity should be carried out in factories. For this reason, in future more value should be attached to organising and influencing factory workers' meetings. These meetings are of greater importance for us than general meetings in residential districts.

Regular publication of factory nucleus papers is one of

the most important means of increasing Communist influence in factories. It is not said that the factory nucleus must be strong in membership before a factory nucleus newspaper is published. In the "Workers' Weekly," April 24th, we read :

"A few weeks ago, one comrade alone, in one of the biggest railway goods depots in London, started a factory paper. He prepared 150 copies of the first number, and these were given away to his fellow workers. So remarkable was its success that a large number of workers offered to pay one penny each for their copy, and of the second issue, 250 copies were sold. In addition, eight new members were enrolled for the Communist Party. Of the third issue, 420 copies were sold, and another comrade joined."

Another comrade reports about his work in a London railway station. He states that he prepares 200 copies of the factory newspaper, and distributes them. The demand for them was so great that another 200 had to be printed, and these were also eagerly bought up. 500 copies of the second number appeared and were sold out. Such examples show what successes individual active comrades can attain, and prove that it is necessary to publish factory newspapers for factories where no Communists happen to be employed. When this is the case, the nearest factory or street nucleus should get into contact with the sympathetic workers in this factory after working hours, discuss conditions in the factory, prepare the factory newspaper, and distribute it outside the factory.

*(To be continued.)*

## **YOUR CLASS AND PARTY NEED YOU.**

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

Therefore, **DO YOUR DUTY,**

**JOIN THE COMMUNIST PARTY NOW**

### **APPLICATION FORM.**

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

NAME.....

ADDRESS.....

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



# BOOK REVIEWS

*Economic Doctrines of Karl Marx*, by Karl Kautsky. Price 6s. net. (A. C. Black and Coy., 4, Soho Square, London, W.1.).

*The Austrian Revolution*, by Otto Bauer. Price 5s. net (special cheap edition. (Leonard Parsons, Devonshire House, London, W.C.).

*Social Struggles and Socialist Fore-runners*. 6s. net.

*Social Struggles and Thought* (1750-1860.) 6s. net. Max Beer. (Translated by H. J. Stenning). (Leonard Parsons, Devonshire House, London, W.C.).

*Socialism for To-Day*, by H. N. Brailsford. Cloth, 2s. 6d.; paper, 1s. (I.L.P. Literature Dept., 14, Great George Street, S.W.1.).

## KAUTSKY'S ECONOMIC DOCTRINES OF MARX.

As student, translator and theoretical exponent of the economics of Marx, Kautsky occupied a place in the front rank of the Second International in the pre-war days. His polemics with the Revisionists of the type of Jaurès, Bernstein, and MacDonald school of opportunists gained for him a world-wide reputation as Marxist theoretician. The part played by Kautsky in the present revolutionary period, however, is a warning to the whole working class movement, and none more so than the Labour movement in this country. A theoretical exponent of Marxist economics may prove as useful in the service of the bourgeois reaction as the most blatant parliamentary opportunist.

Our Labour movement in this country has had, and does have, many excellent exponents of the economic doctrines of Marx. Experience proves, however, that there is a big gulf between the re-state-

ment of Marxian economic doctrines and the translation of such doctrines into revolutionary political action through a political party. In other words, an exposition of Marxian economic doctrine is barren and worthless except it point the way to a Marxian political party.

This translation of the twenty-second edition of Kautsky's *Economic Doctrines of Karl Marx* gives us a re-statement and is a digest of "Capital" upon a wider scale than the useful Students' Marx of Dr. Aveling. The reader will find a summary of the chapters on Commodities, Money, Capital, Surplus Value, including the well-known sections on Primitive Accumulation and the theory of wages.

In the section dealing with the State Paper Money of the post-war period no attempt is made to do other than propound the problem. The reader will search in vain for an analysis of this very important phenomenon which has done so much to upset the pre-war notions as to the relations of paper money to State credit.

Similarly, when dealing with the Working Day, Kautsky hails the Washington Agreement (1919) as crowning "with success" the struggle for the 8-hours day, and raising it to the level of an "international law." The reader will be amazed, in face of the failure everywhere, outside the Soviet Union, to place the 8-hour day on the statute-book, to learn that he is asked to rejoice in this "international fact," which obviously exists only in Kautsky's imagination.

In political economy, as in all other sciences, there is no short-cut or royal road. If the student worker wants a correct understanding of the *Economic Doctrines of Marx*, he will

save time and energy by going straight to the master himself. Marx remains the cleverest and most concise exponent of Marxian economic doctrine for the student.

#### SOCIAL STRUGGLES.

To this useful series of books on the history of social struggles, volumes of which have already appeared covering the period of "Antiquity" and "the Middle Ages," Max Beer adds two others on "Socialist Forerunners" and "Thought" (the latter between 1750-1860.)

It is a tall order to attempt to take the reader, within the compass of 223 pages, each containing less than half the number of words in a page of this "Review," over the ground of the Dissolution of the Papal power, the Peasants' Revolt of Europe, the schools of "Utopian" thinkers of England, Italy and

France, and hope to give anything like an adequate picture of the events in such periods. It is not surprising that, to the student of history, the headings of the chapters are but the letters on a milestone, while the names of the great characters serve as a calendar to particular periods in history.

In the volume on local struggles and thought (1750-1860) the author is more successful. In limiting his period of inquiry the reader gets a more comprehensive picture of the economic revolution and the beginnings of the modern Labour movement which derived its impulse from the great changes brought about by the epoch-making inventions in industry. Here we get more than a dictionary of names and schools of thought. The quotations from documents and exposition of opinions gives the reader a graphic picture of the times. In this volume the erudition of Max Beer as historian and Socialist is seen to advantage.

