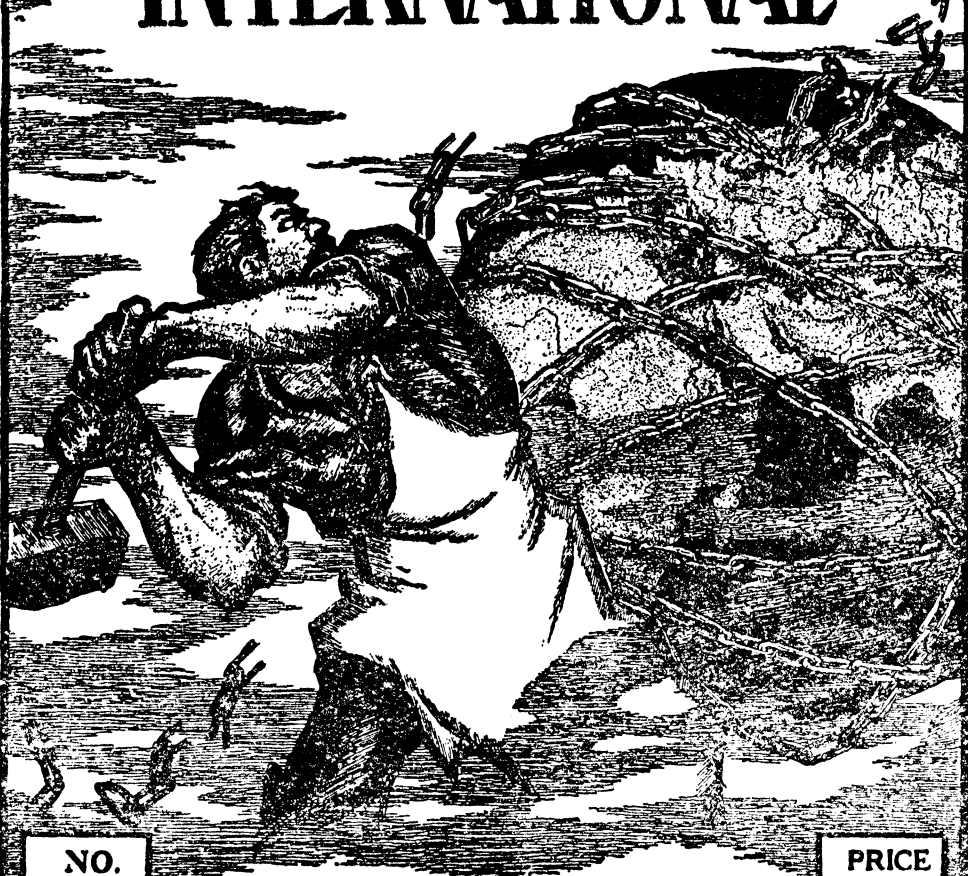


**WORKERS OF THE WORLD
UNITE!**

THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL



NO.
8

February 1925

PRICE

Monthly Organ of the Executive Committee of
THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

THERE
c a n b e
no better
preparation
for the study
of the

Report of the V Congress of the
Communist International
(NOW IN THE PRESS)
than a thorough acquaintance
with the

Report of the IV Congress
of the Communist Inter-
national *1s. 6d. (1s. 9d post free)*
along with the

Resolutions and Theses of
the IV Congress : *price 1s.*
(1s. 1½d. post free)

Copies can still be
obtained from

THE COMMUNIST BOOKSHOP
16, KING STREET, COVENT GARDEN,
LONDON, W.C. 2

¶ The above are obtainable at all Communist Party
offices in England, Ireland, South Africa and
Australia, and from the offices of the Workers
Parties of America and Canada.

The
**Communist
International**

ORGAN OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE
COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

Appears simultaneously in
English, Russian, French
and German

Publishing Office :
Leningrad, Smolny, 63. Tel. 1.19.

Editor's Office :
Leningrad, Smolny, Zinoviev's Cabinet

THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

*Organ of the Executive Committee of the Communist
International*

ENGLISH EDITION

NUMBER 8 NEW
SERIES

C O N T E N T S

Seven Years : The First Anniversary of the Revolution without Lenin <i>G. Zinoviev</i> - - - -	3
The British Working Class after the Elections <i>R. Palme Dutt</i> - - - - -	13
Lessons of the Election in England <i>A. Martinov</i> -	36
The Negro in America <i>James Jackson</i> And Editorial Comment - - - - -	50
The Georgian Adventure <i>A. Martinov</i> - - -	55
The First Stage of the Civil War in China <i>Semenov</i>	74
France Since the Fifth Congress <i>Albert Treint</i> -	82
The Situation in Yugo-Slavia <i>Boshkovitch</i> . -	95
Book Reviews - - - - -	102

Seven Years : The First Anniversary of the Revolution without Lenin

I. The International Situation.

IT happens that on the seventh anniversary of the October Revolution, history itself has marked a new phase in the international situation of the Soviet Union. The recognition of the U.S.S.R. by the bourgeois French Republic marks the conclusion of a chapter in international politics. Compare the international situation of the Soviet Republic as it was seven years ago and now ! How far off are the days of Noulens and Buchan ! How distant does the period of blockade now seem ! Noulens is no longer on the territory of the U.S.S.R. ; but in his place as our guest, Marty, rescued from penal incarceration by the French workers, who wholeheartedly sympathise with our cause.

Seven years ago the first victorious workers' revolution seemed to hang by a hair, but a little distance from the great centre of the revolutionary movement, Red Petrograd, the armies of brutal German imperialism were entrenched. The agents of the Entente powers lurked in Petrograd, Moscow, Odessa and Baku, waiting for an opportunity to strike a blow at the Russian Revolution with the help of the Socialist Revolutionaries and the Mensheviks, whose services were always at their command. Buchanan in his memoirs described how on the morrow of October 25th the Avksentevs and the Rubnevs sneaked with upturned collars to the British Ambassador to discuss with him measures against the "Bolshevik barbarians."

In this seventh year, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is recognised practically by all Europe, including the chief imperialist powers, England and France. This indeed marks a stage. This is indeed the end of a chapter.

The hatred of the imperialists of the West for the Soviet Revolution has in no way diminished. No, of that we need not complain. But the fact is that the relation of forces has changed. The U.S.S.R. plus our allies (the working class) within the surrounding bourgeois states of Europe have become a power which European imperialism cannot crush. In

principle, the imperialists have not even now rejected the blockade—but their grasp is too short.

In the sphere of international politics there are two main fronts to our revolution—in *the West and the East*. Of these, the first was, and still is, the most dangerous for the proletarian revolution. The Western front—we speak of bourgeois Western Europe—is the most dangerous because there the bourgeoisie is the richer and most powerful and territorially in closer proximity to our Union. The imperialist bourgeoisie of the West was the greatest menace to the first triumphant proletarian revolution, and to a certain extent still is. Baldwin and Churchill, who have again come to power in England, require no inducement to injure the U.S.S.R. But their ability to do so is limited. The antagonisms between England and France are again increasing. A “united front” of the bourgeoisie is less likely than ever. The class consciousness and class solidarity of the British workers is increasing.

The “democratic-pacifist” era has collapsed. The U.S.S.R. never believed and never based its hopes upon its permanency. The real relation of forces is changing—though slowly—in favour of the international proletariat.

The line of the united front has become much straighter, and considerably shorter. Attempts to break our Western front are still probable. Of this the victory of the Conservatives in England speaks only too eloquently. Nevertheless, in the seventh year our situation on the Western front is much easier.

On the Eastern front—we refer to the Near and Far East, of Persia, Japan, India, etc.—the seventh anniversary marks considerable progress for our revolution. The recognition of the U.S.S.R. by China and the mutual inter-change which is beginning between the Soviet Union and China is a fact of world-wide historic importance, even we have underestimated the significance of this event. It is only now becoming apparent. Vladimir Ilyitch, especially in the last years of his life, repeatedly reminded us that the fate of the world revolution will be settled finally in the East, with its hundreds of millions of people, the majority of mankind who are mercilessly oppressed by a brutal imperialism. This must inevitably call forth a revolutionary movement in the East. The recent events in the East mean that the first vast army of mankind to emancipate itself from the yoke of capitalism—the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics—is beginning to establish vital relations with the armies of the Near and Far East. A living contact is growing up between the peoples

of the U.S.S.R. and the peoples of the Far East. The time is rapidly approaching when the first hundred million of emancipated mankind will be joined by other hundreds of millions. The events which have recently taken place in China are, so to speak, an historical sign—but there is an indication which is becoming ever more distinct—that the historical fate of the chief sections of mankind will develop in the direction foretold by Comrade Lenin.

In the sphere of international politics, therefore, we clearly visualise the following conclusions :

(a) Considerable improvement and shortening and straightening of the line on the western front.

(b) In the East a promising beginning; contact between the peoples of the U.S.S.R. and the hundreds of millions of toiling mankind of the East who will determine the fate of our planet in the next epoch.

II. Comintern.

The world revolution began seven years ago. That its final completion will be delayed for several decades is now obvious. It is also obvious that not only within the epoch of world revolution but also within each separate decade of that epoch, there will be an inevitable process of flux and reflux. Vladimir Ilyitch was right when he spoke of *transitional periods within the transitional period*.

The Comintern, as an official organisation, has been in existence for a little over five years. In order to fulfil its historical mission, and even in order to maintain its first decisive victories, Comintern requires far more time than was anticipated by any of us at the beginning of its work.

Without a Bolshevik party there can be no proletarian revolution. That is an indisputable axiom. And yet the Comintern is only just proceeding to the serious bolshevisation of its parties. It demanded several years before even so simple a matter as the re-organisation of our parties on the basis of factory and workshop nuclei was undertaken.

The first years since the great October Revolution have been very stormy; several bourgeois revolutions have taken place in Central Europe, and several crowns have been removed by national movements from the heads of European monarchs. Moreover, we saw the beginnings of great mass, purely proletarian, movements—the uprising of the Spartacists, the revolutionary movement of the Italian workers, the powerful strike wave, unprecedented in its violence

which swept over the whole of Europe, and a new rising of the German workers in March, 1921. This was followed by two years of comparative calm; and then in 1923, we find the first signs of a new rising revolutionary movement—the events in Bulgaria, Poland and Germany.

The so-called “democratic-pacifist” era is fading before it even blossomed. Class contradictions far from diminishing are becoming more acute. American “ultra-imperialism” is not reconciling contradictions but aggravating them. Kautsky in his time uttered a good deal of nonsense about the miraculous powers of American “ultra-imperialism.” But he has proved to be a poor prophet.

The wiseacres of the Second International, who promised to solve, by peaceful means, the “social crisis” which is tormenting Europe have been grossly exposed. The Second International has lost Britain as a sphere for its “peaceful” experiments by the fall of MacDonald, and has so far won only Sweden (the coming to power of Branting). This is symbolic. During the nine months in which the British Labour Government existed, the full force of reformism was clearly exposed. The advocates of “constitutional Socialism” promised to “ameliorate” the class struggle and even to abolish it entirely. The only result has been that the class struggle in England has become still more acute. The British “experiment” will be a valuable lesson for the working class of England and of Europe.

The British working class is becoming gradually revolutionised. Slowly, but surely, the ground is being prepared for the creation of a real mass Communist party in England. Small though the British Communist Party is at present, it is assured of a great future. The disintegration of the Labour Party is now inevitable. The dissatisfaction with the Right leaders is bound to increase. The time is not far off when the British Communist Party will lead under its banner large masses in the camp of the British trade union movement. The names of the handful of careerists and renegades who deserted the British Communist Party because it could not at once promise them seats in Parliament, will be entirely forgotten. The historical mission of the Communist Party of Great Britain, which to many now appears to be an insignificant body not worthy of attention, will inevitably be fulfilled. The next most important task of the Comintern is to create a *mass* Communist Party in Britain.

There is a type of “revolutionaries” who think that since the pace of development of the world revolution has

slackened, the Comintern must be wrong and should be "criticised," who are continually whining about "crises," and at the slightest provocation, consider whether they should not pass over into the camp of the enemy. Heaven protect us from such revolutionaries! It never occurs to these people (who are sometimes mistakenly called Communists and even "bolsheviks") that *just in the period when the development of revolutionary events slackens is it most important to remain Bolshevik*. There are at the present time many who would like to be regarded as Leninists, but to whom it never occurs that the accusations of "sectarianism" and "narrowness" which they cast at the policy of Comintern come from the same source as the similar accusations which were cast by the Russian Mensheviks—and not by the Mensheviks alone, but also by certain "leftists"—at Lenin in the epoch *between* the two Russian Revolutions.

The policy of the Comintern is to let these "critics" and doubters say what they like and to pursue its own path—the path of true Leninism. We have not been pampered in the last few years by too many victories and striking successes. We have experienced several lost fights. Our next task is the difficult but great and satisfactory one of creating real Bolshevik parties throughout the whole world. The Comintern has tucked up its sleeves and is working in this cause. Real Bolsheviks—and they are now to be found in almost every part of the world—will assist this work and not whine because progress is slow. And let the doubters and those whose political evolution is again on the wane, stand aside. When the days of toil are succeeded by unmistakable revolutionary revival, the Comintern will again be besieged by those who want to help . . .

The path of the Comintern is the true path. The decisions of the Fifth Congress are being confirmed by every fresh event in world politics, and in the international working class movement; *for the path of the Comintern is the path of Leninism.*

III. The Working Class and the Peasantry.

Nobody on the seventh anniversary of the October Revolution, now doubts that the economic situation of the U.S.S.R. has improved, that our industry is steadily expanding, that the monetary reform has succeeded, that our financial position has been strengthened, that the working class is steadily being consolidated, that the de-classification of the proletariat is ceasing, that the material condition of the workers is slowly but surely improving, that the well-

being of the villages—although not as quickly as might be desired—is nevertheless increasing—in a word, that the economic life of the Union is reviving. The first great successes in the sphere of economics have already been achieved.

The economic successes are still not very great, *but they are beyond doubt. That is the chief result of the period through which we have just passed.* The consciousness that progress has undoubtedly been made in this decisive sphere is a fundamental determining factor in the spirit of the country, of the working class and the Party. The ice has been broken.

The whole life of our state is determined by the relations between two classes—the proletariat and the peasantry. Of course, the other sections of the population, the intellectuals, the petty-bourgeoisie, the new bourgeoisie, and the remnants and rudiments of a third class, are not without their importance. The content of these elements must naturally be taken into account. It is only a disturbance of the equilibrium in the relations between *the two fundamental classes*, which may be pregnant of serious consequences, and, as Comrade Lenin used to say, may under unfavourable circumstances be even fatal. This we must not allow ourselves to forget for a moment.

When, seven years ago, our party won over a majority of the proletariat, the central question in the revolution was, would the proletariat, headed by our party, succeed in securing the support of the peasantry? It did succeed, and the revolution triumphed. Now, on the threshold of the eighth year of the revolution, we are in fact confronted by the same fundamental question, but in a different form. *The relation between the proletariat and the peasantry still constitutes the decisive factor of the revolution.*

For five years there was civil war. Not only did the masses of the workers understand that the struggle was being fought so that the factories might remain in the hand of the proletariat, but the peasant masses also understood that the civil war was being fought so that the land might remain in their hands. The Communist Party, which led the working class, at the same time, led the agrarian revolution, and in the eyes of the peasantry was the party which was leading them against the landowners in the fight for the possession of the land.

Roundabout 1922, a new period began. The agrarian revolution was on the whole ended; the civil war was over. Life in the towns and in the villages was diverted into econo-

mic channels. The peasantry concentrated on economic pursuits.

This fact created new relations between the working class and the peasantry, to which Comrade Lenin in his speeches and articles more than once referred. The task before the party which is leading the working class is to demonstrate to the peasant that better than any other party it is capable of helping him in restoring his homestead, of supplying him with cheap textiles, of making the prices of necessaries, correspond with the price of foodstuffs, and of creating good national schools and a proper and cheap Soviet apparatus in the villages.

"The Soviet Government is all right—but cloth is dear." This remark is characteristic of opinion in the villages. Still worse criticisms are to be heard in the places where the county and rural district Soviet bodies are not all that they should be, where our village nuclei are weak and where bribery, drunkenness and official abuse flourish.

"The worker can now buy grain from the peasants at pre-war prices. Why can't the peasant buy goods at pre-war prices?" a peasant from the Province of Vladimir asks in a letter. This question is being asked by every peasant. Our large and medium industry must be rapidly improved and strengthened. More and more attention is necessary in this fundamental sphere. Proletarians, hegemon of the revolution, remember this essential duty, for otherwise the leadership in the revolution will inevitably pass from your hands!

We must not conceal the fact that the situation in the villages is often not an envious one. Certain features of the recent events in Georgia (where local motives *predominated*, but, where *general* motives characteristic not of Georgia alone, undoubtedly played some part) the trial of the murderers of Malinovsky, and the various cases of attacks upon village correspondents, demonstrate clearly that the party must lay its ear to the ground and listen attentively to the conditions developing in the villages.

It is not only a question of declaring merciless war on the three scourges of the present-day village—bribery, drink and official abuse—but of doing everything in our power to assist the rapid *economical revival* of the countryside, to provide it with the essential products of town industry, and to create in every village, urban district and county, a real, *i.e.*, an honest and cultured Soviet authority.

As the well-being of the village improves, this latter task will become increasingly urgent, since the demands of

the village in every sphere are growing and will continue to grow. The demand for organisation is growing. Here, too, we must be in the forefront. The recently concluded plenary meeting of the Central Committee of our party lent to this question all the emphasis that it deserves. *On the threshold of the eighth year of the Revolution, the central political problem is to create truly healthy and normal relations between the proletariat and the peasantry of the U.S.S.R.* It is our duty not in word alone, but in deed, to stimulate the local Soviets, to secure contact with the non-party peasants and in particular to give greater representation to the non-party peasants on our rural, district, county and provincial Soviets as well as on all of our central union bodies. For months and for years we must work with the object of establishing closer contact between the peasantry, the working class and our party. We must flood the villages with good books, (it is a shame that in spite of the growth of our publishing houses they print anything but popular books for the masses which should be poured into the villages in millions). That is the one task above all others.

Let us remember the peasantry! Let us turn our faces towards the village! Let us work to create and to strengthen the true relations between the proletariat and the peasantry, to which Lenin exhorted us. Work among the peasantry is the central question, it is the link which we must grasp. Let us especially bear this in mind on the seventh anniversary of the revolution.

IV. The Party.

In our article written a year ago on the occasion of the sixth anniversary, we dealt almost exclusively with certain weak points manifested in our party. During the past year the party was shaken by a storm of passionate discussion. Our enemies foretold the disruption of our party, or at least a split. Nevertheless, it emerged from the discussion strengthened and improved. The Leninist recruits poured fresh and healthy blood into its veins.

We must not be carried away by official optimism. We are far from desiring to give the impression that everything is as it should be. It would be an illusion to believe that the petty bourgeois opposition which was defeated in the discussion has definitely and finally surrendered. Certain literary productions of the last few days prove eloquently that this is not the case. It would be a still greater illusion to think that in our country, with its great petty-bourgeois class, the conditions which engender petty-bourgeois deviations have disappeared. Danger of degeneration undoubtedly exists; it is bound up with the conditions of the new economic policy.

Only the strengthening of the *Socialist* elements in our economic life, only the increase of big industry and consequently of the industrial working class, can act as an antidote to this danger.

The dictatorship of the proletariat in our country under present-day conditions is bound up with two main dangers. The first is the danger of petty-bourgeois envelopment, the danger that the Communists may be submerged by the bourgeois "non-party" elements, who, to a certain extent, hold sway in the Soviet apparatus, the danger of the advocacy of the "emancipation of the Soviets from the party," the attempt to confine the party merely to propaganda and agitation, and to deprive it of the real control over the economic life of the country. In a word, what has been facetiously called "the separation of the church from the state." The second danger is the danger of the Party becoming isolated from the masses owing to an incorrect interpretation of the dictatorship and a too stereotyped exercise of the dictatorship—the failure to understand how to approach the masses and especially the peasants, and an attempt to replace the Soviets by the Party.

The Party of Lenin clearly perceives both of these dangers, of which the first is undoubtedly the more serious. At any given moment the Party concentrates its attention upon the danger which according to circumstances becomes threatening on any particular "section of the front."

Let us confess the truth: the bolshevisation of the Communist Parties is necessary not in Western Europe alone. Even our own Party, the Russian Communist Party, is still not completely bolshevised. We have a large number of Communist peasants and Communist students to whom the Party must devote itself for a long time to come. The 200,000 workers who have just joined our ranks are undoubtedly excellent comrades and the hope of our party. But they will become complete Bolsheviks and true Leninists only after the lapse of a period during which they have accumulated sufficient experience in the Party organisations, in the trade unions, and in the Soviets, and have passed through a period of serious training within the ranks of the Party.

There is much work to be done. The work of training is now being carried on not at all badly; but the task of getting the rank and file members of the Party to take practical part in the Soviet and economic organisations is proceeding very slowly. In this respect there is much left to be desired.

Nevertheless, we have achieved much during the past year. On the seventh anniversary our Party is a stronger

and more consolidated, a *more Leninist* Party than it was on the sixth anniversary.

There is a good and bad side to everything. The recent party discussion was not without its advantages. But the duty of the Party now is not only to prevent new discussions, but finally to liquidate the remnants of the last discussion. The irreconcilable oppositionists and fractions must remain generals without an army, but the comrades who were guilty of error but who have not conscientiously accepted the decisions of the 13th Party Congress must be drawn completely into Party work at all costs. The persistent propaganda of Leninism has borne good fruit even among the students among whom, for reasons easily understood, there was once considerable wavering.

The complete bolshevisation of our Party; unflagging work among the workers who have newly joined our ranks in order to make them true Leninists real Bolshevik unity in our party, i.e., unity on the basis of the principles of Leninism—such are the tasks on which our Party enters in the eighth year of the revolution.

V. The First October without Ilyitch.

This is the first October without Vladimir Ilyitch, the creator of the October Revolution, the recognised teacher and leader of the workers of the world.

Is it possible to imagine the October 1917 Revolution without Comrade Lenin? Can we imagine our Party without Ilyitch, or Ilyitch without our Party?

A year ago, Vladimir Ilyitch was still living. In fact, a certain improvement in his health had taken place. Our entire country of workers and peasants awaited further news of improvement with beating heart. They waited and hoped.

The bitterness of our loss is felt with exceptional keenness at the present moment when every Bolshevik is reviewing the path we have already trod, and is trying to lift the veil of the future in order to get a glimpse at the path which lies before the world proletariat.

The most abstract ideas once they become the property of the masses are transformed into mighty forces. Still more is this true of ideas such as those of Lenin. The idea of Leninism is penetrating ever deeper into the vast masses. The great foresight of Lenin is being confirmed on every hand. On the anniversary of the October Revolution the Communists of the whole world gather in thought before the mausoleum of Lenin. Under the banner of Lenin the world Party of Leninism will triumph. G. ZINOVIEV.

British Working Class After the Elections

THE collapse of the MacDonald Labour Government brings the British working class face to face with the question of leadership in the sharpest form. The complete failure of the Labour Party, not only to realise any of its promises as a government, but even to lead the workers in an electoral combat against the bourgeoisie, is laid bare beyond concealment to every serious worker. The politics of MacDonald have ended in simple bankruptcy. This is the fact which sticks in the mind, after all the "explanations" have been made. The bourgeoisie is stronger and more united and compact than ever before. The working class is disorganised, divided (by MacDonald's own hand), bewildered in lead, and wholly unprepared to meet the new offensive that is directed against them. The golden palace of dreams of "conciliation" and "a new spirit," which MacDonald and his colleagues held out before the workers, has vanished at a turn of the magician's wand and given place to the most open and brutal class politics, for which the Labour Party has left the working class helpless and disarmed. The MacDonald Labour Government, which was hailed by all the supporters of the Second International as a "bloodless revolution" and the opening of a new era for the working class, has ended in—and actually smoothed the way for—the strongest and most open government of bourgeois class dictatorship in modern British history.

The workers have now to face a powerful and extreme reactionary government; and they have to face it under the leadership which has proved itself unable and unwilling to put up the slightest fight against the bourgeoisie, and which instead has divided the ranks of the workers themselves.

What is to be the line of the British working class in the new period? What are the lessons of the MacDonald experience, and how far will they be learnt? How are the workers to meet the new capitalist offensive?

These are the questions which must be answered.

The Fall of the MacDonald Labour Government.

Why did the bourgeoisie get rid of the MacDonald Labour Government after eight months?

The MacDonald Labour Government existed only by the will of the bourgeoisie. The bourgeoisie set it up and the bourgeoisie could knock it down for it had neither parliamentary majority, nor mass support outside Parliament. At a sign of the hand the bourgeoisie were able to dismiss it. It is true that Mr. MacDonald himself ran away very suddenly at the sign of the hand (to the surprise and consternation of many of his supporters) and showed himself suspiciously eager to surrender a burden that he had just described to an interviewer as "perhaps too heavy for any man." Nevertheless the immediate decision of dismissal was taken by the bourgeoisie. In the eyes of the bourgeoisie the MacDonald Labour Government had failed.

What was this failure?

Had the MacDonald Labour Government changed its policy and decided to attempt to fight the bourgeoisie instead of being their servants. Nothing of the kind. The Labour Ministers were never more abject in their protestations of humble servitude to the bourgeoisie than immediately after their dismissal. On the very eve of their dismissal they were engaged in carrying out the direct orders of the bourgeoisie in endeavouring to drive out the Communist fighters from the working class movement. Even on the immediate issues, on which the bourgeoisie chose to chastise them, the Communist prosecution withdrawal and the Soviet Treaty, they showed themselves ready to eat any amount of dirt and come as near as was possible to disavowing their own acts.

The dismissal of the MacDonald Labour Government was not due to any antagonism in principle between MacDonald and the bourgeoisie. Indeed the leading bourgeois representatives were the most concerned to make clear that they had no quarrel with MacDonald and his Ministers as such, but only with what they described as "the forces behind them."

The failure of the MacDonald Labour Government was that they were unable to control the working class.

The bourgeoisie put the Labour Government in office on a very definite calculation, which was made perfectly clear in the successive statements of the Party leaders, Asquith and Baldwin, on the nature and purpose of the

“experiment” they described themselves as making “under the safest possible conditions.” The situation was one of very great economic instability, of difficulty in policy both at home and abroad, of capitalist weakness and division and of a rising and challenging working class movement witnessed in the revival of strikes and the growing four million Labour vote. In this dangerous situation, to continue to let the growing anger and resentment of the inevitable failure and difficulties in front fall upon the head of bourgeois ministries was to invite the deluge. It was necessary in accordance with the traditional policy of the English bourgeoisie to draw over to themselves the leaders of the approaching forces, and by seeming concession to them to lull the awakening masses, to divide and dishearten their own supporters, to use them to combat and discipline all rebellious elements far more intimately and effectively than the bourgeoisie themselves could do, and finally by letting the brunt of the inevitable future failures fall upon them instead of upon the bourgeoisie to discredit them and throw them aside when their purpose was served. This was made perfectly clear by Mr. Baldwin in his statement to the Unionist Party Conference in February in justification of his sudden dissolution of 1923, which led to the Labour Government coming in.

“It was on unemployment that the Labour Party relied on coming to power within two or three years. Their calculations were that discontent in the country coupled with want of action on our part would have swept them into power and us out by 1926. And I believe myself that that would have happened, and I believe, in spite of the losses in this election, that we shall emerge all the stronger and able to bring to pass a great victory about the time when in my view nothing but disaster could have overtaken us.”—(*Times*, 12/2/24.)

Mr. Baldwin's calculation has been justified by events. Mr. Asquith was no less clear in his illuminating statement to the National Liberal Federation in June, when he justified his action in putting the Labour Government in, for which he had “no regret,” as the wisest step to forestall the danger of a real Labour Government based on a Labour majority and committed to endeavouring to carry out the Labour programme. The calculation of the bourgeoisie was set out with cold precision by the leading Conservative journal, the *Observer* :—

“There is, we believe, no modern case in any

country where Socialism by taking office has not been weakened in the constituencies."

The calculation of the bourgeoisie was in effect as follows: "We are in a difficult corner. Let us try the experiment of putting MacDonald in office. MacDonald offers us class co-operation, no strikes, and to work hard at disentangling our mess. Splendid. In the first place, he will work hard for us, taking us round our difficult corner and putting through one or two nasty jobs of foreign and colonial policy, while keeping the workers under control and making them accept our policy. And in the second place his working for us will disorganise and discourage the working class movement and the colonial revolutionary movements that have all begun to look to the Labour Party as their champion against us. Thus we win both ways. We carry through our policy, and at the same time we break up the forces against us. The more he succeeds, that is, does our work, the better for us. The more he fails, that is, shows his incompetence, the better for us. Of course, there are dangers that he may not always hold the fort against the troublesome working class elements behind him, but in that case we have our policemen, Baldwin and Asquith, ready to keep control. And for a short time a little spiritual eloquence from MacDonald is just what is wanted, till we are ready, as the workers are beginning to show a nasty temper."

How did the experiment work?

MacDonald certainly did work hard for the bourgeoisie. On that score they had no complaint against him. In fact they were rather surprised, and a little amused, at the ardour with which he flung himself into the role of Imperialist patriot and statesman, proclaimed himself a "Conservative of the Conservatives," and at endless banquets, functions, royal levees, naval reviews, etc., extolled the glories of the far-flung empire and its all-powerful navy. All the essential tasks—suppression in India, Irak and the Sudan; increase of naval and air armaments; pressure on France to get the French out of the Ruhr and enforcement of the Dawes' Plan; opposition to strikes and use of anti-strike legislation—were ungrudgingly performed. It was not here that MacDonald failed the bourgeoisie. On the contrary they were lavish in their praises. He was universally acclaimed as "the greatest Foreign Secretary since Granville or Salisbury, or at any rate, Grey." The City was equally satisfied with the Labour Government.

"There has never been a Chancellor of the Exchequer," declared Mr. Snowden, "who is so worshipped in the City of London as I am (laughter), and I am taken seriously when I say so. Some days after my Budget was introduced there was a movement on foot in the City of London to collect subscriptions to erect a statue to me."

But how about the other part of MacDonald's function to keep the working class in order? Here was the Achilles' heel of the Labour Government, and here arose the growing dissatisfaction of the bourgeoisie which led to its fall.

MacDonald proved unable to substantiate his promise to carry through a policy of class conciliation, that is to say, to tie the workers to the bourgeoisie. The workers refused to be tied. The class struggle went on, in spite of MacDonald.

The bourgeoisie had hoped for an Industrial Truce as the price of a Labour Government. However, in spite of the diligent propaganda of certain leaders, no progress was made with this, and the Minister of Labour had apologetically to announce that although good progress was being made with arbitration, "it seems absolutely impossible at present to dream of any compulsion." On the contrary, the very outset of the Labour Government was marked by a national strike on the railways which almost imperilled the entry into office and proceeded in open defiance of the appeals and the threats of Labour Ministers.

The workers showed themselves little disposed to listen to the Labour Ministers' exhortations to keep quiet and leave everything to them. Strikes, unofficial and official, broke out and developed in the face of Ministers' protests; and even though the whole propaganda machine of the Independent Labour Party was turned against them, it proved of no avail, and the I.L.P. organ had the pleasure of hearing itself officially condemned on the floor of the Trades Union Congress. A trade union "left-wing" tendency developed, which revealed the rising spirit of the workers and showed itself ready to be critical of the Labour Cabinet. Rank and file Labour M.P.s' demands for control of the Labour Cabinet became more insistent, and working class pressure began to show signs of deflecting policy. Even the I.L.P. began to show signs of pressing advanced programmes on the Government, and through their chairman to criticise the Prime Minister for inaction. The prospects of the Labour Party Conference, which was postponed to

October, looked stormy. MacDonald's attack on the left became more and more unreserved and bitter, culminating in the famous preface to his "Constructive Socialism," which launched out wholesale at the policy of "public doles, Poplarism, strikes for increased pay, limitation of output," as nothing to do with Socialism, complained that workmen are tempted to forget that they are all members of a "social unity," and declared that the "Socialist looks with some misgivings upon some recent developments in the conflicts between Capital and Labour. They are contrary to his spirit; he believes they are both immoral and uneconomic, and will lead to disaster."

What does this mean? It means that MacDonald is at war with his own followers. It means that MacDonald, instead of being able to lead, is in open conflict with the working class movement, and not only that, but in impotent conflict in which he is reduced to mere scolding (for Poplarism goes on just the same, strikes for increased pay go on just the same, in spite of the Preface), that he is unable to control his own rank and file. The Labour Ministry is proved without influence over the working class.

But from that moment MacDonald and the Labour Government lose their value for the bourgeoisie. Of what use is their faithfulness to the bourgeoisie, if they are unable to control the working class? If the working class is going forward to conflict in spite of them, and is not lulled by their magic into inactivity, then it is necessary to meet them with a firmer weapon than the MacDonald Government, and the time has come for a "strong" Government.

No doubt MacDonald preaches against strikes. But if strikes are to happen all the same, a firmer hand is needed to wield the Emergency Powers Act than the nerveless hand of MacDonald, afraid of his own followers.

No doubt MacDonald carries through faithfully the increase of armaments, the colonial suppression and the Dawes Slave Plan. But the agitation of the working class movement continues against all these. What is spoken at the Labour meetings? The Labour meetings are calling for the ending of the Versailles Treaty (and even Henderson accidentally lets slip the demand after he has become a Minister). The cry of Hands Off the Indian Workers meets with universal support. The Trades Union Congress reveals unanimous opposition to the Dawes Plan. Even the official *Daily Herald* has to throw over the Air Secretary, Leach, to the wolves and solemnly upbraid him for his "militarism."

No doubt MacDonald willingly institutes the prosecution of a Communist. But the entire working class movement and press protests against it, and MacDonald has to agree to a withdrawal—against his own wishes, as he afterwards declares.

No doubt MacDonald is faithfully carrying on the Russian negotiations in the spirit of a representative of British capitalism. But the spirit of the British working class in this matter is very different, and the class instinct of the bourgeoisie smells danger.

If the working class movement is going to develop in just the same way as if the MacDonald Ministry were not there, then from the point of view of the bourgeoisie the MacDonald experiment has begun to fall, and it is time for a change.

From that moment the MacDonald Government is doomed. Its use to the bourgeoisie is gone, and at the same moment the workers are beginning to lose confidence in it. Its fall is only a matter of moments.

MacDonald begins to lose nerve and make concessions to the working class agitation. First, the Soviet Treaty. Then Campbell.

The bourgeoisie seize on the issues to demand his death.

The bourgeois policemen, Baldwin and Asquith, step forward with a "time to Go"—and MacDonald disappears.

The petty bourgeois government has been crushed out between the growing class struggle of the bourgeoisie and the proletariat.

2. The Election Betrayal.

MacDonald's only chance, now that he had been forced out into the struggle, was to place himself at the head of the workers' forces in the electoral fight against the bourgeoisie.

The Labour Party Conference, overjoyed at the prospect of a contest and the end of the sickening compromises and delays, received MacDonald as their leader with a salvo of applause and the singing of the "International" and the "Red Flag" (which drowned the official attempts to lead the delegates into the pacific strains of "England Arise"). All his sins were forgiven him, and the voice of criticism from the Opposition (save for the Communist fraction) was stilled. MacDonald besought the delegates to "sleep in their armour" (forgetting his dislike of "metaphors from con-

flict "); and the delegates departed to the contest, little knowing that the heaviest blows on their armour were going to come from—MacDonald.

For now arose the crowning betrayal of the MacDonald leadership against the working class. When the workers, in spite of the failures and betrayals of the Labour Government, were advancing to the conflict with more energy and enthusiasm than ever before, and the whole election was taking on the character of direct and open class conflict, the MacDonald leadership, in official control of the workers' forces, not only refused to face the plain issues of the struggle, to meet the attack of the bourgeoisie and to place a clear fighting programme before the workers, but actually did everything possible to conceal and distort the issues and deny their own programme, to the confusion and dismay of their own supporters and the bewilderment of the working class electorate; confined their propaganda almost entirely to apologies and appeals on their own behalf to the bourgeoisie for mercy to themselves as good servants of counter-revolution, to the disgust of all the militant working class elements; actively disorganised, sabotaged and spread disunity in the working class ranks, and finally in the supreme crisis of the struggle themselves directly and openly supplied the bourgeoisie with the heaviest munitions against the workers for the defeat of their own side with deadliness of effect which was only possible because the blow was seen to come from the workers' own leaders.

It was the official Labour leadership which disorganised the workers' front in this election far more effectively than the bourgeoisie directly could have done.

At the very outset of the election the MacDonald leadership began the campaign with an ominous step—the expulsion of the Communist working class elements. This decision was carried by a bare majority of 300,000 (the voting was doubtful) in 3,000,000, and would have certainly not been carried but for the system of block voting. Along with this went an instruction to all local Labour organisations to refuse to sanction Communist candidates.

It was a characteristic and significant fact that the working class movement refused to accept this ruling and directly repudiated it in action. The workers, who knew from experience the services and sacrifices of the Communist fighters in their daily struggle, and were more than a little suspicious of the lords and ladies who were now being brought forward as "their" candidates, had no inclination to take notice of

an open campaign of disruption in the midst of a fight. Six of the eight Communist candidates in the field went forward with the backing of the local Labour organisations, but under the ban of the National Executive. The seed of disunion had been sown—by the MacDonald leadership.

But the disruption by actual expulsion was only a symptom of the whole process. The real disruption of the workers' side was in the whole propaganda and conduct of the campaign.

The propaganda and conduct of the electoral campaign by the Labour Ministry was a complete abdication of leadership.

There was no attempt to rally the workers to any programme (even to such programme as they had) or to lead them in their fight against the bourgeoisie. Instead the principal propaganda of nearly all the leaders of the Labour Party consisted of appeals and apologetics to the bourgeoisie on their own behalf as defenders of capitalism against the danger of revolution. The workers' cause was deserted.

They forgot their own programme. An electoral programme was published (a programme in which the capital levy disappeared, and nationalisation passed into a mass of verbiage, which even the Federation of British Industries declared need cause no premature alarm); but a glance at the principal leaders' speeches would show that the Labour Party's electoral programme was not the programme on which the election was fought by the Labour Party, and probably very few of the electors knew what was in it.

The Federation of British Industries sent a polite questionnaire to ask if the Labour Party stood for nationalisation. No answer was apparently received up to the election.

A junior Minister made reference to the Capital Levy. Immediately enquiries followed as to whether it still represented the Labour policy. According to the press, enquiries at the Labour Party headquarters elicited "no reply." (The majority of the Labour Minister in question was one of the very few increased Labour majorities in the election).

Even the immediate issues on which the election was called could not be faced because they were class issues, and had to be denied or concealed or distorted. The Campbell case was a "mare's nest" and Campbell was "misunderstood" to be a pacifist. The Soviet Treaty was apologised away to such an extent that we actually find the

Chancellor of the Exchequer suggesting that it would be "years" before there would be any question of a loan.

Thus the official Labour Party had not even the courage to stand on its own platform. The workers' fight was left unled.

But when it came to the propaganda of capitalism, the Labour Ministers vied with one another to show their zeal.

In the face of the attacks of the bourgeoisie, who deliberately and to drive them into a corner treated them as a "Menace" and "Reds" and "concealed Bolsheviks" and "tools of revolution," they answered, not with counter-attacks on the bourgeoisie and open championship of the working class (then their position would have been a strong one and the bourgeois campaign would have played into their hands), but with weak apologies and self-excuse and display of their merits in the service of capitalism and attacks on the militant elements among their own supporters.

The theme of almost every speech of the Labour Government followed two principal lines:—

First, that they had shown themselves "fit to govern," *i.e.*, to carry on capitalist administration in the same way or "as well as" Curzon or Lloyd George.

Second, that they were the principal bulwark against revolution.

And this was propaganda to win the working class! It was a pitiful picture, revealing to the very depth the utter state of paralysis reached by the Labour Party. The Labour Government was driven out by the bourgeoisie on working class issues which it secretly detested, and was afraid in public either to disown or to defend. And now it was appealing to the working class on capitalist issues, which could only disgust every honest working class element, while winning them the contempt of the bourgeoisie. Such was the fate of those who sought to span the gulf of the classes in a period which has small mercy on such shame. The epitaph of the Labour Party as the leader of the workers was written in the election campaign.

Because they were not ready to face the issue of revolution they were driven the whole way to open counter revolution.

As the heat of the election increased, as the cunning bourgeois campaign drove them more and more into the

opposite camp to the workers, their final speeches became veritable hysteria of counter revolution.

"The deadliest enemy" of the Labour Party, declared Sidney Webb, is—capitalism? The bourgeoisie? No—"The Communist Party."

"The programme of the Labour Party," proclaimed Henderson in his Final Election Appeal, "is the best bulwark to violent upheaval and class war."

"Who it is that has stood against Bolshevism?" cried MacDonald. "Liberals have contributed nothing—Tories nothing. All the work has been done by Labour leaders and Labour Party leaders . . . When they had to be met at international conferences, it was not Liberals or Tories that went—we went there. We faced them and fought them. If there is any menace . . . the one safeguarding Government is the Labour Government."

It is well that they have made such open avowals of counter-revolution.

At the last moment in a flash the situation was revealed to the whole Labour movement by the issue of the forged Zinoviev letter.

The heaviest "bombshell" of the whole bourgeois press campaign against the workers came from the hand of their own chief. The letter that was sent to the Soviet delegation came from his own hand. The whole weight of its effect came from his authority. Whether he had overreached himself in the zeal of his anti-Communist propaganda or acted with deliberate intent, whether he had let himself be fooled by his permanent officials or not, is of no importance save from the point of view of the psychology of MacDonald. What matters is that the responsibility for the document which proved the heaviest blow against the working class in the election rests with him, who up to the last never disavowed it ("We are not ashamed") but even held it up as a trophy of his devotion to the last to the counter revolution.

The bewilderment now extended, not only through the whole Labour movement, but to the very Cabinet themselves. MacDonald's own ministers were contradicting one another, and in doing so discrediting him the more. The disorganisation of the working class forces was complete. The inner picture of the Labour Party was exposed to the workers in the fierce light of the elections.

This was the situation in which the official Labour Party went into the election.

The Zinoviev forgery—that stab in the back alike of the Russian working class and of the British working class—was the final and symbolic gift to the workers of the MacDonald Labour Cabinet.

In such a situation of confusion and contradiction on the "Labour" side, faced with a United Front of the bourgeoisie employing every weapon against the workers, the most striking fact of the result of the election is not the landslide of Conservative gains (which was in any case exaggerated by the artificial and tricky character of the "democratic" electoral system in Britain), but the fact that the Labour vote reached a total of $5\frac{1}{2}$ millions, showing an increase of over one million on the previous year. Although too much stress must not be laid on this increase, which certainly included a proportion of Liberal and petty bourgeois votes, the total figure may be taken as showing that the organised workers held firm in the election and did not allow themselves to be turned back by the confusion of their leaders. (The principal regions of the Labour vote, where the seats were successfully held against the bourgeois attack, were the strongly organised industrial areas of the Clyde, South Wales and the North East; the principal losses were the unorganised country areas and the "mixed" London constituencies.)

That the workers, apart from the national lead, were ready and determined to fight and go forward, was overwhelmingly shown by the municipal elections which followed, within a few days and revealed sweeping Labour gains. It was the national lead that conspicuously failed.

Ten and a half million electors voted for open bourgeois candidates. Over half of these electors must have been workers. The Labour Party had failed to divorce the majority of the workers from the bourgeoisie. It had failed to divorce them, because it had done nothing to divorce them; it had done nothing to show them that their interests were separate from the bourgeoisie, but instead had done everything to ally them to the bourgeoisie and foster their faith in every illusion of bourgeois politics. It had said "Vote Labour" as it might have said "Vote Blue." It had said, "Vote for Socialism" as it might have said "Vote for Heaven." But it had never proclaimed to the workers that their interests were irreconcilably in conflict with the bourgeoisie, and shown itself in daily practice as the leader and

champion of their fight against the bourgeoisie. Instead its candidates had presented themselves as simply an alternative party, rival aspirants for parliamentary and ministerial honours on the backs of the working class promising paradises as usual and in office carrying out the old, old story; weak, fawning copies and imitators of bourgeois politics, without the glamour and prestige with which wealth and power could surround the bourgeois leaders. And so in the year 1924, ten years after the horror and exposure of the world war, with one and a quarter millions unemployed, and in the midst of growing privation and suffering of the whole working class, the majority of the workers could still vote for open bourgeois candidates, preaching an open policy of class oppression of the working class.

3. The New Government and the British Working Class.

The question before the British workers now is: How are they going to meet the coming period?

They have now to face a government of open class reaction, which is untrammelled by any parliamentary or constitutional "checks"—that is to say, that can claim to act fully in the name of "public opinion" and "democracy." Against that claim the Labour Party which has bound its own limbs by the chains of bourgeois democracy, can put up no opposition.

The Labour Party has just signally proved itself a broken instrument in the hands of the workers to protect their interests or lead their fight. For the workers to trust it now to look after them in the coming period of reaction and oppression would be the height of open and self-confessed folly.

Even if the Labour leaders wished, they could put up no fight against the new reaction. How can they denounce armaments and militarism and imperialism, who have themselves maintained and extolled them? How can they criticise the government's failure on unemployment, who have themselves confessed their impotence? How can they combat the use of emergency powers and anti-strike legislation, who have themselves employed and defended them? How can they attack class justice and the secret police, whom they have themselves used and protected against the workers? Even if they would try to do it, their tongues are tied. Their own past rises up against them. They would discredit any cause they attempted to maintain. In the *New Leader*, the

Independent Labour Party organ, the editor, Brailsford writes :

“We have lost office. We have won the right to be ourselves.”

Mr. Brailsford is mistaken. They have not won that right. Even if they should attempt to exercise it, their own past words and acts would bind them more than gags and chains, and make their words a mockery.

But, in fact, the Labour Party lead has shown itself to be, not only not in opposition to the bourgeoisie, but, by the final episode of the Zinoviev forgery, to be in open alliance with the bourgeoisie even in the crisis of the workers' electoral struggle. Therefore, it must be obvious to every worker that any opposition they may put up in the new period will only be a sham opposition of words in the parliamentary manner. To trust to them to look after the workers' interests is to walk over a precipice open-eyed.

What, then, must the workers do? It is obvious that they will have to fight in fact, and that their fight cannot be leaderless. Should their aim, then, be to effect a “change of leaders” within the Labour Party in order to conduct a more effective fight against the bourgeoisie? A short consideration of the situation will show that such a formulation of the immediate task is wholly inadequate.

The Conservative Government is based on an absolute parliamentary majority. This means that, so far as the constitutional position goes, they can do whatever they like to the workers for four years (and if the internal position is serious, they may even extend their term, as the war parliament did) and the workers must submit without question.

The Conservative Government will clearly use their opportunity to the full. They will make haste, while the immediate prestige of their “victory” and its stupefying effect is strong, to carry through the measures and directions of policy on which they are most set.

These directions of policy are sufficiently clear. The principal task for which the new government is set in power is the suppression of revolution—in India and the colonies, against the Soviet Republic and against the British working class. In India, where the national revolutionary movement has grown strong through the disillusionment from MacDonald, they will put in force the measures already initiated by MacDonald for its violent suppression by martial law, special courts and imprisonment without trial, as well as the campaign against the beginnings of the workers' movement.

and Communist propaganda initiated by Macdonald in the Cawnpore trials. Against the Soviet Republic the bourgeoisie is manifestly preparing a concentration of forces, of which the Zinoviev forgery of MacDonald is clearly a link in the chain, although the strategy of the campaign internationally is still obscure. Against the British working class the bourgeoisie will undoubtedly take every step that they dare in their present opportunity to strengthen their position for the approaching conflict, and to weaken and paralyse the organisation of the workers. An active campaign against Communist propaganda will be only an extension of the policy of MacDonald; and it will probably depend on the temper of the working class, as well as their own estimate of the immediate prospects of development of the Communist Party, whether the British bourgeoisie will range itself alongside the American in proclaiming the Communist Party illegal. Against the Trade Unions the bourgeoisie will certainly wish to carry through the legislation already promoted by the Conservative Party, for limiting the action of Trade Unions in politics, restraining picketing, and possibly limiting or delaying the right to strike in "essential services."

The second task of the new government is the preparation of war. The Anglo-French rivalry over the body of Europe; the deeper Anglo-American rivalry over the exploitation of the world; the conflict with Turkey and the Moslem world in the Near East and the Middle East; the campaign against the Soviet Republic; the struggle in China and the Pacific; all these contradictions and conflicts of world capitalism will be taken up at the point at which they were left by MacDonald, and carried forward with a "strong" imperialist foreign policy. The preparation of armaments needs only to be carried along the road already marked out by MacDonald in respect of cruisers and the air force, and the only new development becomes the resumption of the Singapore base.

The third task of the new government is the carrying through of the world capitalist offensive against the workers, expressed in the Dawes Plan, involving in the first place the enslavement of the German workers and on that basis the driving down of wages and lengthening of hours for the British workers. Here again the foundations have been laid by MacDonald.

How are the workers to meet these measures?

The Labour Party is not only already committed to almost every one of them, but is in addition *constitutionally*

bound (both by its own constitution, and still more by the sacred "constitution" of the British bourgeoisie to which it has sworn allegiance) to accept and support every one of these measures once the Conservative Government has carried them through, and to assist in *imposing* them on the working class by promoting and defending them against any opposition of the workers, combating any attempt at resistance, and translating instead the opposition of the workers, into an innocuous parliamentary campaign. This becomes the role of the Labour Party in the new period in relation to the bourgeois government of class oppression. Already at the outset we find this illustrated in the first speech of J. H. Thomas after the election, in which he advises the workers to "accept" the "entry of a Baldwin-Curzon-Churchill Government without a murmur.

On the other hand the workers will certainly not be disposed to accept the new government and its measures without a murmur. The increase in the Labour vote makes clear that the workers are still firm and even advancing. They are not conscious of defeat, but rather of being balked by the trickeries of a "democratic" election system that gives to a Conservative minority vote a more than two-thirds majority of seats, by the lavish propaganda and sensation-mongering of the bourgeois press acting in conjunction with the whole bourgeois official machine, and by the mistakes and weakness of their own leaders. All these reflections are not conducive to quiet submissiveness and constitutionalism, even before the actual measures of the Baldwin Government have begun to arouse opposition. In addition the economic offensive of the capitalists, combined with the already desperate condition of the miners and other workers, points to the certainty of sharp struggles. Thus the coming period may confidently be stated to be a period of *growing unrest*, comparable in certain respects to the period 1919-21 when also a reactionary government had been established by a "trick" election to the resentment of the workers.

The bourgeoisie are perfectly aware of this, and calculating upon it. One of the new Ministers, McNeill (an old Ulster desperado), declared immediately after the election:—

"They might be certain that the forces of revolution which had been scotched at this election would not take their defeat altogether lying down, but would attempt to create disturbances, economic, industrial and possibly physical. Those who had studied what had been going on, both in this country and elsewhere, knew the terrible danger that might arise even from an insignificant minority."—(*Times*, 31/10/24).

Not only the bourgeoisie, but equally the Labour Party and trade union leaders are aware of it and looking forward with apprehension.

Thus the political correspondent of the Liberal bourgeois *Manchester Guardian*, always in close touch with the Labour lead, writes :—

“ It is a question of how to conduct the Government so as not to provoke a swing in the Labour Party and the trade unions away from political action to direct action and semi-revolutionary methods. That fear is not confined to the Conservative Party. It is, I know, shared to the full by responsible trade union political leaders.”—(*Manchester Guardian*, 1/11/24.)

What does this mean? It means that on the one hand the masses are moving forward to struggle, and on the other the Labour Party is compelled by its whole character and position to place itself in opposition to them. The process of *separation* of the workers and the Labour Party lead (or in other words, of decomposition of the Labour Party in its old form), already visibly developing under the Labour Government, is carried a whole stage forward on the new period. The Labour Government still possesses a hold upon the workers as the representative of their awakening claim to power. The Labour Party in the new period becomes only an obstacle between the struggle of the workers and the open bourgeois government.

Thus a position is reached in which it is demonstrably visible to the workers (because the bourgeoisie have themselves temporarily dealt a smashing blow to the parliamentary illusion) that the *only* possible path of struggle of the workers is the mass struggle outside Parliament. But such a struggle *cannot* be led by the “constitutional” democratic Labour Party. The workers are, therefore, *compelled* to seek for a new leadership for the struggle which they will actually be waging.

The Labour Party is accordingly faced with the following alternatives : either to develop further along the line of a “constitutional” democratic party, and come increasingly in opposition to the workers, and openly surrender their leadership; or to endeavour to maintain contact with the masses by adapting itself, putting forward “left” leaders, adopting semi-revolutionary phrases, etc., all of which can immediately be brought to the test of action. In this way a process of differentiation begins, in which “left” leaders come to the front, and are themselves subjected to the test of events, while the masses are compelled to search for the real leadership that will meet their needs.

What must be the character of such a leadership? Can the workers achieve it by changing certain "leaders" in the Labour Party, getting rid of MacDonald, putting in some men who will make "stronger" speeches, carrying certain resolutions on policy, etc? Obviously not. What is needed is something more than a question of new leaders in the Labour Party, or the adoption of certain resolutions. What is needed is a leadership of *actual struggle*, such as the whole character of the Labour Party unfits it to provide. The Labour Party is not based on any programme of struggle that enables it to unite and lead the workers; but instead is only a loose electoral machine of "all views"; and in so far as it has any homogeneous character as a party, it is the character of a social democratic party which is inevitably in opposition to the workers.

The leadership that is needed is a compact united leadership of class struggle that can take up every form of mass struggle as parts of a single fight to organise the whole force of the working class against the bourgeoisie. Only such a leadership can help the British workers in the coming period.

But such a leadership is and can only be the leadership of a mass Communist Party.

Not the "constitutional" democratic Labour Party, but only a mass Communist Party can lead the British workers in their coming struggles. This is the supreme signal of the present period both for the British Communist Party and for the British working class.

The role of the Communist Party must be made clear to the British workers to be not simply the role of a propagandist force within the Labour Party and the trade unions for the adoption of certain "views." The role of the Communist Party is the role of the alternative leadership of the British working class, which the British workers must themselves build up and realise to replace the failure and decomposition of the Labour Party. This is the fact which must be proclaimed on every side. Out of the ruins of the old democratic electoral association, which was the prey of every petty bourgeois opportunist and adventurer, must arise the solid disciplined force of the mass Communist Party of the future, and of the workers fighting under its banner.

If we fail to make this clear, we sink into a "left-wing" of the Labour Party—at the very moment when the Labour Party as such is separating itself from the working class, and the call is for just such an independent leadership as only the Communist Party can provide. The absolute independence

of the Communist Party is the vital point for the future of the working class in Britain. The remains of the "left-wing of the Labour Party" conception must be wiped out; and the whole of our propaganda no less than the character of our participation in current struggles, must be directed to the supreme issue.

It is necessary to show that it is not sufficient to attack certain leaders, to call for a "more energetic" policy, etc., but that the supreme task is to forge in struggle an actual new leadership and a solid fighting force which can alone hew out a way for the workers. It is necessary to show that the Labour Party and the trade unions are by their nature *incapable* of leading the struggle of the working class in the present period, and in relation to the actual forces of the bourgeoisie and that such an effective struggle can only be waged by a solid phalanx of workers fighting under a united revolutionary lead such as can only be realised in a mass Communist Party. It is necessary to conduct such a criticism of every individual "left" leader, and of every halting uncertain semi-revolutionary advance, at the same time as pressing forward action to the utmost, as to compel the realisation of this conclusion, alike by every measure of success, and still more by every successive failure.

The role of the Communist Party becomes of special importance in relation to the "left" leaders, whose emergence from the front is the reflection of the movement of the masses away from the old leadership.

The situation of the new period is obviously favourable to the development of the left. As in each previous "rising" period, the cry is for more militant leadership, and the constitutionalists and parliamentarians pass into the background and other elements (sometimes the same in a new dress) come to the front. In the present case, the constitutionalists and parliamentarians will be all the more under a cloud, not only because of their visible impotence, but also because of the shadow of the Labour Government's record and their failure in the elections. The principal part will fall to those trade union leaders who had already begun to mark themselves as a nascent "Opposition" under the Labour Government, and of the miscellaneous militant elements in the Labour Party. This left will now be brought to the test of events. In the period immediately in front the concentration of the Party will need to be far more specifically directed to this left, its ideology and actions (Hicks, Purcell, Cook, Maxton, etc.), than to MacDonald and MacDonaldism.

It is necessary here to note that, so far as ideology and expression go, none of these left elements have so far shown

any difference in principle from MacDonald and the right-wing. In fact the so-called Opposition is not an opposition at all in any ordinary understood sense of difference in programme, opposing platforms, direct controversy, etc. So far as expression of opposition is revealed, it is revealed in a concealed form—as “temperamental” rather than theoretical, as based on opposition of “industrial” to “political,” etc. This, of course, only reflects, the so-called “non-theoretical” character of the English movement—that is to say—its complete subjection to liberal bourgeois ideology, with the result that the only differences are differences between opportunists. The truth of this (which is essential to understand to prevent misreading of the English movement) does not, of course, diminish the importance of the actual movement of the masses which a given section of the opportunists may be attempting to exploit. The left, in fact, (that is to say, the opposition tendency in the labour bureaucracy) may be analysed as varying between two types: in the first place, the very skilful practical opportunists, quick to respond to the mood of the masses, while careful to avoid reaching any decisive point; and in the second place, the elements who, while under complete theoretical bondage to all the conceptions inculcated by MacDonald, Webb, etc., are nevertheless honestly desiring to stand by the working class and assist their struggle.

It is this left whose leadership will now be brought to the testing of events; and it is the process of this testing which must bring the masses to the Communist Party.

But at this point arises an extreme danger—the greatest danger of the coming period. It inevitably follows from the character of the left that they have not the necessary clearness or cohesion to lead, to form a united force or to carry out serious planning or preparatory work. At the same time they are easily able, owing to the weakness of revolutionary development in England, and to the authority and prestige of their positions, to win the ear of the masses with a handful of phrases and promises, and so to gather the rising movement of the masses to themselves and then to dissipate it in a comic opera fiasco.

This was the experience of 1919-1921. The revolutionary tide was then, of course, very strong. The “militant” elements among the leadership were to the forefront; the loyal British constitutionalists” were at a discount; the Labour Party took on a semi-revolutionary colour in the Council of Action; the trade unions held before the masses the painted dreadnought of the Triple Alliance. But because there was no revolutionary party, because, that is to say,

there was no serious revolutionary lead or line of contact with the masses, the whole outcome of that period was a complete frittering away of the revolutionary energy of the masses, and their subsequent shepherding back, exhausted and beaten, to the leadership of the right-wing.

Against this danger the only safeguard of the workers is the Communist Party. Here is defined the supreme specific task of the present period. The Communist Party must make it *impossible* to repeat the bitter experience of 1919-1921—the frivolous dispersal and ultimate betrayal of the growing unrest of the masses. The Communist Party must conduct an unceasing ideological warfare with the left, exposing from the outset every expression that betrays confusion, ambiguity, vain bravado, frivolousness, opposition to actual struggle and practical subjection to the right-wing. The Communist Party must press forward every direct expression of struggle to the practical tests of immediate action or preparation. And alongside of this the Communist Party must the whole time press forward the constructive problems of real leadership and mass action: the responsibility of organising the common struggle, the necessity of facing the bourgeois state, and above all, and through all these questions, the impossibility of achieving a real united lead and action save in the ranks of a mass Communist Party acting as a section of the Communist International.

This is the heaviest responsibility which rests on the Communist Party in Britain in the present period. The Communist Party has, in fact, to show itself, not only in claim, but in fitness, the real alternative leadership of the British working class.

If the British working class is to escape from a repetition of 1919-1921, in the coming struggles, only the Communist Party can make this possible.

This is the fact which the bourgeoisie sees with absolute clearness, and, therefore, is at this point turning all its guns on the Communist Party, small as it is, as the one real danger to its power. *The only real alternative to the "leaderlessness" of the existing working class struggle is the Communist Party.*

Therefore, the whole bourgeois strategy is directed to separating the Communist Party from the organised working class, in the hope that in this way they may keep the working class in their control. This was the dominating issue behind the whole crisis of the election and the inner crisis in the Labour Party which accompanied it.

The whole crisis of the election, no less than the con-

duct of the election itself, was in effect nothing else than a continuous dialogue between the bourgeoisie and the Labour Party as to the best way to deal with the danger of Communism—that is, of the revolutionary workers.

Two quotations may be taken to illustrate this from the massive stream of the universal and persistent bourgeois campaign. One is from the Conservative leader, Baldwin :—

“The fight must come between the Prime Minister and these extreme elements . . . Until the Labour Party can purge itself in the eyes of the country of the extremist element, it can never play its part as it desires to do as a patriotic and constitutional party. . . Let the Labour Party rise up and expel this foreign anti-English element.”

The other is from the Liberal headquarters questionnaire to the Labour headquarters demanding “proofs of action in opposition to Communists and Communism ” (to which the Labour headquarters meekly replied by quoting the conference expulsion decisions) as proof of faithful service to the bourgeoisie :—

“What steps have the Labour Party taken to advise Labour Party voters to vote against the Communist (*i.e.*, for bourgeois coalition candidates) who is, if Mr. MacDonald is to be believed, the worst enemy of the Labour Party?

“What effective steps are being taken by Mr. MacDonald or the Labour Party to purge the Labour movement of those who are carrying on what is for all practical purposes the same propaganda? (*i.e.*, the left-wing).

What does this mean? The bourgeoisie are cracking their whips demanding expulsion, expulsion from the Labour Party, expulsion from the trade unions, expulsion of the semi-revolutionary elements, driving the leaders by their campaign (“either for us or against us,” “either Bolsheviks or counter-revolutionaries”) into open counter-revolution.

The more the bourgeoisie drives the leaders to open counter-revolution, the more they are separating them from the working class, the more they are driving the workers into our camp.

As inexorably as the Communist Party places before the Labour Party the alternative either to abandon its policy of coalition with the bourgeoisie, or else to surrender all

claim to the leadership of the workers ; so no less inexorably the bourgeoisie places before the Labour Party the alternative either to break all contact with the militant working class, or else to lose the privilege of partnership with the bourgeoisie.

The Labour Party has reached the point when it can no longer carry on its task of the concealment of class antagonism. The time is at hand for the British working class to shake themselves free from the unspoken alliance with the bourgeoisie which has been imposed on them from above. And when that time comes there is no further place for the Labour Party as it exists to-day.

The Labour Party was an attempt to combine two contradictory things—working class organisation and Liberal bourgeois politics. It marshalled the workers against the Liberal Party, and taught them to separate themselves from Liberalism and Conservatism. In so far as it did this, it performed the first historical step towards divorcing the workers from the bourgeoisie. But it did not teach the workers to separate their interests from the bourgeoisie, and herein lay the seed of its failure. Liberalism, slain in form in the Liberal Party, revived in fact in the Labour Party. To-day the Liberal Party is dead, and the Labour Party appears to stand triumphant in its age-long objective as the sole “progressive” party. But the hour of its triumph is the hour of its fall. For the situation is no longer the same. Liberalism can no longer perform its ancient task of concealing class antagonism in an epoch of declining capitalism, worsening conditions, world war and revolutionary struggle. However much the Labour Party may try to carry on the banner of Liberalism, it has had to admit already within itself, in order to establish its hold, the fatal class principle in its basis on working class organisation ; and this is the rock upon which it will break. All the confusion and cross-purposes and paralysis of the election campaign was only the expression of this contradiction in its culminating stage.

The days of the old comprehensive, democratic Labour Party, with its contradictory banner of “independent working class politics” and “no class antagonism,” are drawing to a close under the relentless pressure of the class struggle in Britain.

The next period of British working class history is the period of the mass Communist Party.

Lessons of the Elections in England

THE elections in England opened amid several favourable indications for our Party. With the energetic assistance of our Party, the Left-wing movement in the trade unions was increased, as evidenced at the trade union congress at Hull. Our Party has established for itself a firm support in the "Minority" movement which adopts our platform. In August a national "Minority" conference was held, which was attended by 270 delegates representing 200,000 workers. And this "Minority" group is steadily gaining influence in the trade union movement, among railway men, metal workers, builders, etc., etc.

A certain crisis was also manifested in the attitude of the workers towards the Labour government during the last months of its existence which was evident in the growing discontent of the active proletarian elements with its policies : it was only under pressure from the workers that MacDonald was compelled to dismiss the accusation against Campbell, to renew the interrupted negotiations with the Russian delegation, and to conclude the Anglo-Russian agreement. This Left-wing tendency of the working masses in England found its reflection also in the Labour Party, in which a Left-wing began to form, although it is still weak, bloodless and unenduring.

A good indication for our Party was the fact that the Liberals joined the Conservatives in defeating the Labour Government in Parliament, and for no other reason than because the Labour Government proved unable to check the growing influence of Communism upon the British workers. The fact that the British Liberals and Conservatives formed the united front against the Labour Government on no other grounds than the Anglo-Soviet agreement and the case of Campbell, the Communist, could serve as the most telling argument for the masses of the workers in England, because it clearly showed that the bourgeoisie were not afraid of its vassal MacDonald, but of the wicked Communists with whose influence MacDonald could not cope when in power.

In spite of these favourable indications, and the very energetic electoral campaign, the Communist Party of Great Britain got only 55,000 votes in the election, losing votes in comparison with the previous election. If we continue to make such slow progress (I speak of progress because the membership was, after all, increased by 1,000 during last year), then it will be only in the remote future that we shall be able to transform our British Party into a mass Party.

The results of the election may to a considerable extent, but not exclusively, be explained by the fact that our Party in Britain is still young and small in numbers, that it made its first appearance in the election as an independent political party, that it could not be sufficiently prepared for the election, that the election had caught them unawares, and that the Labour Party clogged its wheels by expelling the Communists from the Labour Party on the very eve of the election and by starting a bitter campaign against the Communist Party. A much smaller part was played by the forged "Zinoviev letter," because it is stated by observers of the election that the forged letter threw only the petty-bourgeois elements into the arms of reaction, while the masses of the workers from the very start entertained no doubt that the letter was a forgery.

In view of the results of the election, such as they are, our Communist Party in Britain must seriously ponder over the question: how to accelerate, what political tactics would bring us nearer to this goal? Some comrades try to explain away this loss of votes as compared with 1923 by saying: "The relatively larger vote polled by us in the 1923 election is to be explained by the fact that some of our candidates were not real Communists then, and did not come forward as such, and later on quit us altogether." If this were the explanation of the results of the election, we would be led to the uncomfortable conclusion that the more our Party purges itself of the undesirable opportunist elements, the more it will lose at the elections. Happily, however, I think that such is not the case. That by floating with the stream, that by obliterating our differences with the Labourites we might now have gained an easy victory, is a fact that needs no argument; had we altogether become Labourites, we would together with MacDonald, have gained a million votes. But we can see clearly the other side of the picture. We might have gained considerable success in the election if we had fully retained our independence and revealed our Communist countenance, but on one condition that while a small party

in Britain to-day, we should nevertheless have come out as the acknowledged leaders of the Labour movement of to-morrow, and the rulers of the country of the day after. We should have taken advantage of the present political situation to demonstrate to the British working class by concrete examples the proper way to the proletarian conquest of power, to which even now the masses are instinctively aspiring; we should have taken advantage of the situation in England and throughout the world to raise concretely the question of the conquest of power by the working class, and to state clearly our Communist point of view; we should have explained to the workers that in England, in this classical country of parliamentarism, the entire political atmosphere just *compels* the proletariat to start on the road of revolutionary mass actions.

What were the main obstacles which hindered us from gaining the adherence of the masses of the workers in Britain during the election, and what was the new political situation which our party should have utilised to overcome these obstacles?

MacDonald, well acquainted with the moods of the labouring masses in Britain, knew the obstacles which prevented the spread of Communism in Britain and he made clever use of that knowledge when finding himself in a predicament. Finding himself between two fires, between the growing pressure of the masses of labour from the Left and the bourgeois parties from the Right, MacDonald made haste to dissolve Parliament, and on the eve of the general election, at the Labour Party Conference, he succeeded in getting the Communists expelled. What did MacDonald expect by acting in this manner? He expected that in the turmoil of the election, with the Communists isolated, he would succeed in breaking the Left-wing opposition in the Labour Movement and in the Labour Party, that in this atmosphere he would succeed in temporarily obliterating all the internal dissensions in the Labour movement and unite the whole working class on one slogan: "Vote for the Labour Party, for its candidates, against the bloc of the bourgeois parties; subordinate all your actions to the one purpose of gaining the greatest possible number of mandates for the Labour Party." MacDonald's expectations were fully realised. Comrade Pollitt writes in one of his articles:

"At the Labour Party Conference all the 'leaders' of the Left-wing—Newbold, Price, Wilkinson—kept

silent. Not one word of criticism. The atmosphere of the elections had hypnotised them; such a solemn moment was not to be marred by any criticism levelled at MacDonald. Without a murmur they permitted their resolution on the Dawes Report to be withdrawn from the agenda. Newbold, the deserter from Communism, addressed the conference with a homily, in which he extolled the wisdom of 'our leader, Mr. MacDonald,' although a week prior to his quitting the Communist Party he had called MacDonald in our paper 'the bootblack of Pierpont Morgan.'"—(Translated from the Russian.)

A similar hypnotic influence was exercised by the election upon the masses of the workers. We are told by comrades who took part in the election campaign, that the election meetings organised by the Communists were gladly attended by the workers, that the workers at these meetings expressed themselves in full agreement with the criticisms levelled at the policies of Labour Government, but—they said—now was not the time for falling out; now that the Liberals and Conservatives are united against us, we must sink our differences among ourselves and vote solidly for Labour candidates. This goes to show that those elements of the working class in Britain who are at all interested in politics are strongly imbued with parliamentary illusions. They already have a strong appetite for power, but they entertain the most naive ideas as to how power could be obtained. Many workers in Britain were dissatisfied with the policies of the Labour Government and with its assistance in the carrying out of the Dawes Plan, with its refusal to carry out the economic programme adopted at the Hull Congress, with its failure to attack courageously the questions of unemployment and housing, with its imperialistic policies in India, Egypt, etc. But these workers found extenuating circumstances in the fact that the Labour Party had no majority in Parliament. They hope that after gaining a majority in Parliament, the Labour Government will be able in the peaceful parliamentary way to carry out a number of pure Socialist reforms. Even the advent of the Labour Government in 1923 they explained solely by the fact that the bourgeois parties had retained their loyalty to British parliamentary traditions; that it was fully in accord with tradition to offer the formation of the Government to the Labour Party, which obtained a relative majority in the free trade bloc which had gained a combined majority over the Tory protectionists.

Arguing in this way, they dreamed that in the future, having gained an absolute majority in Parliament, the Labour

Government, while strictly observing the principles of British parliamentarism, would be able to start upon the peaceful realisation of socialism by legislative methods. The workers were encouraged to hope for the realisation of this happy dream of the absolute parliamentary majority in the near future by the fact that the Labour vote at the polls had constantly grown in recent years.

MacDonald utilised more cleverly this parliamentary fetishism of the masses as the keenest weapon in the fight against the Communist peril, and in the fight against the growing dissatisfaction of the workers with his opportunist policies.

Against this strongest support of the Labour Government, against the deepest parliamentary prejudices of the workers in Britain, our Party must wage a vigorous campaign. But how can these prejudices in Britain be overcome? The British workers are empiricists. They would be but little convinced by mere criticism of parliamentary fetishism, by a mere statement of our theory of the revolution, and of the State and the proletarian dictatorship. In order to help the masses assimilate this theory, our comrades should start from the concrete facts of present-day reality in Britain. Are there any such striking facts in England to-day? Yes, there are.

The crisis of traditional British parliamentarism was revealed already immediately after the declaration of war, when the importance of the House of Commons was tremendously reduced and the dictatorship of the coalition government was established. In our present turbulent times the parliamentary crisis has entered upon a new and extremely acute phase. From the moment that the Labour Party was defeated in Parliament on the question of the Campbell case, and subsequently during the election from the moment that the Liberals surrendered to the Conservatives, it became clear that a new political situation had arisen in England which might furnish our Party with the strongest weapon against the Parliamentary illusions of the British workers. Already in the first days of the existence of the Labour Government, the bourgeoisie divulged the secret that it had allowed the Labour Government to come into power not from any loyalty to parliamentary traditions, but on the grounds of cool capitalist calculations. Asquith stated that the bourgeoisie can allow MacDonald to stay at the helm as long as it could continue its "quiet sleep," without feeling any shaking of the foundations of capitalism. Baldwin spoke with even greater

frankness when he stated that his Party had deliberately permitted the advent of the Labour Government, because this was the best method to discredit Socialism. Thus the advent of the Labour Government was not due to the observance of formal parliamentary traditions, but to the cunning calculations of the British bourgeoisie which had found itself in a difficult situation requiring the adoption of new methods for the hoodwinking of the masses of the workers. When the Labour Government had fulfilled the task set to it by the bourgeoisie—the carrying out of the Dawes Plan—and when its further existence appeared dangerous to the bourgeoisie because it had shown its weakness of resistance to pressure from the working class, the bourgeoisie decided to turn it out of office, and to this end it sent to the devil all the old traditional parliamentary squabbles. The British Liberals, which had long since lost their economic ground under the recent economic evolution in Britain, had been nevertheless strong enough in 1923 to wage a successful fight against the Conservatives on the question of free trade, now that the spectre of Communism had appeared in England, they unhesitatingly surrendered their position to the Conservatives and voluntarily retreated before them along the entire electoral front. This unprecedented collapse of Liberalism in Britain—the chief bulwark upon which British parliamentarism rests—is extremely symptomatic. It is an indication of how the British bourgeoisie would behave if the Labour Movement had gained in strength; it shows also how naive those workers are in Britain who think that Socialism can be brought about in the peaceful parliamentary way.

Not only the collapse of Liberalism, but also the furious campaign of falsehood and calumny so successfully developed by the British bourgeoisie in the course of the election campaign (which took advantage of all its numerous organs of the press and of its mighty bureaucratic apparatus, even to the extent of forging letters) has shown to some extent to what measures the bourgeoisie would resort in case of any real danger of the capture of power by the working class, and that the working class could not think of gaining real power in a peaceful parliamentary way, but rather by revolution and bitter fighting with the bourgeoisie outside of Parliament, and by starting a bitter struggle which will destroy the entire bourgeois machinery of oppression and measures used for the deception of the masses.

Such are the new eloquent facts, such is the new political situation, which our Party could and can utilise to make a

breach in the traditional parliamentary illusions of the British working class, to put revolutionary tasks on the order of the day of the British Labour movement.

The starting point of our agitation among the British workers in the near future shall be the breakdown of the so-called era of democratic pacifism, which was revealed with particular clearness in the bankruptcy of British Liberalism. But in order to find the way to the British proletariat, in order to gain the hearing of the wide masses of the workers for our ideas, our Party should not only address itself directly to the masses, but it should also gain influence in those organisations which have a historic past and which embrace a large number of the workers. Such organisations are on the one hand the trade unions, and on the other hand the Labour Party.

The necessity of fighting for influence in the trade unions has been fully recognised by our Party. It has already succeeded in creating for itself a firm basis in the Minority Movement in the trade unions, which is nevertheless merely a part of the growing Left-wing Movement in trade unions. It marks the beginning of the fight for influence with the Labour Party. The only way to carry on this fight is to assist the process of differentiation which is going on in the Labour Party, and to help in the shaping of the Left-wing, whose value will be measured by the extent of Communist influence that is brought to bear on it. In this respect our Party has done very little so far. Some are frightened by this task; they fear that a closer contact with the vacillating elements of the Left-wing of the Labour Party might have a disintegrating effect upon our own Party, because it is yet young and weak and small in numbers. Such danger no doubt exists, but this should only cause us to redouble our vigilance; nevertheless, we must tread this dangerous path, remembering the golden rule: "To learn to swim, one must leap into the water."

In this respect our Party is still following the line of least resistance. It is far easier to establish strong positions in the trade unions and to assist in the formation of a Left-wing current in the trade unions than to help in the formation of the Left-wing in the Labour Party. The trade unions are still saturated with the old opportunist traditions, which were formed during the long period of British world-domination, which caused the growth of a numerous Labour aristocracy in Britain. The influence of the trade union bureaucrats is still strong; nevertheless, the British trade union movement has long since begun to reveal the live spirit.

of the mass struggle, and even before the world-war we witnessed great mass strikes in Britain. The political struggle of the British proletariat was a very different matter. The revolutionary traditions of the Chartists have long since become extinct in Britain. Until the present time the British proletariat visualised the political struggle only in the shape of the parliamentary struggle, and the Labour Party was created for this very purpose. More than any of the parties of the Second International, it is a mere electoral machine, created for the express purpose of labour representation in parliament. Furthermore, the Labour Party is a conglomerate body which, along with the trade unions, embrace purely intellectual, quasi-Socialist and hopelessly pacifist parties. Little wonder that in the Labour Party the Left-wing is far weaker and less active than in the trade unions. But we should contemplate a historical process by looking ahead, not backward. If we take a clear view of the immediate outlook of the British Labour Movement, we must say that even in the Labour Party, which is so closely connected with the masses of the British workers through the trade unions and which cannot resist their influence, a Left-wing is bound to develop, whose progress will accelerate in accordance to the extent of the assistance given by our Party, the only Party which is looking far ahead.

Our tactics must be based not only on things which are, but also on things which are in the process of evolution and development. We should bear in mind that the mighty British world Empire has begun to totter on its foundations, that British capitalism can no longer withstand the competition of American capital, that the destruction of economic life in Central Europe renders the British bourgeoisie incapable of solving the acute problem of unemployment, that the dominions are steadily emancipating themselves from the tutelage of the mother-country, that Canada is even now more associated with the United States than with Britain, that Australia is already building its own navy, that the revolt of the masses in the colonies is growing, that for the continuance of its domination the British bourgeoisie feels constrained to resort to open repression in Egypt, that it must agree to the erection of a custom tariffs wall for Indian industries against Britain, and such like.

Under such circumstances, particularly now that the chief support of British parliamentarism has collapsed and British Liberalism has disappeared from the scene, the revolutionisation of the masses of British workers in the near future becomes directly inevitable, and this in its turn is

bound to have its effect upon the Labour Party, with the consequent split of the Party and the formation of a left-wing. This Left-wing movement is still weak and colourless, but its representatives, being connected with the trade unions, have already rendered a service to the world's proletarian movement by the stand which they took, both at the Russian Trade Union Congress and at the convention of the American Federation of Labour, in favour of unity of the world trade union movement.

If we must fight for the admission of our Party into the Labour Party, and against the exclusion of Communists from the latter, and to this all the British comrades agree, then we must draw the logical deductions. The Communists who are in the Labour Party should assist in strengthening the Left-wing within the Labour Party. Within the Labour Party we should maintain a united front with the Left-wing against the present leaders of the Labour Party, we should push this Left-wing forward, criticise it for its half-heartedness and use it as a vehicle for the dissemination of our revolutionary ideas among the proletarian masses until we shall have succeeded in transforming our own Party into a mass party and eventually liquidating the Labour Party. Our success in this will depend on the way in which we shall take advantage of the British and international political situation to put broad revolutionary tasks before the British proletariat, acting as the spokesmen of the future Soviet Republic of Great Britain.

In this respect we might learn a good deal from a certain episode in the history of the Russian Bolshevik Party. At the dawn of the Russian Social-Democratic movement, in the '90's of the last century, the revolutionary Marxists in Russia were very small in number. The entire Russian radical and Socialist intelligentsia sailed under the banner of the "Narodniki." The whole of the legal radical press was in the hand of the "Narodniki." In order to effect a breach in the "Narodniki" stronghold, in order to get a hearing for their ideas, the Russian revolutionary Marxists—Lenin and other comrades—at that time formed a bloc with the so-called "Legal Marxists" who had adopted only those elements of the Marxian doctrine which were necessary for the refutation of the "Narodniki" illusions on the alleged peculiar course of evolution in Russia. With the aid of those "legal Marxists," the revolutionary Marxists succeeded in establishing several legal organs of the press, in which the Marxian ideas, new to the Russian reading public, were propagated in the language of parable and allegory, that was

calculated to fool the Czarist censorship. In the course of two or three years the revolutionary Marxists won in this manner the backing of public opinion and the ideological supremacy in the radical camp. This bloc contained some grave dangers, which were soon revealed. A process of drifting began in the Marxian camp; a considerable portion of the legal Marxists, having begun with a revision of Marxism, ended by becoming a party of the Liberal bourgeoisie. However, the stratagem had accomplished its purpose and it could now be discarded. The revolutionary Marxists, having attained their purpose of creating for themselves a wide legal audience, inaugurated a merciless campaign against the adulterators of the Marxian doctrine, and during that fight the foundations were laid for the future Bolshevik Party.

Of course, in recalling that episode, I do not mean to say that our British comrades could now simply copy the strategy employed by the Russian revolutionary Marxists in the early days of their activity. I know that all analogies are irrelevant and that the circumstances under which the young British Party has to work are quite different from those which existed in Russia on the eve of the first Russian revolution. At all events, this example might teach us that even a young and not numerous party may with great success resort to risky manœuvres in order to gain access to the masses, providing that the party itself is internally solid and that its central kernel is fully reliable.

The British Party is still young, but it is part of the Comintern and exists under circumstances when a month counts as a year. It should, therefore, measure up its opportunities, bearing in mind the saying: "Big ships require deep waters."

Further Remarks on the General Election in Great Britain

Already when my article was set we received Comrade Palme Dutt's article on "The British Working Class after the Election," which is also printed in this issue. This article deserves serious consideration for it is a very comprehensive presentation of the new political situation of Great Britain and of the new prospects of the British Labour movement.

First of all we should like to say that we are, of course, in complete agreement with the picture of the British Labour Government and the British Labour Party which the author presents. Further, we are pleased to note that the author shares our estimate of our immediate and main task in Great Britain. He quite rightly points out that the political change which is taking place there at present creates favourable conditions for a fight against constitutional illusions, and for the adoption by the British proletariat of the path of revolutionary mass action outside parliament under the hegemony of the Communist Party and that our efforts should be directed towards these tasks. But while agreeing on these points with the writer of the article, we must nevertheless point out a serious mistake which he has made. In his presentation of the immediate prospects of the British Labour Movement, Comrade Palme Dutt skips a whole phase in its development.

The author assumes that the days of the Labour Party are numbered, that on the whole the Labour Party is incapable of being used as a weapon for the proletariat and that the British Communist Party can already at this juncture destroy and take its place. Correspondingly he opposes the tactics of forming a bloc with the Left elements within the Labour Party, and of strengthening its Left-wing at the expense of the Right-wing. Instead of contributing to the formation of a Left-wing and of encouraging it to oppose the Right-wing of the Labour Party, he proposes to concentrate all our efforts now at this juncture on an attack on the Left-wing, to strangle it at its very inception. He says: "The remains of the 'Left-wing' of the Labour Party's conception must be wiped out." "In the period immediately in front, the concentration of the Party will need to be far more specifically directed to this Left (in the sense of criticism—

A.M.) its ideology and actions (Hicks, Purcell, Cook and others) than to MacDonald and MacDonaldism.”

We will speak openly and declare that should our British Communist Party follow this advice of Palme Dutt at the present juncture, it would at once get out of touch with the masses, and instead of becoming a workers' mass party would become a sect and would achieve just the contrary of what Comrade Palme Dutt wants it to achieve—it would strengthen and weld together the Labour Party.

Comrade Palme Dutt's error originates in one-sided appreciation of what we observed on the eve and during the general election in Great Britain. He points out quite rightly that lately the British proletariat was becoming more and more discontented with the policy of the British Labour Government. In his deductions, however, he entirely ignores the fact, which he mentions himself: “Ten and a half million electors voted for open bourgeois candidates, over one-half of these electors must have been workers.” In his deductions he further ignores the fact that on the eve of the election the majority, although insignificant, of the conference of the Labour Party voted for the expulsion of Communists from the Party. He makes the perfectly unfounded assertion: “the Labour Party Conference overjoyed at the prospect . . . of the end of the sickening promises,” and ignores the fact that at the election the Communists polled 55,000 votes, and that during the election campaign the Left elements of the working class, with the exception of the Communists entirely relinquished opposition to the leaders of the Labour Party to win as many seats in Parliament as possible. He also ignores the logical deduction from all these facts, namely that an enormous majority of the British proletariat either takes no interest whatever in politics or is still under the sway of parliamentary constitutional illusions, and that only now can we have any hope, in view of the new political situation in Great Britain, of overcoming these illusions. In order to free the majority of the British proletariat from this, time is necessary so that the proletariat convinces itself in practice that the first political instrument it has created, the Labour Party, is an inefficient instrument. During this time the Communist Party will all the sooner find a way to unite the broad masses if it will strengthen the Left-wing both within the trade unions and within the Labour Party, and urge it on to the fight against MacDonald and Co. who still enjoy the support of the majority of the British workers. The fight with the parliamentary illusions of the British workers and efforts to draw them into non-parliamentary

revolutionary mass actions cannot at present be successful in Great Britain unless accompanied by the tactics of forming a bloc with the left elements within the Labour Party and the trade unions and by drawing the left elements within the trade unions into the struggle.

Comrade Palme Dutt points out the great danger of such tactics, and refers to the experience of 1919-21 when the revolutionary wave was very strong, when the "fighting" elements among the leaders of the Labour Party were to the forefront while loyal British constitutionalists were suffering an eclipse, and when all this burst like a soap bubble. But he defeats his object when he tries to explain how all this came about. He says: "because there was no revolutionary party, because, that is to say, there was no serious revolutionary leader or line of contact with the masses, the whole outcome of that period was a complete frittering away of the revolutionary energy of the masses." This is quite true, but the fact is that we have at present in Great Britain such a revolutionary party—the British Communist Party—and, therefore, the history of 1919-21 cannot and we hope will not be repeated.

Comrade Palme Dutt says that there are two varieties of Left elements in Great Britain. Firstly, practical opportunists who hypocritically change their attitude in conformity with the passing moods of the masses, and secondly—elements who, while being slaves to the theories and ideas inculcated by MacDonald, Webb and others, are nevertheless honestly wishing to be on the side of the working class and to help it in its struggle. This is also true. But it is just the existence of this second category among the Left elements, which shows that the British Communist Party has every chance of forming a strong Left-wing in the Labour movement.

Comrade Palme Dutt himself rightly points out: "the untheoretical" character of the British movement. This shows that in order to achieve success in Great Britain, we must not begin with words, not by demanding verbal recognition for our theory, but with deeds. If members of the Labour Party who honestly wish to be on the side of the working class and to help it in its struggle, will, under the influence of the Communist Party, do deeds by which they will draw on themselves all the thunder and lightning of the bourgeoisie and of its echo—MacDonald and Co., it will be comparatively easy for us to cure them of their traditional Liberal ideology. Only by such means will we be able in

the future to record more new members for the Communist Party. If we speak of the necessity to contribute to the formation of a left wing within the trade unions, and through them subsequently also within the Labour Party, we do not, of course, mean by this that we are prepared to applaud or to give credit to every left phrase or to desist from criticising any ridiculous attitude of the left elements. We mean by this the organisation on the initiative of the Communist Party of *fighting campaigns* based on very definite lines and dictated by the given events, campaigns capable of welding together *in the process of the fight* the left elements and alienating them from the camp of MacDonald and Co., and capable of helping us to test in the heat of the fighting the left elements and to separate the sheep from the goats.

Such must be our tactics on the left-wing question. Such tactics can assume already at the present juncture a form which is a threat for the bourgeoisie, and the bourgeoisie with its keen class instinct realises already that in this lies the big danger to its domination. The blow it dealt the Labour Government as soon as it became convinced that the Communist Party and the Communist ideas were meeting with response beyond the limits of the Communist Party from many left elements of the Labour movement, was the result of this realisation. The "questionnaire" of the British Liberals to the Labour Party and quoted by Comrade Dutt: "What steps has the Labour Party taken to advise Labour Party voters to vote against Communists . . .? What effective steps are being taken by Mr. MacDonald or the Labour Party to purge the Labour movement of those who are carrying one what is for all practical purposes the same propaganda (*i.e.*, the Left-wing)?" If the bourgeoisie is so afraid of the consolidation of the Left-wing of the Labour Party, it is clear that all our efforts must be concentrated upon it.

A. MARTINOV.

The Negro in America

TO-DAY there are more than twelve millions of negro people in the United States of North America. This does not include the negro people of the Virgin Islands, which islands were purchased from Denmark by the American Government during the war. The population of these islands is several hundred thousand, and almost wholly negro. Prior to the world-war, there were not quite two million negroes in the North, but a small percentage of these engaged in the basic industries. The bulk of the race was in the South, as it is to-day. But with the outbreak of the War in 1914, and the expansion of Northern industries, a tremendous wave of negro migration set in from the Southern States to the cities of the North. This unprecedented wave of negro migration was inspired primarily by the attraction of higher wages which obtained in the Northern industries. But even following the close of the War, when the industries had contracted, the warmer seasons of the year have always brought an influx of negroes from the South into our Northern centres.

The coming of the negro into the Northern industries has been responsible for much friction between the white and black workers. The negro migrant being wholly unorganised and finding conditions much better than in his Southern home, though much inferior to those of the Northern white worker, at once becomes a tool in the hands of the employing class to beat back the resistance of organised white workers. The latter, clearly conscious of the tendency of a reduction of his standard of living because of the presence of the negro, evinces his resentment through physical attacks on the negro. The series of bloody race riots which have occurred during recent years are basically the result of this conflict of the white and black worker in the labour market. But, of course, this real and fundamental cause is seldom apparent, for the masses of American white workers are so permeated with the virus of race-hatred as a result of their bourgeois ideology, that often the most minor provocation of a race-riot is interpreted as the real cause. This race-hatred between blacks and whites in America has its origin and growth in the political forms and methods employed by the ruling class to safeguard and promote its economic class interest.

This race-hatred on the part of the white masses extends to all classes of the negro race. A member of the negro petty bourgeoisie could no more get accommodation in a first class hotel, cafe, restaurant or purchase a first-class ticket in

a theatre than the most ordinary negro worker. In the Southern States, there are separate schools for all negroes, separate and inferior accommodation for negroes on tramways and railways, and enforced by State laws.

The negro being of a pronouncedly different race and colour, his complexion becomes a sort of natural badge by which he is at once recognised as historically of the most oppressed and exploited group in American society. All negroes of whatever class are subject to lynching, Jim Crowism, mob violence, segregation, political disfranchisement in the Southern States, etc. And all negroes are interested and lend support to societies and associations endeavouring to affect the eradication of these particular social evils.

Any projected Communist work among American negroes must take as a concrete basis the general social grievances of the race. The slow growth of Marxism among negroes has been wholly due to the inability both of the social democrats and the Communists to approach the negro on his own mental grounds, and to interpret his peculiar social situation in terms of the class struggle. To-day the American negro has evolved his own bourgeoisie, even though as yet but petty. And more and more the lines sharpen in the conflict between the white and black bourgeoisies. The negro petty bourgeoisie rallies the negro masses to him in his struggle against the more powerful white bourgeoisie, and the negro masses are permeated with the belief that their social degradation flows from the mere fact that they are markedly of a different race, and are not white. It is a waste of time to circulate the same Communist literature among negroes that you would among white workers, or to make the same speech before an audience of the negro workers that you would before that of white workers. The negro evinces no militant opposition towards Communism, but he wants to know how it can improve his social status, what bearing does it have on the common practice of lynching, political disfranchisement, segregation, industrial discrimination, etc. The negro is revolutionary enough in a racial sense, and it devolves upon the American Communist Party to manipulate this racial revolutionary sentiment to the advantage of the class struggle.

In the Southern States, the great majority of negroes are engaged in agricultural pursuits, and at present it is encouraging to note, an agrarian movement is developing for both races. Here the American Communists can find a new field for action.

The overwhelming majority of the people of the Virgin Islands are negroes. The principal industries at the time of

the purchase were the factories of bay-rum. Alcohol being an ingredient of bay-rum, when prohibition became established throughout the Republic of the United States, these industries were virtually destroyed. The latter being a great mainstay of the people, the standard of living has been much reduced, and among the masses there is wide-spread dissatisfaction with American rule. This coupled with the fact that the natives do not enjoy full rights of American citizenship.

In the negro republic of Haiti, with a population of two millions, since 1915 the iron heel of American imperialism has been relentless. The Haitian constitution has been torn to threads, and everything possible is being done to crush the natural aspirations of the people to the right of self-determination.

The negro has always regarded his social problem as a world problem in so far as he has believed that all negroes the world over have a common cause. The most successful organisations among the race at present with direct aims of improving the political and social status of the negro are international in their outlook and programme. No organisation in the history of the American negro has stirred the masses as has the Garvey Movement. This is a negro nationalist movement, with Africa as its objective. It has been phenomenal in growth, overwhelming in its savage steadfastness of purpose. It represents a perfect embodiment of all the pent-up hatred and rebellious discontent towards American institutions.

So far the Communist achievements among negroes are but slight, and this primarily because as above stated, the Communists have not recognised and accepted as a starting basis the peculiar social disabilities imposed upon the race. At present in the large cities of the North, the rapid influx of negroes from the South has given rise to a new and acute housing problem. Negroes in America are subjected to residential segregation. Such being the case, there are limited numbers of houses available for negroes in which to live. This condition has been taken advantage of by the landlords and their agents of both races and the negro tenant is compelled to pay exorbitant rents, quite out of proportion to his income. The negro housing problem to-day is a live issue, and should be seized upon as one of the factors by which to arouse the negro masses.

Everywhere there is increasing discontent within the race. And the Communist Movement cannot afford to overlook the negro in America, for he holds a large place in industrial life, and if left alone could constitute a tremendous weapon for reaction.

JAMES JACKSON.

Editorial Comment on "The Negro Question"

THE article written by James Jackson, an emigrant of the oppressed negro race, is a testimony that our American comrades of the ruling race have not yet been able to approach the negro question in a right and proper manner, either in their agitation among white workers, or in their work among the negroes. Negro persecution in America has assumed the form of a race struggle—a struggle of the whites against the blacks; on the one hand, we find among the persecutors in the white camp considerable sections of workers side by side with the bourgeoisie, who hate and despise negroes not only as strike breakers, but as people of a lower race. On the other hand, the persecuted in the black camp include negro merchants as well as negro workers.

In view of such a situation, race antagonism cannot be ignored as immaterial for a party carrying on the class struggle, and communist propaganda among negro workers cannot be conducted in the same way as among white workers. This would be merely adopting an ostrich policy, which would be doomed to remain fruitless. The attitude of our Party in America must not consist in evading the ticklish question of race antagonism in America, but in exposing its class basis.

Our Party in America must sound the alarm with respect to the growing race antagonism. It must make clear that it is a product of a society divided into classes, that it serves the selfish interests of the ruling classes, and that it will only disappear when the proletariat is victorious. Negroes were not born with saddles on their backs, neither were whites born with spurs to their feet. Racial persecution made its appearance at the dawn of a class society, it gained in strength during the capitalist development in connection with the development of the colonial policy of the bourgeoisie, and reached its culminating point during the imperialist epoch. It was not a chance occurrence that on the eve of the imperialist war the "racial theory" made its appearance in German bourgeois science, in accordance with which theory there are lower and higher races even among the whites—"the German race" belonging to the latter.

The bourgeoisie is, of course, endeavouring to disguise by all manner of means the class nature of racial antagonism. But it is our task to expose this fraud and to smash to pieces the arguments of the followers of all kinds of "racial theories." The fact that negro merchants are as hated and persecuted as negro workers is certainly not a proof that racial antagonism has nothing to do with class: although the

imperialist bourgeois infringes to a certain extent the rights of the native bourgeoisie in pursuance of its colonial policy, the main motive of the latter is—the acquisition of excess profit from the colonists. The champions of the racial theory cannot justify their actions by the fact that negroes frequently act as strike breakers, and that many of them are corrupt: the bourgeoisie deliberately develops in the negro masses these slave instincts and traits, and keeps them purposely ignorant. Finally, it must be said that the contemptuous attitude of white workers to the negroes does not disprove the class character of the antagonism between the white and black races in America. For it merely proves that a considerable section of white American workers is still under the ideological influence of the bourgeoisie and has been contaminated by bourgeois prejudices against which we must fight with the utmost energy.

By ignoring the question of racial antagonism our Party has allowed the negro liberation movement in America to take a wrong path and to get into the hands of the negro petty bourgeoisie which has launched the nationalist slogan —“Back to Africa.”

We Communists must energetically support not only African but all negroes settled in definite territories in their aspirations for self-determination, namely in their desire to establish independent States and to drive out the colonisers. We must, of course, urge American negroes to support this movement of their kinsmen. But the slogan “Back to Africa,” in connection with the 12 million negroes scattered throughout the United States of North America, which is reminiscent of the Zionist slogan of the Jews—“Back to Palestine,” must be rejected by us as utopian and based on the illusion that there is in the world (beside the Soviet Republic) another such promised land where national and racial oppression does not exist. There can be no such land, since everywhere capitalism reigns supreme.

But we must, however, admit that these dreams and illusions of American negro workers, which weaken their interest in the class struggle of the white American proletariat, are stimulated by the fact that American white workers are still under the sway of racial bourgeois prejudices. Therefore, the main task of our American comrades as to this question must consist in fighting against these prejudices, and in energetic action for full equality of rights regardless of race as well as for the extirpation of all humiliating customs which draw a dividing line between whites and blacks. It is only under such conditions that it will be possible to draw the negro masses in America into the general fight for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The Georgian Adventure

Behind the Scenes.

THE imagination of the bourgeois press lent fantastic proportions to the incidents which occurred in Georgia towards the end of last August. The French radio service stated that according to the Georgian newspapers, the uprisings had spread to the whole of the Caucasus. The British press stated that a Bolshevik armoured train was operating near Tiflis, holding back the insurgents, that the Suram railway tunnel was destroyed, and that the fate of Tiflis was sealed. The Trebizond correspondent of the *Chicago Tribune* stated the uprising was general over the whole of the Caucasus, including Azerbaidjan, as far as Rostov and Astrakhan, and that the rebellion was spreading to the Crimea. The Turkish paper, *Ikdam*, reported that in Azerbaidjan the rebels were approaching Baku and that the uprising was spreading to the Kuban, the Don, and the Ukraine.

Why did the bourgeois press lie so unblushingly about the events in Georgia? Firstly, because the wish was father to the thought, as the proverb says: the whole bourgeois world lives in the constant hope that at last the collapse of the Union of Soviet Republics is near. But apart from this general factor, there is a special one. In this particular case the corrupt bourgeois press and its Socialist mouthpieces were assigned a definite task. This was revealed at the meeting of the League of Nations where the cards were laid on the table. At this august assembly, the Socialists, Boncour and MacDonald, raised the question of Georgia. Every speaker expressed himself on this subject in exactly the same terms. The British representative, Gilbert Murray; the French, Oberon, and the Belgian, Brouckert, were one in declaring that the Georgian Republic had been recognised in 1920, before its conquest by the Soviet Government, and that, therefore, the present hostilities represented not a civil war but a war between two states; the League of Nations would consequently not be fulfilling its duty if it did not evince "interest" in the war. This meant that the League of Nations was prepared to use the Georgian incident as a pretext for intervention. It is true that conditions were not favourable for the direct and active intervention of the states comprising the League of Nations. It was not alto-

gether a convenient moment to intervene in the Georgian affair on the pretext of an obsolete act of 1920 just after the Anglo-Russian agreement had been reached, and on the eve of recognition by France. Accordingly, the political commission of the League of Nations did not introduce an official resolution but confined itself to expressing the unofficial opinion that the powers which had recognised both Georgia and the Soviet Government might advantageously intervene in order to "settle" the Soviet-Georgian conflict. MacDonald made a still more hypocritical and diplomatic statement. He said that Britain recognised all the states within the territory of the Union of Soviet Republics *the peoples of which themselves recognised the U.S.S.R.* The cream of this statement is contained in the second premise which amounts to this: if it really turns out that Georgia has rebelled, it would be a proof that "she did not recognise the U.S.S.R. and Britain would accordingly recognise her as an independent government at war with Russia, and while maintaining her 'friendship' towards the latter, would have every justification for intervening as an 'arbitrator' between the two states." That is why the bourgeois press was charged with the task of proving that a real national uprising was taking place in Georgia. At first, this alleged national uprising would be used for blackmailing the Soviet Republic, and if it continued, would serve as a pretext for active intervention.

Both these aims had been adopted by the "democratic pacifist" states a long time before, and had induced them to come forward as the defenders of the "independence of oppressed little Georgia" in exactly the same way as Czarist Russia in 1914 had come forward in defence of Serbia and England had come forward in defence of Belgium while she was at the same time suppressing the rebellions in Ireland. We repeat that these aims were adopted by the imperialist powers long before the events in Georgia occurred. It is generally known that as early as June, Chkhenkeli and Tsere-telli had had several interviews with Herriot and Doumergue, Chkhenkeli was even received as the official ambassador of Georgia with great pomp and ceremony, with trumpeters and troops. The mouthpiece of Herriot, the Socialist Renaudel, wrote: "I beg you to convey to our Georgian friends that I have been greatly impressed by what they communicated to me through you . . . I hope that the recognition of Russia, which will be accompanied by necessary references to such problems as that of the independence of Georgia, will afford us the possibility of intervening in this affair." Comment is superfluous.

The interest of the imperialist plunderers in the fate of "oppressed Georgia" arises from their hatred of the dictatorship of the proletariat. But there is another factor of no less importance—their love of oil. There is not the slightest doubt that this is the main factor and that the whole adventure in Georgia was conducted with the financial support of the oil magnates. Thanks to the competition between the French, the American, and the British oil magnates, the bourgeois press gave the secret away. At first the *Petit Journal* declared that it would be a good thing for the "safety of the world" if all the Caucasian oil were placed into the hands of the League of Nations. The newspapers representing the interests of the various oil groups then began to expose each other. The French journal *Amitié Nouvelle*, declared that the whole Georgian adventure was instigated by the American oil magnates. On the other hand, the Paris correspondent of the *New York Times* stated that it was generally known that the revolution was supplied with funds and was controlled from Paris, where powerful magnates are supporting a group of former members of the Georgian Government and the owners of Baku oilfields. At any rate, it is quite clear that the adventure of the Georgian Mensheviks was a "democratic" preparation for imperialist intervention. During the late "democratic-pacifist era," every piece of rascality was covered by the fig-leaf of the fight for freedom and independence; the active participants in every shameful adventure were the "democrats" of the Second International.

Who were the Supporters of the Mensheviks in Georgia?

In the manifesto issued by the Central Committee of the Georgian Communist Party dated September 2nd, we read: "They (the Mensheviks) have lighted the diabolical fires of bloody warfare against the peoples of Georgia, and against the neighbouring states. They thought they could deaden by blood the healthy class and national instinct of the toilers of Georgia and thereby turn their attention from the real class enemy, their own plutocrats and landowners. But the Soviet revolution has put an end both to the old order of feudal princes and the parties which supported that order. The toilers of Georgia have lived to see peace . . . We are now no longer at war either at home or abroad. The workers are engaged on railways, in factories and workshops, belonging, not to private owners, but to the Workers' and Peasants' State. The whole country is being covered by a network of irrigation canals and electric power stations; bridges are be-

ing built, roads constructed, and hundreds of new schools are being established where the children of the workers are being taught in their own mother tongue. Soviet Georgia is like a busy ant hill. It was under such circumstances that the Mensheviks attempted to raise a national rebellion in Georgia."

I can cite a few facts to illustrate the picture as drawn by the Central Committee of the Georgian Communist Party. As a result of the agrarian reforms introduced by the Mensheviks, there were in Georgia 28,000 noble families owning together 205,000 dessiatins of land, and 275,000 peasant homesteads owning together 1,000,000 dessiatins—*i.e.*, a noble family on an average possessed twice as much land as a peasant family. But it should be remembered that the peasants had to pay for the land allotted to them, whereas the owners were given the right of selection, which they used in order to choose the best pieces for themselves. As soon as the Bolsheviks came into power in Georgia, they put an end to the oppression of the nobility, and by the spring of 1923, the urgent task of depriving the nobles, the merchants and the usurious peasants of land and of agricultural equipment was practically completed. But the Bolsheviks did not confine themselves to the mere expropriation of the noble and usurious landowners of Georgia. They at once proceeded to improve agriculture, and in this respect much has been achieved during the last four years. Already by 1923 the grain sowing area (542,000 dessiatins) approximated to the pre-war area (586,000 dessiatins), and in Western Georgia, the sowing area (285,000 dessiatins) even exceeded the pre-war area (252,000 dessiatins). The production of tobacco, which in 1914 reached 802,000 poods, fell to 50,000-60,000 poods, but by last year had again risen to 350,000-400,000 poods. During the rule of the Mensheviks, and as a result of the food shortage, the cultivation of cotton had practically ceased in Eastern Georgia, and in Western Georgia had been contracted to the mere requirements of the population. Last year the area sown in cotton in the Barchal Plain and in the Kutais District alone had already amounted to no less than 800 dessiatins, and it is intended in the present year to increase the area to 3,000 dessiatins. The Mensheviks, who made so much clamour about national culture, left the old scholastic educational system inherited from Czarism practically unchanged, and took no measure even to publish textbooks and literature in the mother tongue. It is in this sphere particularly—national education—that the Soviet Government has displayed its greatest activity. There are at present in the Georgian Republic, 1,664 labour schools with

221,000 pupils, as compared with 94,000 pupils in 1914. This increase of over 100 per cent. is accounted for exclusively by poor children, the children of workers and peasants. In Tiflis, for example, not a single child of a trade union member who made application was left without education. The Soviet Government in Georgia has created workers' faculties (educational institutions for preparing workers and workers' children for the universities), and is doing great work in the sphere of pre-school education, in providing for homeless children, etc., etc.

It is, of course, natural that a mere comparison of the economic and educational work performed by the Soviet Government during these four years with that which was done by the Mensheviks—who devoted all their energies to national wars with the Armenians, Tartars, Ossetinians, Adjeristanians, and others and in crushing peasant uprisings—should be enough to produce a profound change in the attitude of the toiling masses of Georgia, amongst whom the Mensheviks enjoyed tremendous influence. Such a change has in fact taken place. Last year more than 11,000 workers and peasants left the Menshevik Party and at the All-Georgian Congress officially declared that party dissolved. During the past year, several Mensheviks declared that they had left the Party. The loyal Mensheviks who remained have stated that a dissolution of the Party was fictitious, that it was a result of the compulsion of the Georgian Extraordinary Committee, and that when the decisive moment came they would all return to the bosom of Menshevism. Now that the Georgian adventure has taken place, we are able to judge as to whether these assertions were justified. The secretary of the Tiflis Committee of the Communist Party, Comrade Ruben, reviewing the Menshevik adventure, at the general meeting of the Lenin District on September 12th, stated: "I think that the time has certainly now come when we should cease to refer to them as former Mensheviks, since they have brilliantly passed their examination and stood side by side with us in the foremost positions in combating the Menshevik adventure." The Mensheviks in their proclamations used to say that it was only a temporary demobilisation, and that when the decisive moment came they would once again rally to the Menshevik Party. But what happened at the decisive moment? Fifteen thousand of them followed us; and in Gare-Kakhetin the former Menshevik, Turra Maisuradze was the first to mobilise the peasants to crush the uprising.

All the workers and the majority of the peasants have left the Mensheviks. Only in little Guria, where the Men-

shevik tradition dates back to 1905, when the Georgians organised a rebellion against the Czarist autocracy under the leadership of the Mensheviks, only in this small corner of Georgia, where the peasants benefitted very little from the Bolshevik agrarian revolution because there was very little land to divide among the peasants—the nobles had long ago sold their land—only there has a section of the peasantry remained true Mensheviks until this very day. The Mensheviks therefore could seek support only among the nobility of whom, it should be stated, there are a fairly large number in Georgia (6 per cent. of the population), among the priests, who were offended by the closing of churches, among the usurious peasants, who had been deprived of land, and among the middle class intellectuals. It was all the more easy for the Mensheviks to secure the support of these elements since they had long ago entered into close contact with the Georgian feudal and bourgeois parties—the federalists and national democrats—and in conjunction with them had set up a “Parity Committee” for the purpose of combating the Soviet Government. In forming an alliance with these elements, the Mensheviks were guided by the principle laid down by their spiritual leader, Noi Jordania, in his pamphlet, “We and They”: “We must support anyone who will fight with us against the Soviet regime. Everybody who opposes the Bolsheviks is a revolutionary.” From this point of view, Curzon and Poincaré and all the Russian monarchists and Black Hundreds must be counted as revolutionaries!

It is obvious that with such support and with such allies the Mensheviks were unable to start a *national* uprising; they could start only an uprising *against the people*—and even then only an unsuccessful one. And just because every Menshevik action must assume the form of hopeless adventure, our leading comrades in Georgia to the last minute did not believe that the Mensheviks would dare to attempt such an affair, although the Georgian Extraordinary Commission had exact evidence that an uprising was being prepared. But the Menshevik emigrés did dare to make the attempt and thereby justified the fears of their emissary, Valiko Djugeli, who, having landed in a Georgian prison and there convinced himself that the conspiracy was known to the authorities, wrote to that effect to the Menshevik Central Committee, concluding his letter with the following melancholy words: “I fear that my proposal (to renounce the uprising) will meet with great opposition from those who have nothing to lose and who are planning to increase their party capital.” He was right: the Menshevik emigrés have lost nothing, while those who carried out their will have lost their heads. . . .

“Bolshevik Provocation.”

A word about the letter of Valiko Djugeli. Because Djugeli, the organiser of the rebellion who was arrested in Georgia on August 12th wrote a letter from prison to the Menshevik Central Committee in which he tried to persuade them to renounce the conspiracy, because it was absolutely hopeless, and because this letter was not published until August 29th, the Mensheviks, who had at first asserted that a general national uprising was taking place in Georgia, changed front and raised the cry that the rebellion had been artificially provoked by the Extraordinary Commission. In the organ of the German Social-Democrats, *Vorwaerts*, there appeared an article under the heading “The Georgian Rebellion—a Piece of Provocation.” Even if the Bolsheviks had wanted to follow the example of Herr Noske, they had sufficient sense not to provoke international complications at the moment the Anglo-Russian Agreement had been concluded. How far the Georgian Extraordinary Commission was devoid of such an idiotic idea is obvious from the very letter addressed by Valiko Djugeli to the Chairman of the Georgian Extraordinary Commission, Kvantalyan. In this letter Djugeli writes amongst other things: “You said to me: ‘We know that outside you are preparing for an armed rebellion. Of course that we shall never permit. You will not succeed in raising a rebellion, but an adventure you may be able to manage. You must know that we shall brutally suppress such an adventure, and that it will be a failure. We do not want this misfortune to occur, and, therefore, we say that a stop must be put to these preparations. Do the people want it? We say they do not.’” If Comrade Kvantalyan regarded the adventure being planned as a misfortune, why then did he not immediately publish the warning letter of Djugeli? Why did he publish it only when the Menshevik attack began? For one very simple reason. Djugeli himself would not agree to the publication of the letter to the Central Committee, and asked that he should be allowed the opportunity of transmitting it directly to the Menshevik Central Committee without it being published, since he did not want to break with the Central Committee. The Georgian Extraordinary Commission who, in order not to hamper the investigation did not want to start a conflict with Djugeli, and who hoped that the Menshevik Central Committee upon receiving the letter, Djugeli would think better of it, allowed Djugeli to transmit the letter to the Menshevik Central Committee without publishing it. When, however, the Central Committee, in spite of the warning, attempted the adventure, the Georgian Extraordinary Com-

mission published the letter. The Georgian Extraordinary Commission was guilty in one respect only—it underestimated the following of the Menshevik Central Committee.

What did the Mensheviks Hope For?

This question was answered by Gizo Andjaparidze, organiser of the uprising in Adjerastan, who, on Sept. 2nd, voluntarily surrendered himself to the Soviet authorities. In his evidence he said: "It appears to me that our chief error from the very start was that we based our plans on some combination or other of European States and from thence deduced our internal tactics." It was on this factor, indeed, that the first plan for the rebellion was based by Noi Jordania as set forth by him in a letter dated June 2nd, which fell into the hands of the Georgian Extraordinary Commission. In this letter, Jordania wrote: "If Russia is drawn into a foreign adventure, it will give us the opportunity for our emancipation. But since no one knows how this will take place, and the party is conducting current work, it is necessary that its work should not be limited solely by hopes and prospects." From this Jordania concludes that another path must be chosen "The emancipation of Georgia independently of a Russian crisis." Jordania, however, realises that Georgia alone could not manage a successful rebellion: "Of course, it cannot be effected by the armed struggle of Georgia alone. It would be an adventure of Dashnaks (Armenian petty bourgeois nationalist party) and will end in our being smashed." Thus renouncing an adventure of small calibre. Jordania draws up a plan for a more fantastic adventure of greater calibre: "An attack throughout the whole of Transcaucasia (including Daghestan) will inevitably result in victory if it is carried out with all our forces. . . . To transfer the military base to the Caucasian Range and there to consolidate ourselves with all our armed forces, will be a guarantee of our victory. Then only will Europe pay serious attention to us and lend us aid." Wise Noi Jordania saw to the bottom of the matter. He knew that if he succeeded in raising rebellion throughout the whole of Caucasia, and drawing into it the rich oilfields of Baku, then "Europe," which cherished the most tender feelings towards our oil, would infallibly render aid to the fighters to make Transcaucasia independent of the Union of Soviet Republics. But how was this ideal to be obtained? Jordania based his plans upon the close alliance which had long ago concluded abroad with the Mussavatists and Dashnaks. It is true, that even on this point Jordania had his doubts: "In order not to deceive

ourselves," he wrote, "we must have a clear idea as to who our allies are. Politically, Azerbeidjan is not reliable. It first invited the Turks and then the Russians. It twice broke the Trans-Caucasian front. . . if they proceeded to the attack before Georgia, and in no case would it be desirable for them to attack after Georgia, it would be hard to trust them." To escape from the dilemma, Jordania thought of a brilliant plan: "The first attack must be made by the Gortzi and the Azerbeidjanians. Only after they have occupied the road to Russia and have cut off Trans-Caucasia from the Daghestanian Road, will their uprising become a serious and a reliable one. Then Georgia will attack and send its troops to their aid." This plan was magnificent. It had only one small defect. Neither Azerbeidjan nor Georgia wanted a rebellion. Only in a small section of Western Georgia (Guria and partly in Mingreli) could such an uprising be organised. And this was the path the emigré Mensheviks were obliged to adopt, calculating that they had nothing to lose, and that the international situation was daily becoming more unfavourable to them. Already the Anglo-Russian agreement had been concluded, and soon perhaps, France would recognise Soviet Russia *de jure*. One had to hurry; it was now or never . . .

- How the Rebellion was Organised.

The plan for the rebellion was drawn up by General Tsurtseladze (since shot) and transmitted to Tiflis. It was appointed for the fifteenth of August. But in view of the fact that the organiser of the rebellion sent from abroad, Djugeli, former commander of the Menshevik National Guard, had been arrested, the rebellion was postponed to the twenty-ninth. Thanks to stupidity, however, it began in Chiatura a day earlier—on the twenty-eighth. At the head of the rising stood the "Parity Committee" consisting of the Mensheviks, Federalists and National Democrats, with a Menshevik, Andronikoshvili, as chairman (the whole of the "Parity Committee" was arrested). At the very beginning of the uprising, two proclamations were issued with the object of deceiving the people—one to the population and the other to the soldiers. The first proclamation stated: "The whole of the people of Trans-Caucasia and Caucasus have risen, and are being followed by the whole of Russia."

The second proclamation stated: "The whole of the population of Georgia have to-day risen as one man against the tyrants; all the peoples of Caucasia and Trans-Caucasia have risen against the power of the Communists; the whole

of Russia is rising." Those who rallied to the rebellion, sincerely believed this fairy tale. They believed that Tiflis had already been taken, that French vessels had arrived in Batoum, that British aeroplanes had been dispatched, etc.

The progress of the rising was as follows. On August 28th a band consisting of a few score of persons seized Chiatura (the manganese mines) and proclaimed "a provisional government." The workers took no part in the rising, except for 30 or 40 fictitious workers of the firm of "Karuta," the majority of whom turned out to be ex-officers whom the firm had taken for certain dubious motives. On the following day an armoured car was sent from Tiflis; but before it arrived, the rising in Chiatura had been liquidated. Communists from Kutais and students of the Georgian military school, had arrived from Kutais and crushed the rebellion. With 50 Communists, Comrades Kavtaradze and Markarov retook Chiatura. On August 29th, risings took place in other parts of Western Georgia. In Sharapani a band of from 20 to 30 persons attacked and were joined by 150 more. But a misfortune occurred. An aeroplane appeared which they greeted, believing it to be British. When, however, the aeroplane fired on them from a machine gun, the band dispersed, abandoning their prisoners. Simultaneously risings occurred in Mingreli, in the Senaki and Zugditi Districts, in Guria and in Gare-Kakhetia. In Gare-Kakhetia, the rising was liquidated by the peasants, headed by the former Menshevik, Mansarudze. Simultaneously with the rising in Western Georgia, the Mensheviks planned an attack upon Tiflis. This action was entrusted to a well-known bandit, Chalakoshvili, who had taken refuge in the woods. One of the participants, a former overseer, was to have attacked the military camp in Manlis with 300 armed men, there to rally the Georgian military students, and together with them march on Tiflis. But the plan came to nought. Instead of collecting 300 men, the bandit collected only 30. The Georgian officers in Manlis had previously been removed to Tiflis and replaced by red commanders; the Georgian military students, instead of rallying to bandits, attacked and dispersed them, with the result that only about eight succeeded in reaching the woods and there concealing themselves.

The Mensheviks calculated upon raising rebellion throughout the whole of Georgia. As a matter of fact, risings took place only in the Sharapani District, in Novosenaki, Zugdidi and Guria. Throughout the remaining part

of Georgia, throughout the whole of Eastern Georgia, in the workers' centres—Tiflis, Kutais, Butoum and Poti—and in the autonomous republics—Adjaristan, South Ossetia and Abkhasia—not a single shot was fired.

In every case the risings were led by former princes and ex-Czarist officers. The rebel staff in Batoum, which the Extraordinary Commission arrested in good time, consisted of one general, one lieutenant—both princes, and one simple prince, Chikolani. In Chiatura the rising was headed by five former princes, Tseretelli, and a former Czarist colonel, Chachanidze. In Gare-Kakhetia, the rising was led by an officer, Tsaguria, a colonel and a Georgian monarchist. The rising was joined by nobles and priests and about two per cent. of the peasant population; except in Guria, the chief stronghold of Menshevism, and even here no rising took place in the chief town, Ozurgetti.

The character of the adventure and what it promised the workers and peasants was clear from the very start. In the Senaki District the new authorities were obliged to carry out mass arrests of poor peasants for fear that they would attack the bandits. In the Sharapan District the monetary victors demanded that the peasants should pay "gally" (rent) from 1917. Moreover, before they had even returned the land to the landowners, they cut the maize and gave it still unripe to the nobles. In Guria, the bandits demanded from the peasants not only this year's crop, but compensation for the crops of the past three years, taken from lands which had been expropriated from the rich princes by the Soviet Government and turned over to the peasants. When Comrade Ruben and other Communists were taken prisoners, they were led to a certain village where they witnessed a strange spectacle: the Mensheviks assembled the population of the village and arranged the solemn handing over to one of the priests of the treasures which were stored by the Executive Committee and which had been taken from the closed church. This was done amid the ringing of church bells. When the bands of Mensheviks and princes occupied the rural district of Darcheli, in the Zugdidi District, they called together the peasant assembly; Prince Chervashedze addressed the peasants and tried to persuade them to return the expropriated lands and to pay for the four years use of them. To this one of the peasants replied: "But listen, Comrade Orator. How can you expect all the land to be handed over to their former owners? How can you expect us to pay four years' rent at once? That is impossible!

Half the peasants will die of starvation." The words of the blunt peasant put his excellency the prince in a rage: "What do you mean by calling me your comrade!" he exclaimed. "Did we herd pigs together?" In Senski, the new khalif issued a proclamation which contained the chief slogan of the insurgents: "We demand the independence of Georgia, the Christian faith and private property!" In the district of Dushet, they issued a proclamation which ended with the words: "All Hail an Independent Georgia! Down with the Soviet Government! Down with the barbarians and godless Jews!" Pure Socialist slogans in fact.

What was the attitude of the workers towards the Menshevik adventure? Exactly what might have been expected. As soon as the news of the Menshevik rising was received, the workers of Tiflis arranged a meeting and unanimously demanded that ruthless justice should be meted out to the bandits and that the traitors should be shot. A meeting of 3,000 railwaymen demanded that "all dangerous and parasitic elements guilty of agitation against the Soviet Power should be exiled from Transcaucasia." In Batoum, on August 30th, a meeting of 500 workers sent a delegation to the extraordinary commission of five demanding that they should be given arms and at once sent to liquidate the bandits. They were armed and were organised into fighting trade union companies, and set to guard the oil stores and public buildings and institutions of the town. In Tiflis, the workers armed to resist the bandits. The Lenin recruits to the Party especially distinguished themselves, and were sent armed in all directions to resist the bandits. The Batoum workers were the first to come to the aid of Guria. In Poti, at the first signal of alarm, the workers armed and sent a company to deliver their comrades in Zugdidi.

In many places, the peasants reacted in a similar fashion. The assembly of poor peasants of Chugurishkhandzhi demanded that the ringleaders should be shot and the captured bandits employed upon the construction of irrigation canals. In the villages of Mekhveli and Tvishi, a band of 40 men carried out an attack and arrested party members. Learning of this, the peasants of the surrounding villages hastened to release the Communists and dispersed the bandits. In the villages of Darchelli and Koki, in the District of Zugdidi the rising was liquidated with the aid of the peasants. The peasants of the village of Chugurishkhand in the Samurzakan District in Abkhazia, moved the following resolution: "Let us cut down the number of

princes and nobles, the good-for-nothings who systematically cheat us, the toilers. Let us make their supporters, the usurers and petty merchants, pay for the cost of drainage work." In Adzharia 1,000 peasants armed themselves in order to resist the bandits.

Meeting with the energetic and simultaneous resistance of the workers, a part of the peasants, and the Georgian division of the Red Army, the Mensheviks lost their heads; all the more so because they immediately fell to dispute with their allies, the national democrats, and because the peasants who had joined them at once turned their backs on them when they realised that they had been deceived. When the national democrats and the Mensheviks together attacked and seized certain places, as for example, Senaki, a definite dispute for power broke out between them. The national democrats proved to be stronger (75 per cent.) The Mensheviks calmed their adherents by saying: "Do not be alarmed. We have only to hold on for a few days, when aid will come from abroad." When they took possession of a place, they released the criminals and enrolled them as their allies. But as soon as fortune changed, the bandits turned on them. Thus, for instance, Vano Galdava, who was arrested by the Communists, confessed: "The situation became such that the bandits would shoot both you and us." When Comrades Sturu, Chachalashvili and Ruben were arrested, a guard of peasants was set over them. But the peasants at once became demoralised and decided to escape with the Communists. They were caught and the peasants were whipped. The peasant guard was replaced by a guard of officers. About ten times they decided to shoot the prisoners and led them to the ditch, but could not make up their minds. The reason for this soft-heartedness was apparently the fact that the Mensheviks at once realised that their adventure was doomed and hope that the released prisoners would mediate for them.

What did they Want?

The adventure was quickly liquidated—within three days; the Communists instituted a merciless terrorism. During the uprising the active participants and organisers who were caught red-handed were shot without instructions or sanction from the central authorities, because the Mensheviks had issued a proclamation calling upon the peasants to kill all Communists. The Georgian Mensheviks abroad, who had inspired this adventure, raised a hue and cry in

the press against these violent measures and were supported by the whole of the Second International. The Mensheviks abroad, however, were warned that no mercy would be shown to the insurgents. "Tu l'as voulu George Dandin!" We have seen that the chairman of the Georgian Extraordinary Commission, Kvantalyan, warned Djugeli upon his arrest and gave him the opportunity of communicating with the Menshevik Central Committee in order to prevent the uprising. This was confirmed by Djugeli himself in the letter in which he quotes Kvantalyan as having said to him: "You must know that we shall brutally suppress such an adventure and it will be a failure. We do not want this misfortune to occur, and therefore we say that an end must be put to these preparations and to the possibility of an uprising." Why then, it will be asked, did the Extraordinary Commission carry out this threat to the full, since as the event proved, the adventure was doomed to failure and that the masses would turn a deaf ear to the summons of the Mensheviks? For a very definite reason. The Mensheviks themselves, as we saw from the letter of Jordania and the evidence of Anchaparidze, did not dream of overthrowing the Soviet Government by their own efforts. Their chief reliance was upon foreign intervention; their task was to drag out the fight and thereby furnish a pretext for intervention. And it must be admitted that, however insignificant their forces were they would have succeeded in creating a protracted disturbance in the form of partisan warfare by bands carrying out isolated attacks and then concealing themselves in the woods, if the Communists from the very start had not been absolutely ruthless. And had the Mensheviks succeeded in their plan it might have been a cause of endless sacrifices by the Georgian people and by the toilers of the Soviet Republics in general. One has only to remember how the bourgeois jackals in England, France and America bared their teeth as soon as they heard news of the events in Georgia. That alone, and not the desire for vengeance, guided the Georgian authorities during the uprising. And, accordingly, as soon as the rising was crushed, the Soviet Government put an end to every manifestation of red terrorism. These manifestations came from the side from which the Menshevik adventurers least expected them; they tried to instigate the peasants to rise against the Soviet Government, and the very opposite effect was produced. As soon as the adventure was liquidated, there began an elemental uprising of the peasants against that section of society upon which the adventurers relied—the nobility. On September 9th, the following news was received from Telav:

“On September 7th, the uyezd committee wired the Central Committee of the Georgian Communist Party that the peasants in the uyezd were terribly agitated against the nobles and princes. The Soviet authorities in the districts on September 7th, succeeded with difficulty in restraining the agitation of the peasantry which was on the point of expressing itself in rough elemental justice against the princes.”

The uyezd committees received information from almost every district that the peasants, upon learning that the attack upon the Soviet Government in Georgia had been organised by the “Parity Committee” consisting of princes, nobles, officers, priests and traders, demanded that the princes with their families and households should be driven out of the villages.

The peasants demanded that all princes capable of bearing arms should be immediately arrested, and threatened that if the authorities did not display sufficient firmness in this matter they would act themselves.

On Sept. 7th, the uyezd committee endeavoured through its district committees to explain to the agitated peasants that the Soviet Government was taking and would take the most severe measures against all persons guilty of armed attack upon, and conspiracy against the soviets.

The district committees were advised to take all necessary measures to prevent possible excesses. But we were able to calm the peasants.

The uyezd committee received an alarming report from the secretary of the Ikalto District, Comrade Kokhtashvili, who said :

“Profound agitation reigns in the district against the princes and nobles. The peasants are gathering in crowds and are threatening to destroy the houses of the princes.”

The uyezd committee instructed Comrade Kokhtashvili to prevent excesses, to calm the peasants and to assure them that the Soviet Government through its peasant organs was taking measures to expel from the district all princes and nobles with whom the peasants were dissatisfied.

On Sept. 8th, at 7.30 a.m., the following report was received from Ikalto from Comrade Kokhtashvili :

“To-day at dawn, the whole peasant population of the village of Ikalto flocked into the streets singing revolutionary songs. They were armed with cudgels and cried: ‘Death to the princes! Long live the Soviet Government! We will ourselves drive the rascal princes out of the village.’ The peasants in great crowds, including women and children moved towards the houses of the princes.

“The district committee with certain responsible comrades, hastened to calm the peasants, but without success.

The agitated peasants replied by abuse and shook their clubs menacingly.

“Comrade Kokhtashvili attempted to make a speech in order to calm the peasants, but they would not hear him. The result was that the peasants of Ikalto drove the princes out of their houses this morning, and burnt part of their property. Many poor peasants were installed in the houses.

“The princes are fleeing in a panic in the direction of Telav. The movement threatens to spread to other districts—Vachnadziani, Sabaue, Tutskuri, Ashmety and other places where the princes used to reside.”

The Georgian Soviet Government quickly managed to confine this elemental movement of the peasants within the bounds of legality. The Soviet Government felt itself sufficiently strong to crush in a ruthless way an adventure pregnant with international complications. But as soon as the adventure was liquidated it put an end to the red terror both from above and from below. On Sept. 4th, the Council of People’s Commissaries of the Georgian Socialist Soviet Republics issued the following communique:

“Hereby the government informs the population of the Republic that the criminal adventure of the Mensheviks and the princes has been completely liquidated. The bands of conspirators have everywhere been dispersed and some arrested. In some places the bands laid down their arms to a man and surrendered; in other places, abandoning the “prisoners,” citizens, women and children taken during the earlier raids, they are making for the hills and attempting by various methods to find out from the authorities what the conditions of surrender would be. The authorities, of course, will enter into negotiations as to the conditions; they demand unconditional surrender. But in view of the mass demand

for mercy, the authorities have appointed Sept. 5th as the last day for voluntary surrender promising that those who give themselves up before that date will be dealt with less severely.

“In view of the issue to the conspiracy of the nobles and Mensheviks, and the restoration of complete order everywhere, the government will cease to publish official communiques regarding the shameful adventure directed against the Workers’ and Peasants’ Government.”

This official communication put an end to any extraordinary vengeance being wreaked upon the adventurers. When, however, after a few days the elemental peasant movement described above began, the Georgian Government in th person of the chairman of the Georgian Central Executive Committee, Mikh Tskhakai, and the vice-chairman of the Council of People’s Commissars of Georgia, Gegechkora, issued a proclamation headed “Long live revolutionary law, and forgiveness to those who have been deceived!” which ran :

“Citizens, who have escaped to the woods and the hills, are invited to return ; they need not fear punishment if they confess, surrender their arms, return to peaceful work and submit to the government of Workers and Peasants.

“But following upon the rapid liquidation of the shameful adventure of the anti-Soviet forces headed by the Mensheviks and National Democrats, in certain districts of Georgia, an elemental and manacing counter-movement of peasants has broken out against the former princes and nobles who had dared to attack the Soviet Government. The peasants want independently to drive the nobles and princes out of the villages and demand that the Georgian Soviet Government should exile them from Georgia. In the village of Rupsa in the Rogy Uyezd, the peasants, exasperated by the last attack of the Mensheviks and nobles against the Workers’ and Peasants’ Government, want themselves to wreak vengeance upon certain nobles, and some very unpleasant incidents have occurred.

“The Workers’ and Peasants’ Government is strong enough to prevent such an elemental movement and will not suffer anybody, whether individuals or groups to wreak vengeance arbitrarily and independently upon anyone ; our laws and the local organs of the government of Workers’ and Peasants alone may operate.

"The Georgian Central Executive Committee of the Soviet of Workers', Peasants' and Red Army delegates and the Council of Peoples Commissaries of Georgia call upon all workers, peasants and toilers generally, and all honest citizens not to permit excesses anywhere in the village or in the town. Persons guilty of excesses will be severely punished by the Soviet authorities.

"All those who, under the pressure of the peasant movement, have left their houses and villages are invited to return.

"Our government is strong and powerful enough, when it should seem necessary, legally and always in full agreement with you to punish the enemies who disturb the peaceful labour of our workers and peasants and the constructive activities of the Workers' and Peasants' Soviet State."

On November 7th, the anniversary of the October revolution, the Central Executive Committee of the Georgian Soviet Republic declared an amnesty to the Mensheviks who took part in the uprising, according to which all except the instigators and leaders, are absolved from punishment; in the case of those who had been condemned to death, the sentence has been changed to one of ten years' imprisonment.

A Review of the Adventure.

A review of the adventure was made by the organisers of the uprisings themselves. The chairman of the "Parity Committee," the old Menshevik Kote Andronikoshvili, who was arrested during the uprising (with French money in his pocket!) publicly declared: "We were not supported by the wide masses of the population and we were left only with such active forces as were gathered from the upper sections of the people and the majority of which concealed themselves in the woods . . . We thought to receive support from abroad, but our expectations were not justified. We brought misfortune upon the people. The continuation of the armed struggle against the Soviet Government, therefore, would be an adventure deprived of all prospects of success, and all committees are accordingly being dissolved." Gizo Andjaparidze, the organiser of the uprising in Adjaristan, who voluntarily surrendered himself to the Soviet authorities, expressed himself in the same spirit: "The fight is being carried on only by individual groups who have concealed themselves in the woods. Instead of a revolution, we have an adventure. It has been the best example of utter defeat. Only one con-

clusion can be drawn: the Georgian people are no longer inspired by the idea of independence as we imagined. We are foisting the idea upon them . . . Our greatest mistake from the very beginning was that we placed our hopes upon some combination or other of European states. . . .”

This review is, however, not complete. The Menshevik adventure not only revealed the complete alienation of the Mensheviks from the toiling masses; it not only revealed the hopelessness of attempting to play a democratic comedy in Georgia as a prelude to intervention; the Menshevik adventure introduces something new into the life of the Georgian Republic. Georgia has never passed through a period of “military Communism.” The Mensheviks took care that it should pass through it now, although only for a very limited period and on a miniature scale. A result of the adventure has been that even in patriarchal Georgia a deep chasm has formed between the peasant masses and the numerous former nobles. The relics of the mediæval “idyll” are now interred, the dictatorship of the proletariat in Georgia has been firmly established on an unshakeable foundation!

A. MARTINOV.



The First Stage of the Civil War in China

THE first stage of the civil war in China has ended; and it has ended not in favour of Anglo-American capital. According to the last news General Feng-Yung-Hsiang, the commander of the Eleventh Division of Wu-Pei-Fu's forces suddenly appeared in Peking, caused a *coup d'état* and seized the most important governmental institution. The President of the Republic and the members of the Government attempted to flee from the capital, but they were too late. The newspapers report that all the prominent Cabinet Ministers are to be arrested. Probably, by now, these ministers, among whom are included Wellington Koo, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Hao-Lin-Wey, the Premier, and Wang-Ka-Ming, the Minister of Finance and others are under arrest, or at all events, they have been dismissed from their posts. Feng-Young-Hsiang's advance on Peking was surrounded and deprived of all possibility of extricating itself from the ring of Chang-Tso-Lin's troops, as the only port to which he could retreat and board ships to take his troops away—Chin-wantao could not hold the number of ships required to remove all the troops. The fate of Wu-Pei-Fu himself is yet unknown, but in all probability he will succeed in escaping. This conclusion to the first stage of the civil war, represents to some extent a victory of Japanese capital.

Let us see how these events developed.

An exact chronological investigation of events in China, will reveal a very peculiar situation, in which the real parts played by Hughes and MacDonald in this business will be clearly seen. At the end of August, military preparations began to be made in the provinces of Chekiang and Tiensu. The news so far spoke only of military preparations; military operations had not yet commenced. Nevertheless, on the 30th of August, a meeting of the U.S. Cabinet was held in Washington, under the Presidency of Coolidge. At this Cabinet council, Hughes submitted a report in which he declared "that civil war had broken out in China and that it was inevitable that the disorders would cause a suspension of railroad traffic which would cause damage to American in-

terests." Twenty-four hours before that, however (on the 29th of August), America warned the Chinese Government that the foreign powers would inevitably intervene in the event of the outbreak of civil war. Obviously, however, after this warning had been given, which was a preliminary to the measures that would be taken in the event of necessity, by Anglo-American capital, Wu-Pei-Fu was secretly assured that nothing would happen to him. Simultaneously, on the 31st of August, Sun Yat Sen received an ultimatum from the British Consul in Canton threatening the intervention of the British naval forces in the event of Sun-Yat-Sen taking any measures against his enemies, the "paper tigers." At the very beginning of military operations on the Shanghai front, the Consular Corps in Shanghai declared Shanghai and a radius of 30 miles to be a neutral zone, which included the Wusung fortress and the Shanghai arsenal. At the same time, the Diplomatic Corps in Peking talked about the city having been put under the protection of foreigners. This action by England and America put Wu-Pei-Fu in a very advantageous position, as the neutrality of Shanghai and particularly the arsenal and the Wusung fort, would deprive the Tuchun of Chekiang, Lu Yung-Hsiang, of important means of defence, while the assurance of the foreigners that Peking would remain undisturbed allowed Wu-Pei-Fu to withdraw the Peking Garrison and place them on the Northern front against Chang-Tso-Lin.

With his rear secured by these assurances backed by several battleships and a landing of troops in Shanghai, Wu-Pei-Fu commenced operations to smash his enemy on the Shanghai front, Lu-Yung-Hsiang. President Tsao-Kun issued a decree depriving Lu-Yung-Hsiang and also General Ho-Feng-Ling of their posts and their orders. Marshall Chang-Tsaiyang, the Tuchun of Tiensu, was instructed to mobilise his troops and to organise a punitive expedition to suppress the rebellion.

In addition to military measures, it was also to adopt "moral persuasion." A manifesto was issued offering pardon to the rebel troops if they repented. Furthermore, knowing the character of the Chinese mercenary troops, a complete scale of payment for betraying Lu-Yung-Hsiang was drawn up and published. A private soldier who deserted to the government troops would get five dollars, officers who deserted alone would get 50 dollars; if they deserted with their unit, they would get 1,000 dollars; a colonel coming over with his regiment would get 5,000 dollars, and an airman with his aeroplane, 50,000 dollars. It is clear that sufficient fund-

for this purpose were provided by the Anglo-American capitalists. As the enemies of the Peking Government could not offer such tempting baits, very soon Lu-Yung-Hsiang's troops were demoralised and began to desert to Wu-Pei-Fu. Military operations continued for some little time, bearing all the peculiar features of Chinese wars, *i.e.*, the colossal expenditure of cartridges and the infinitesimal casualties, but the outcome was determined beforehand. Wu-Pei-Fu's victory on the Shanghai front was inevitable, and the only enemy he had to face, true, the most formidable, was Chang-Tso-Lin in the North. As Wu-Pei-Fu's troops including those of Feng-Yung-Hsiang were superior to those of Chang-Tso-Lin's troops, both in numbers and quality, MacDonald and Hughes were not troubled about their influence in China, and could safely issue an assurance that there would be "no intervention" in the internal affairs of China. Indeed public opinion in England was beginning to express indignation at the conduct of the British military forces and diplomatic representatives in China. Therefore, it would be superfluous to disturb this opinion still further by exposing one's hand since it was possible under the circumstances to be victorious in China without having to bring British troops into action. The victory of the hirelings of British and American capital was secured by the timely measures their masters had taken. Consequently MacDonald instructed his officials in England to inspire the press to publish the following:

"Official circles regard as unfounded the fears expressed in Japanese circles concerning rumours of Anglo-American plans for intervention in China, which rumours are alleged to be of British origin. The British Government has taken no measures directed towards intervention in China for the simple reason that intervention has no practical significance at the present moment. If the occasion for international action arises, the British Government will act with caution and consult all the interested powers including Japan and France, and no measures will be taken without the consent of these powers."

At the same time, Hughes declared that there was no foundation for the statement made in an interview with the representative of the press by Comrade Rothstein, a member of the Board of Commissariat for Foreign Affairs, to the effect that England and America are implicated in China, and the press declared that (according to official political circles) the Government of the United States had no intention of undertaking military intervention in China.

Thus, England and America confident of the victory of Wu-Pei-Fu calmly waited for the development of events in China which they expected would bring them complete victory over their rival, Japan. But Japan, upon whom the declaration of "non-intervention" by England and America imposed a similar obligation, was not at all calm, the more so since her position would be tragic if Wu-Pei-Fu were victorious, for the loss of Manchuria which would result from such a victory, would mean her collapse in the fullest sense of the word.

When the imperialist war came to an end, and England and America again entered the Chinese market, Japan gradually began to lose the position she had won during the imperialist war when her rivals were otherwise engaged. Manchuria is the only territory in China which is still under the exclusive influence of Japan, and the loss of this would mean that Japanese capital would be confined within the national frontiers of Japan. As Japan under no circumstances could be content with such a position, she had to prepare for a desperate struggle for her influence in China. At numerous meetings, which were organised in Japan in connection with events in China, resolutions were passed calling upon the Government to take immediate measures to "protect the special interests of Japan in China." As events on the Shanghai front developed, this disquietude increased and so did the number of meetings and resolutions. In a word, public opinion in Japan was being prepared for the inevitability of Japan's intervention in China. At the beginning of the civil war, when L. Yung-Hsiang obtained several minor victories on the Shanghai front, the Japanese Minister for Foreign Affairs, who is under the constant pressure of America, managed to restrain the militarists to some extent from their insistence upon intervention. But, at the beginning of October when the defeat of Lu-Young-Hsiang seemed certain, the militarists in Japan managed to impose their opinion upon the Cabinet and the latter was obliged to declare to the Peking Government that Japan had "special" interests in China which she could not allow to suffer damage. Simultaneously, a plot was hatched to create an incident to serve as a pretext for intervention. The Chinese authorities in Shanhaikwan arrested a Japanese officer who was examining the Chinese positions. A great fuss was made of this incident, but still it was not allowed to go too far, because at that time Chang-Tso-Lin obtained his first victory near Sanhaikwan. In order to encourage Chang-Tso-Lin, Japan declared to the Peking Government that it will not permit the violation of its interests in Man-

churia and Mongolia; in other words, it would not permit Wu-Pei-Fu's advance into Manchuria to crush Chang-Tso-Lin, as was the proudly declared intention of Wu-Pei-Fu at the beginning of the operation. This declaration of his master and the permission which was given at the same time for the transfer of troops by the South Manchurian railroad, emboldened Chang-Tso-Lin considerably, for now he no longer had any danger to fear from the rear, and even in the event of defeat he could seek refuge under the wing of Japan.

The character of Chinese troops, the knowledge of which was so excellently utilised by Wu-Pei-Fu on the Shanghai front, was also known to Japan, and as the fate of Japanese capital depended on the result of the fighting on the Northern front, it was natural that attention should be directed to the troops of General Feng-Young-Hsiang, who was always on very good terms with Wu-Pei-Fu. As this "Christian general" commanded the best troops in Wu-Pei-Fu's army, his desertion to the side of Chang-Tso-Lin would naturally decide the issue of the fighting on the Northern front. Feng-Yung-Hsiang was "put into touch" with Chang-Tso-Lin, of course, as a result of the good offices of Japan, and the outcome of the game was a loss to Hughes.

Of course, the fight is not yet finished. Two circumstances must be borne in mind; first, that the main forces of Wu-Pei-Fu withdrawn from the Shanghai front, had not been brought into action, and that the formation of a new front on the South of Peking is inevitable; and secondly, and most important of all, Anglo-American capital under no circumstances would tolerate a defeat in China, because China is too tender a morsel to be surrendered easily and the "special" interests of the imperialists are too great to render this possible.

MacDonald and Hughes acted with foresight. When MacDonald said that the time had not yet come for foreign intervention in China, he implied that the time may come, and if the time did come, he would not stand aside. Hughes was even still more farsighted. A Japanese report states that "a plan for the partition of China into spheres of influence was discussed when Hughes was in London. The Morgan group brought pressure to bear on Hughes prior to his departure from Washington. In London, Hughes agreed to intervention on the basis of a formula which confirmed the treaty giving the Powers the right to protect the

life and property of foreigners, even resorting to action if necessary, as for example, if the fall of the present Chinese Government should lead to general disorder."

Mr. Hughes is extraordinarily farsighted. He does not limit himself to rendering military assistance to his servants. He foresaw the possibility of his hirelings being defeated, many months before the actual commencement of military operations, and left himself a free hand to help them in the event of such a critical situation arising. Mr. Hughes committed the error of placing two great hopes upon Wu-Pei-Fu, but this error can now be very easily rectified. As a consequence of the fall of Tsao-Kun "disorder is inevitable and Mr. Hughes has a ready-made formula which is already approved in London. That the fall of the Peking Government in itself is "disorder" in the opinion of Mr. Hughes, there is not the slightest doubt. Is not the fact that the representative of the victors first came to Comrade Karakhan to inform him of the change of government, and not to the United States envoy sufficient evidence of "disorder"? Instead of executing the will of Mr. Hughes, the new government will carry out the will of Japan. This undoubtedly is "disorder," and Mr. Hughes will not tolerate this for it may endanger "the lives and property of foreigners."

This insistent desire of Hughes and MacDonald to "restore order" (for it appears that the time for foreign intervention in China about which MacDonald through his officials had spoken previously, has now arrived) holds out the menace of fresh misfortunes for China for in "restoring order" disorder will really be created and the first to suffer will be the Chinese people.

In addition to the military measures which Anglo-American capital must adopt to recover their influence in China, they will make use of every other possibility. In order to mitigate the position somewhat, England and America will have to exert all their influence in order to minimise the importance of the victory of Chang-Tso-Lin and Feng-Yung-Hsiang. In fact, the latest news from Peking communicates that after two days' hesitation, Tsao-Kun has issued a decree ordering the cessation of hostilities and depriving Wu-Pei-Fu of his post as commander-in-chief and appointing Wang-Chen-Ching in his place. Wu-Pei-Fu has been banished to Chinese Turkestan.

Playing for time, England and America compelled Tsao-Kun to sign this decree because the further prolongation of the fight in the North is impossible. By gaining time, it

will be possible for Anglo-American capital to recover somewhat from the unexpected blow and prepare for a counter-blow, in the meantime preserving Yeng's Cabinet.

A circumstance should be borne in mind which very unfavourably affects Japanese capital, namely, that it is relatively so undeveloped that it could not successfully compete in the free market against its rivals, consequently, wherever Japanese capital is invested, it must be protected by armed force, and its rivals must be kept off its territory with the aid of bayonets. The sudden expansion of its influence in China will require an extension of its armed forces in order to retain it. It cannot calculate on maintaining its influence over the new Peking Government, merely by the friendly relations existing with it and because of previous aid, for the new government and Chang-Tso-Lin if he decides to transfer his base from Manchuria to Peking must inevitably fall under the influence of Anglo-American capital. Japan will have to exert extraordinary efforts to prevent this. It is one thing to maintain influence over Manchuria, a relatively small territory in which Japanese influence was reinforced by an excellent economic base, and quite another thing to maintain influence over the whole of Northern China in which, since the war American capital has very well dug itself in, and has bound itself up with the whole economy of the country. To squeeze out Anglo-American capital from this territory, would create a vacuum which Japanese capital, shaken by last year's earthquake, would be unable to fill. It is true that during the imperialist war, Japanese capital was predominant in this territory, but at that time, however, England was engaged wholly with developing its war industry, while American capital generally took less part in China's economic life than after the war. Furthermore, considerable territories were under Japanese influence on the same basis as in Manchuria (Shantung and to some extent the valley of the Yang-Tse (*i.e.*, the presence of Japanese armed forces. Neither should it be forgotten that the domination of Japanese capital in China, even at that time could not prevent the rise of a powerful native capital in China.

In recent times, the industry of China has made considerable progress, which makes a considerable difference in the circumstances as compared with the period just after the war. All this taken together, threatens to isolate the new Chinese government from its "guardian" and to some extent serves as a guarantee that the influence of Anglo-American capital will be preserved in the territories con-

quered by Chang-Tso-Lin. These very circumstances which weaken the influence of Japan upon the new government, and threaten its stability, encourage Anglo-American capital in its desire to "restore order" and the previous state of affairs when the Peking Government was entirely under its influence. Naturally, the new government being to a more or less degree under the influence of Japan, would not be able to fulfil the demands made upon it by Hughes and MacDonald. Of course, it is much more convenient to have to deal with one's own place man than with the place man of one's enemies. Consequently, England and America will strive to restore the former Peking Government and for this civil war in China must continue.

The Chinese national revolutionary movement, headed by Sun-Yat-Sen stands to gain to some extent from these circumstances. He obtains a much longer respite than he would have obtained had Wu-Pei-Fu been victorious, for the latter's plan was to attack Sun as soon as he had settled accounts with Chang-Tso-Lin. Sun took advantage of the respite afforded him by the battle between Wu-Pei-Fu and Chang-Tso-Lin to crush the Canton fascists, the "paper tigers," and to reinforce his own army. This, however, would have been insufficient successfully to resist an attack by Wu-Pei-Fu, if the latter had been in a position to make one. Now that the struggle between Japan and Anglo-American capital assumes a prolonged nature, Sun's respite will be prolonged also, and he will be able to strengthen his position in the South of China and intensify the training of his troops. Sun-Yat-Sen, of course, cannot rest content with the successes he has achieved so far. It must be borne in mind that temporarily the paths of Sun-Yat-Sen and Chang-Tso-Lin have merged. Sun obtains a respite from the moment of the overthrow of the old government and the consolidation of the new government. Immediately the new government does consolidate its power, South China once again will become an object of the attention of the imperialists. Consequently, Sun-Yat-Sen must be prepared and must take full advantage of the respite he obtains from the results of the conclusion of the first stage of the civil war in China, to strengthen his influence and his army.

SEMENOV.

France Since the Fifth Congress

The Economic Situation.

DURING the past few months, the economic situation in France was characterised by two principal facts: the stabilisation of the franc, and the slow but steady rise in the cost of living. These two phenomena were closely bound up with the general policy conducted by the bourgeoisie in full accord with the social democrats. The acceptance of the Dawes Plan and its fulfilment by the London Conference, represent the first great attempts on the part of capitalism, in alliance with the social democrats, to achieve a stability comparable with that of pre-war days.

Whether it is a question of reparations or of inter-allied debts, or of so-called security, the capitalists always fall back on one solution—the establishment of the hegemony of Anglo-American financial capitalists, at the expense of the proletariat, the oppressed nationalities, and the peoples of the subservient colonies.

The possibility of reconstructing a capitalism as homogeneous as capitalism of pre-war days, should by now be utterly rejected even by the bourgeoisie itself. Yet the only way in which capitalism can survive is to endeavour to secure unity and at one and the same time become a hierarchy.

The dollar, is seeking to colonise the whole world; the pound sterling and the dollar are seeking to colonise the European continent; the dollar, the pound sterling and the franc are seeking to colonise the Balkans and Eastern Europe. The capitalist edifice, which presses ever more heavily upon the exploited of the world, is tending to become an edifice of several stories. At the top in the full light of the sun, American capitalism sits enthroned; the lower stories are inhabited by British, French, Belgian and Italian capitalism; and in the cellars live the capitalisms of the German and the Balkan countries.

This attempt at a hierarchic unification of capitalism under the domination of Anglo-American finance may perhaps

succeed in deluding people for a little while, and prolonging the life of capitalism for another few years; but it is a solution which must betray its essential impotence in the end.

England remains the formidable rival of the United States. The rivalry for the mastery of the seas, of oil and of China, and the competition in general for the re-partition of old markets or for the conquest of fresh markets, is becoming daily more acute. The Anglo-French rivalry for the mastery of the metal industry and for the colonial markets of the Orient is increasing.

The political and economic struggle between France and Germany, in its various forms, cannot be checked in its essential lines of development as long as the capitalist regime continues.

The Balkans and Eastern Europe remain in a state of uncertainty disturbed by frequent clashes of arms.

The nationalist questions of these parts of the world are the explosive material of politics, of which the rival capitalisms are attempting to use in order to prepare for the next imperialist war, and which the Communists are utilising in order to secure a revolutionary victory.

It is, nevertheless, true that for the next few months, and perhaps years, world capitalism, exhausted by the sanguinary effort of the war of 1914, will be conscious of great need for breathing space.

The London Agreement and the future agreements on disarmament and the regulation of inter-allied debts, cannot be a durable solution; they must obviously be regarded as a compromise on the basis of which inter-capitalist rivalries will continue to tend towards a new imperialist war. But it is none the less true that for a certain period the compromises reached under the formidable hegemony of Anglo-Saxon finance will dominate the political situation.

Therein lies the profound significance of the period through which we are now passing.

It is from this fictitious and provisional stability in the economic life of Europe and of the world in general that the present economic situation of France results.

We see the franc being stabilised round about eight-five to the pound sterling and eighteen to the dollar, a fact which is apparently causing a certain embarrassment to French industry which, when the fall in our exchange took place, succeeded in increasing its exports to an extraordinary degree.

Because of the fall of the franc, the textiles of the north managed to compete very successfully with English textiles, even in England. A similar phenomenon is to be observed in the engineering trade. The stability of the franc will very likely tend to cause a restriction of France's industrial markets, a necessary consequence of which will be either an unemployment crisis or a redoubled offensive against the working class—perhaps both.

But if the French currency is being stabilised, the same can be said of the German currency. More generally, it might be said that the relative stabilisation of the currencies of Europe has brought about a stability of prices well above level of prices in the French market. That is why there is now going on that slow, continuous and irresistible tendency on the part of prices in our home market to attain the level of prices in the surrounding markets.

It is, therefore, owing to the general economic semi-stability prevailing in the world generally under the domination of Anglo-American finance that two phenomena are taking place simultaneously in France—the stabilisation of the franc, and the rise in the cost of living.

The stabilisation is so precarious that the forces which will smash the apparent equilibrium, are already to be observed even in our own country. The high cost of living will be the cause of great working class struggles for the improvement of wages, which will naturally lead directly to a policy of financial inflation, which in turn will lead to a fresh rise in the cost of living, and so on *à capô*.

Already the numerous partial strikes such as that of the Paris fur trade, and the general seamen's strike, are the forerunners of the great strikes which in a few months' time will break out between the French proletariat and the bourgeoisie.

It should be added, moreover, that in France an agricultural crisis is beginning to develop which may become very acute and which is chiefly due to the restricted sales of agricultural produce resulting both from the contraction in the purchasing power of the masses and the closing of the foreign markets in Eastern Europe which have become almost incapable of purchasing certain French agricultural exports such as wines.

The Political Situation.

The characteristic feature of the political situation is the beginning of the failure of the Left Bloc and of the alliance of the narrower Socialists with the bourgeois radical Left within that bloc.

The alliance of brief duration, which the Socialists claimed they had concluded with the bourgeois Left in order to defeat the National Bloc, has been transformed into a policy of permanent support of the Herriot Government. It would seem that the more the Herriot Government reveals itself in its true, bourgeois and anti-proletarian light, the more the Socialists are prepared to throw in their lot with it.

Of course, the French social-democrats are not directly participating in the government, but they are an integral part of the parliamentary majority which is supporting the government.

They have transformed their party newspaper *Le Populaire* of Paris into a small weekly, just as much because of financial necessity as to associate themselves better with the Left Bloc and to escape the daily control of the working class elements who still remain within their party.

The social-democratic leaders regularly contribute to the left bourgeois journals, such as *le Quotidien*.

In the editorial offices of the bourgeoisie and in the ministerial ante-chambers, they are almost entirely abandoning even the appearance of independence of the bourgeoisie. In fact, as far as the Renaudels, the Blums, and the Paul Faures are concerned, there is a real, solid and active participation in the bourgeois government, which, however, they still do not dare to declare openly. There may even exist on the part of certain leaders an intention to dissociate themselves from the Herriot Government as soon as that government becomes impossible, and to pursue in France a policy similar to that of the Labour leader in England.

That is why the Socialists are confining themselves to a concealed participation in the Herriot Government.

After three months of the Left Bloc Government, we are in a position to draw up a balance sheet which constitutes a formidable document from the proletarian point of view of accusation.

The French parliament has just dispersed. What were the results of its political labours?

With the support of the Socialists it voted credits for re-continuance of the occupation of the Ruhr; it ratified the London Agreement which subjects the proletariat of the world to the domination of Anglo-American finance of which the German and French capitalists are now but the overseers. It ratified the treaty of Lausanne, which forces Soviet Russia to defend the Revolution in the Black Sea since warships of all nationalities are to have access there in war-time. It is superfluous to mention that all this has been accomplished with the support of the Socialists. The amnesty law has not yet been voted and the ministerial decrees which are supposed to replace it still leave a great number of the victims of the courts martial and of the anti-proletarian repressions of recent years in the prisons of the Third Republic.

The demand of the civil servants for an increase in salary of 1,800 francs per annum has not yet been granted, and, with the complicity and participation of the Socialist and trade union leaders, a cabinet commission has been appointed which is now engaged in interring these demands.

During the strikes of 1919, 1920 and subsequent years, railwaymen and civil servants were dismissed by the government of the National Bloc by tens of thousands. Practically no re-instatements have yet been made; the veto of the railway companies remains all-powerful.

All along the line the government of the Left Bloc and the Socialists has betrayed the election promises they made last May.

But never was the betrayal so cynically admitted as it was by M. Herriot himself during the debate in the Senate on the London Agreement.

In reply to a reproach from Poincaré in the Senate on August 27th, M. Herriot made the following statement: "You are not just if you think that I have failed to understand that my government and yours are in agreement."

On the same day, and during the course of the same debate, he said speaking of the review of the British fleet at which he had attended at the time of the London Conference: "It is easy to make ironic allusions to the Spithead review. I saw a great fleet which teaches us the lesson that a country must not disarm"; and when the bourgeois Right shouted ironical approval, M. Herriot added: "Have I ever said or thought the contrary?"

This is the policy with which the Socialists have openly associated themselves, both by their votes and by their collaboration on bourgeois newspapers.

The French social-democrats are pursuing the same policy as Herriot, who, at bottom, is pursuing the same policy as Poincaré, and even boasting of it.

Thanks to the energetic campaign conducted by the Communist Party in favour of the amnesty, the reinstatement of dismissed civil servants and the increase of wages, and against the Dawes Plan and the London Conference, and thanks to the vigorous attack which is being conducted on all fronts against the Left Bloc, the working class masses in the larger centres are beginning to reflect, and the influence of the Socialists is certainly declining, at least as far as the politically or trade union organised section of the working class is concerned.

We have already been able to register the transfer of Socialist or trade union reformist organisations into the ranks of the Communist Party or the Unity General Confederation of Labour.

The vigorous campaigns undertaken by the Party and its press, the international agitation which was conducted with regard to the anniversary of the imperialist war of 1914, the energetic action on the part of the Communist parliamentary group during the discussion in the Chamber of the London Agreement, the unreserved adoption of the decisions of the Fifth Congress of the Communist International, and the re-organisation of the Party on the basis of factory nuclei which is now proceeding, are inducing an increasing number of workers to understand that it is necessary not only to follow the lines pursued by the Party, but also to join its ranks.

As a result, during the three months May, June and July, the membership of the party increased from 53,000 to 56,000 and of the Young Communist League from 6,000 to 10,000.

But it would, of course, be a mistake to allow oneself to be blinded by these results. Although we have made undeniable progress among the more class conscious and already organised sections of the working class, we have yet penetrated very little into the working class masses, who are still under the influence of the reformists and are still the prey of democratic and pacifist illusions. This is particularly the case in the south of France where there is very little concentration of industry and where the Left Bloc is flourish-

ing, and for the time being, nullifying the influence of the Party.

It will be only by intensive work within the factories, among the peasant masses, and among the 3,000,000 foreign and colonial workers who live in France, and also by demanding the right of the French colonies to make an armed fight for their independence, that we shall succeed (aided by the collapse of the Left Bloc) in drawing the vast majority of the working class into the struggle for the destruction of the capitalist regime.

Energetic action and goodwill on behalf of those who already constitute the elite of the proletariat are not lacking.

The Party is in a difficult financial situation and has had to appeal to the working class for aid.

Apart from the contribution of one day's wages by instalments, certain urgent requirements have to be satisfied. A loan was floated which has already realised nearly 500,000 francs in less than a month.

Never in the past has any working class newspaper met with such remarkable response from the masses. It may safely be said that the results we have obtained are without precedent in the history of French journalism, either working class or bourgeois.

Even the royalist newspaper *l'Action Francaise*, which is supported by the richest sections of society, has never obtained by subscriptions or by loan as large a sum in such a short time.

The success of the Party loan proved that the best section of the working class is absolutely on our side.

The Communist Party.

The Fifth Congress of the Communist International confirmed the correctness of the policy pursued by the Central Committee of the French Party, particularly in regard to the trade union question and the fight against the opposition.

Even before the Fifth Congress, the heterogenous opposition to the policy of the Central Committee of the French Party, headed by Monatte, Rosmer and Souvarine, secured only 15 representatives out of 3,000 at the last National Council.

At the suggestion of the French delegation the Communist International decided to expel Souvarine.

It is necessary to understand the meaning and the extent of this measure. The Communist ideology has already sufficiently imbued the spirit of the party masses to make it impossible to drag the Communist International into opportunist deviations by the action of its institutions.

Opportunism cannot secure a foothold and develop in the International as to-day constituted without damaging the discipline already established.

The expulsion of Souvarine demonstrates that the Communist International will be merciless towards all breaches of discipline which tend to encourage a recrudescence of Menshevism in our ranks.

The attempt at disorganising the International for the benefit of a petty bourgeois ideology, an attempt in which Souvarine was a pioneer, and which, if it had been tolerated, would have opened the door to the activities of the international Right, was opposed by the Fifth Congress by the slogan of bolshevising the Communist Parties, a slogan which implies the voluntary stiffening of the discipline of the Party and of the International.

We have to record that since the Fifth World Congress the opposition in France has been annihilated and the few timid attempts to regain lost ground have met with no success.

We hope that Comrades Rosmer and Monatte will cease active opposition entirely, and will work without reserve in the common task.

But even if this is not so, we must not close our eyes and rest on our oars after the defeat of the opposition.

The dangers from the Right remain a menace to the whole party whilst the working masses are imbued with reformist illusions.

There is no cause for alarm. It is precisely in a period such as the present that the personnel of parties is submitted to a trial which constituted a severe process of selection.

During periods of intense revolutionary struggle, or of White Terror, or of persecution of any kind, a selection of the most courageous comrades is effected. During periods when large masses are subjected to reformist illusions, a true process of ideological selection goes on within parties.

It is only true communists who can resist, and make their party resist the contamination. It is during periods such as we are now passing through that groups of comrades are

formed who, when the illusions are dissipated, will be capable of bringing the whole working class into the combat.

The Central Committee of the French Party must, therefore, be particularly vigilant and assist the process of selection.

Since the Fifth Congress opportunism has already made several attempts to raise its head.

The reformist wind drove Hoeglund's barque in Sweden out of the International.

In Czecho-Slovakia, if Smeral keeps silent and remains in the background, we find Kreibich and his followers openly opposing the decisions of the Fifth Congress in the party press and carrying on an obstinate campaign on behalf of certain forms of collaboration with the government, which, it is alleged, will prevent the advent of fascism in that country.

In Yugoslavia, the Central Committee of our fraternal party has just published certain theses on the fall of the White Terrorist Government of Pashtich and the attitude which must be adopted towards the more liberal government of Davidovitch. These theses reveal an obvious lack of militancy on the part of the Yugoslavian Party with regard to the new government which, it is alleged, it would be an anti-Marxian error to oppose as Pashtich was opposed.

What the Yugoslavian comrades are now doing is anti-Marxian. It is anti-Marxian to pretend to be building up revolutionary tactics on the basis of the secondary and unimportant differences and antagonisms which are dividing the fractions of the bourgeoisie.

Of course, these antagonisms and differences can be exploited to the advantage of the proletariat, but it must be realised that advantages so secured are very precarious and temporary, and that the nearer we approach the decisive struggle, and the more we advance claims which constitute a real menace to the profits of the bourgeoisie, the more we find the latter ranged against us and silencing the antagonisms and secondary differences within its own ranks.

Revolutionary tactics can be built up only on the basis of the class struggle.

To attempt to construct a working class policy on the basis of the internal struggle within the bourgeois fractions is to attempt a fatal combination of the action of the proletariat with that of a fraction of the bourgeoisie; it is heading for opportunism at full speed.

What has happened in Sweden and what is happening in Czecho-Slovakia and Yugoslavia teach us that we in France must continue to be very careful; we must be always ready to oppose a recrudescence of the spirit of the Right by ideological struggle, and if need be by more practical action.

We must endeavour to forecast by what door confusionism and opportunism will attempt to reappear within our ranks.

We are about to reconstruct our party upon the basis of factory nuclei. During the course of this work we shall certainly meet with tendencies which will try to maintain that the factory nuclei must not too openly engage in political activity, but confine themselves to day-to-day demands. The remnants of the spirit of pure syndicalism within our ranks will favour these tendencies which in reality represent a reformist danger.

We are about to work among the peasants. It is certain that during the course of this work we shall find the ideology reappearing among certain sections of our party which asserts that the peasants have a revolutionary value objectively equal to that of the proletariat. We shall observe more or less conscious attempts being made to bring the masses of the small peasants into our ranks.

These are sure of the reformist dangers which we will encounter. We must remember that our party can admit only such peasants into its ranks who are most conscious of the necessity of a Communist revolution; we must remember that, apart from the agricultural workers, the peasant classes retain the illusion of private property, which they possess or which they hope to acquire, and that, therefore, the small proprietors, the small peasant and the small farmer are allies certainly, but drifting allies who must be directed by the proletariat.

We must also make it clearly understood that because of their dispersedness the peasant classes are incapable of leading a revolution with the object of overthrowing the power of large capitalists.

In the bloc of toilers united against capitalism, the proletariat led by its Communist Party, represents the motive element, which directs the contiguous social classes.

Any assertion to the contrary we may encounter must be energetically combated as a return to reformism.

In France we have nearly three million foreign workers—Italians, Poles, Spaniards, Czecho-Slavokians, Hungarians, Bulgarians, Arabs, etc. We must form a united front of

these workers against French capitalism, irrespective of race or nationality.

The opinion of the party is apparently unanimous on this point. But we know how difficult it is to pass from the intellectual consent of the party to Communist ideology and the actual application of that ideology to reality.

Any attempt to neglect or to minimise the importance of the work among the foreign workers, and among the peoples of the colonies, should be resisted as an unconscious survival of the social democratic and reformist spirit.

For instance, a very significant example of this occurred about a month ago. The anarchists, who still control the Building Federation affiliated to the Unity General Confederation of Labour, passed a resolution recognising the use of violence against foreign workers.

This nationalist revolution to boycott foreign workers, coming as it does after the violence committed by the anarchists against *L'Humanité* and against the duly mandated National Confederal Committee of the C.G.T.U. coming as it does after the anarcho-police murder of two workers at a meeting organised by the Communist Party on January 11th, against French Imperialism and after the attempts at sabotaging Communist meetings by force, particularly during the elections, constitutes a clear manifestation of anarchist fascism.

The Party and the C.G.T.U. took up a correct attitude towards this act, but the response of the Party and the C.G.T.U. was too slow and perhaps not sufficiently energetic.

In the present state of affairs, lack of energy as far as resisting anarchist fascism and anarchist reformism is concerned will inevitably lead us back to reformism.

We must not forget these real perils which lie in our path and which, if we are not very vigilant, may especially in the present favourable period give the Right an opportunity of recovering a foothold in the French Labour movement.

Neither must we forget that the Russian opposition, which at present maintains a discreet silence, profited by the Fifth Congress to organise the Right internationally with a view to the future, and that at the Congress pretended, if not officially, at least behind the scenes, that the majority of the Russian Central Committee, under the guise of Left phraseology, was, in reality conducting a Right policy. This, it was alleged, was particularly evident in the trade union question.

This view, of course, does not bear examination. To conduct a left policy and to oppose reformism does not mean placing oneself more to the Left than Leninism, for to the

Left of Leninism, we know by experience there is nothing but opportunism of to-day veiled by revolutionary verbalism, or the germs of the opportunism of to-morrow.

As regards the trade union question, the Fifth Congress applied to the actual situation the very fundamentals of the doctrine of Leninism.

The Fifth World Congress also internationalised the tactics which had been pursued by the French section for more than a year.

We must work to reconstruct international trade union unity since there are still masses of workers in Amsterdam whom we must win over to Communism if we do not want to make a revolution in words only, and because the bourgeoisie needs the division in the trade unions in order to prolong the democratic and pacifist illusions and to protect the workers who are still politically backward from contact with Communism.

We must return to the unity of the trade union movement just because the majority of the Amsterdam leaders have become the auxiliaries of the bourgeoisie in the work of creating schism in the unions.

A revolt within the Amsterdam International is becoming manifest. The Left, consisting of Fimmen and Cook, is still to a large extent drifting, but still it is drifting in a correct direction.

Here there is no question of confidence or lack of confidence to leaders like Fimmen and Cook. We shall judge them by experience. But there can be absolutely no doubt that the position they are taking up within the Amsterdam International is a reflection of the process of radicalisation which is going on among the working class masses within that International. The campaign for the re-establishment of unity in the international trade union movement is our real objective; it will permit us to strengthen the Amsterdam Left, to turn it towards ourselves, and to conquer it for the Communist revolution.

In the French Party, as in the International generally, we must pursue an energetic trade union policy. We must give it a front place in our work of revolutionary preparation.

We must fight every attempt to make the return to the unity of the international trade union movement conditional upon a limited programme.

To make trade union unity conditional upon the adoption of a limited programme of immediate demands means in reality to pursue a policy of schism.

The conditions for reconstructing the unity of the international trade union movement should, in fact, be the same as the conditions necessary for maintaining it. If we base unity upon a limited programme of immediate demands, it will cause us to create division in such places where our conditions have not been accepted unanimously and will divide us into majorities and minorities.

If we assert that we cannot remain in the same trade unions with workers who do not accept the programme we put forward, we shall be conducting the very opposite of a policy of unity and by this piece of infantile leftism shall be depriving ourselves of a means of winning over to our side new masses within the unified trade unions.

Moreover, under an appearance of Leftism, we shall find a recrudescence of Brandlerism, which was condemned by the Fifth Congress.

For what is Brandlerism but an organic alliance with the social-democrats on the basis of a limited programme of immediate demands? Why should we commit in the sphere of trade unionism what Brandler committed in the sphere of parliament?

We really want unity in the trade union question. We want the Communists and the revolutionary trade unionists within the trade union internationals adhering to Amsterdam and to Moscow, to organise solidly, not only in order to induce the millions of trade unionists to adopt a certain limited programme, but also to induce them to organise as the struggle develops, to organise their trade unions for the decisive armed fight against the bourgeoisie.

Every attempt within the French Party or within the International to make the return to trade union unity conditional upon a limited programme of immediate demands must be opposed as an infantile leftism which will in reality lead us back to the errors of the Brandlerists.

The French Party must, therefore, pursue its path and be careful to resist the errors both of the Right and the Left, so as not to allow its strength to be dissipated or its capacity to manœuvre against the bourgeoisie diminished.

It is only in this way that the French Party will be able to get the masses to draw the lesson from the failure of the Left Bloc, and to lead the proletariat in the great struggles with the help of which will be prepared the final and victorious assault and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

ALBERT TREINT.

Situation in Yugo-Slavia

I.

YUGO-SLAVIA is one of the small States which were created by the Entente as a result of the Versailles Treaty and of the subsequent treaties. Yugo-Slavia has been formed out of parts of six States (Serbia, Austria, Hungary, Turkey, Montenegro and Bulgaria), and is based on the annexation of various territories populated by different nationalities. The following statistics show the nature of the Yugo-Slavian population according to the census of 1921 :

Nationalities	Numbers	Percentage
Serbs	4,704,876	39 per cent.
Croats	2,889,102	23.9 „
Slovenes	1,023,588	8.5 „
Moslems	759,656	6.3 „
Macedonians	630,000	5.3 „
Germans	512,207	4.3 „
Hungarians	472,079	3.9 „
Albanians	483,871	4.0 „
Rumanians	183,563	1.6 „
Turks	143,453	1.2 „
Other Slavs	198,857	1.6 „
Italians	11,630	0.1 „
Various	42,756	0.3 „
<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
Total	12,055,715	100 „

Already from the first when the Serbian, Croatian and Slovenian Kingdom (Yugo-Slavia) was established, the Croatian and Slovenian bourgeoisie betrayed the national liberation movement and refused to support the revolutionary movement of the peasantry which was fighting for land and freedom. They invited the Serbian and French army "for the re-establishment of law and order." They capitulated of their own accord before the Serbian bourgeoisie thereby revealing their counter-revolutionary nature.

While the revolutionary movement was at its height, the Serbian, Croatian and Slovenian bourgeoisie worked harmoniously together. By combined effort they defeated the strike movement of the workers, peasant revolts and the movement of the oppressed nationalities for self-determination. It was only when the revolutionary wave was abating that the Serbian bourgeoisie and the Croatian-Slovenian bourgeoisie came to loggerheads.

The period of the joint rule of the entire Yugo-Slavian bourgeoisie, which received the energetic assistance of social democracy, lasted from 1918 to the end of 1920. The hegemony of the Serbian bourgeoisie began at the end of 1920 and lasted till July 27th, 1924. Serbian imperialists deny the existence of a national question in Yugo-Slavia during the 1911-24 period, on the plea that Serbs, Slovenes and Macedonians were supposed to represent one nation. The representatives of the Serbian bourgeoisie produced the "Vidovdansk" constitution, which establishes Serbian hegemony in Yugo-Slavia. White terror began to spread, fascist organisations were formed and innumerable political trials took place. Among the hardest hit were of course, the Communist Party and the Red Trade Unions; for the "Defence of the Realm Act" was mainly directed against Communists.

The fascist regime of the Serbian bourgeoisie, which was intended to destroy the revolutionary movement, produced contrary results by making the national crisis in Yugo-Slavia more acute and by driving workers and peasants into a close union. On July 12th, 1924, the Paschitch Government delivered its last attack against the vanguard of the working class. It issued a decree prohibiting the Independent Labour Party, the Red Trade Unions and the Young Communist Leagues, and also arrested 400 Communists. When this attack failed to produce the desired results, the Serbian bourgeoisie abandoned "the policy of frontal attacks for the policy of compromise," from Pashitch and Pribitchevitch down to Davidovitch, Koroshtzu and Spakho.

II.

The fight for national liberation of the nationalities oppressed by the Serbs is identical with the fight of the peasantry for more land and against foreign landowners and capitalists, since the peasant element predominates among these nationalities.

In Macedonia, 85 per cent. of the total population are peasants, two-thirds of whom belong to the poor peasantry. It is precisely the poor peasantry which suffers most from the national yoke, as the landless and poor peasants are Macedonians. A considerable part of the land is in the hands of Turkish and Serbian landowners (Aghas and Beks). The agrarian reform of 1919 promised the abolition of the feudal system in Macedonia, as well as in other regions. But in reality this decree only remained on paper, as the Macedonian feudal laws succeeded in reducing this reform to nought.

In Dalmatia, there are also relics of feudal relations. The land which the peasantry confiscated in 1918-19, was again taken away from it, and the peasantry had to pay arrears to the landowners just as before. The Serbian bourgeoisie knew how to protect the interests of Italian landowners in Dalmatia.

Moslem Bosnian feudal lords also came to an agreement with the Serbian bourgeoisie. They compelled the State to compensate them for their losses on the land, which had always been tilled by the Serbian semi-serf peasantry, they procured for themselves the right of purchase for the remaining land, thereby being guaranteed against any possibility of confiscation of the land belonging to them. Although the feudal system was officially abolished in Bosnia, the actual solution of the agrarian question was postponed.

In Croatia, Slovenia and Vojvodina, capitalist relations had taken deep root in agriculture already previous to the world war, and had been the source of very acute class dissensions. When the military collapse took place in Austro-Hungary in 1918, the poor peasantry began the agrarian revolution which in 1919 compelled the ruling classes to adopt the expedient of land reform.

As a result of the agrarian reform, landowners retained a considerable part of their landed property. Moreover, they were well-compensated for the confiscated land. The whole system of land purchase is only another form of the manner in which peasant produce is expropriated. By agrarian reform the fascist regime of the Serbian bourgeoisie helped landowners to retain their big estates and to secure to themselves land rent.

In Macedonia and Vojvodina, the Yugo-Slavian Government adopted a colonising policy and gave the land to Serbian volunteers. In Vojvodina part of the land was confiscated from the big landowners for distribution among the soldiers belonging to the Serbian army. About 28,503 Serbian families settled as colonists and thereby 60,000 agricultural labourers were thrown out of work, as part of the big estates which employed them was divided among the colonists. These agricultural labourers are in an intolerable position, especially as there are no facilities for emigration to America or migration to the big estates in Hungary and where they might earn a living as they used to formerly. This colonisation policy has, of course, made the national differences in these regions even more acute than hitherto.

At present it is admitted even in government circles that the agrarian question in Yugo-Slavia has not been solved,

and the present government is preparing to introduce a new land reform bill.

Peasants are beginning to understand that they have been cheated by the bourgeois parties, that the fight for land is not yet over, and they cannot obtain land nor free themselves from the landowners' yoke unless they unite with the workers to establish a workers' and peasants' government. On the other hand, the proletariat of peasant Yugo-Slavia has also come to the conclusion that it cannot be victorious without the support of the peasant masses. The Yugo-Slavian Communist Party has drawn up an agrarian programme the main feature of which is the demand for the confiscation of all landowners, church and big capitalist estates for distribution among the landless and poor peasantry.

III.

When the Serbian bourgeoisie began to attack the non-Serbian nationalities, it was confronted by the resistance of the working class and its vanguard the Yugo-Slavian Communist Party, which initiated a relentless fight against the hegemony of the Serbian bourgeoisie. With the help of the anti-Communist decree (Obzhana), and of the Defence of the Realm Act, the bourgeoisie began an offensive against the working class and succeeded in isolating it from the peasant movement and from the national revolutionary movement of the oppressed nationalities. The unsuccessful manœuvring in respect of the national question and the fact that the proletariat failed to bring about a union with the peasant masses was very costly for the proletariat. At the end of 1920 and the beginning of 1921, the Serbian bourgeoisie deprived the working class of almost all achievements on the field of trade union and labour legislation. In many enterprises the eight-hour day was abolished, wages were reduced, labour protection and workers' insurance were closed down, the Communist Party was driven underground, all working class organs were prohibited and a very large number of Party workers arrested.

After this onslaught, workers found it very difficult to re-establish their trade unions, to form an independent labour party and to conduct a defensive campaign against the ferocious attacks of the capitalists.

The legal as well as the material position of the working class went from bad to worse. The official report of the inspection of labour for 1923 acknowledges that capitalists grossly abuse the Defence of the Realm Act. They declared

every strike to be a rising and demanded police intervention for its suppression.

The same official report states that the maximum wage of skilled workers is 200 dinars (80 dinars—about 1 dollar) a day, and that of unskilled workers—60 dinars. The lowest wage for skilled workers is—30 dinars, and for unskilled workers—15 dinars. Moreover, it must be borne in mind that a working class family consisting of father, mother and two children must have a minimum of 93.40 dinars a day to satisfy its most elementary needs. Naturally, the number of workers receiving 200 dinars a day is very small. According to trade union data, the average wage of metal workers is 50 dinars, and that of women compositors—35 to 45 dinars. Printers' maximum wage is—93.10 dinars, but very few receive this wage.

The continuous economic crisis has also a detrimental effect on the working class. According to data of the Central Trade Union organ of the Red Labour Unions, there are about 250,000 unemployed. Bourgeois papers give the number of unemployed as 150,000.

The Pashitch and Pribichevitch government made their most ferocious attack on the working class when the Yugoslavian Communist Party and the Independent Labour Party introduced into their programme the foundation of the Leninist national policy—the slogan of national self-determination, including separation, namely establishment of independent Croatian, Slovenian and Macedonian Republics, as well as the slogan of a Balkan Federation of independent workers' and peasants republics with equal rights. When the proletariat began to put into practice the united front with the peasantry, having issued the slogan of the workers' and peasants' government, it had to bear for the second time the brunt of the ferocious fascist attack described in the first chapter.

IV.

The black hundred Pashitch-Pribichevitch government was replaced on July 27th, 1924, by the government of the "left" bloc—the Davidovitch government. This government was composed of representatives of the Serbian bourgeoisie of a democratic persuasion (Davidovitch's party), of Slovenian clerical—representatives of the Slovenian bourgeoisie (Dr. Koroshetz), of Bosnian Moslems—representatives of the big bourgeoisie (Dr. Spakho), and of one "independent" radical. This new government has also the support of the monarchist landowners' federation, which represents the interests of the middle peasantry.

As to the Croatian Republican peasant party (Raditch's party), its policy has a dual character. According to information received, this Party does not form part of the government, but its chairman, Raditch, has promised the government parliamentary support. This duality of the Raditch party finds its explanation in the fact that it has in its ranks almost the entire Croatian peasantry, including an overwhelming majority of poor peasants, as well as middle peasants and kulaks. What unites these various peasant sections is their common hatred of the hegemony of the Serbian bourgeoisie. If Raditch decided to form part of the Davidovitch government, or to give it adequate support, this would accelerate the process of differentiation within his party.

What then is the explanation of the fact that in the avowedly black hundred Yugo-Slavia reaction has been replaced by a so-called "democratic" era?

This change will be easily understood if one takes into consideration that the substance of this democratic-pacifist era is the Serbian bourgeoisie's desire to get out of the difficult and intolerable position in which it has landed itself as a result of its fascist policy. Owing to the economic crisis and to the sanguinary regime of national and class oppression practised by Pashitch and Pribichevitch, the idea of a workers' and peasants' union has made great strides forward. This is best proved by the entry of the Croatian Republican peasant party (Raditch's party) into the Peasant International, and by the tendency of the left elements of the other oppressed nationalities towards union between workers and peasants.

The new government really means that on the basis of the Vidovdansk constitution, which represents bourgeois interests only, the Serbian bourgeoisie is endeavouring to arrive at a compromise with the representatives of the Croatian and Slovenian bourgeoisie in order to extend its political and social basis. Consequently, Davidovitch will endeavour to appease the hegemony of the Serbian fascist bourgeoisie, to unite the capitalists and landowners of the oppressed nationalities and to isolate the peasant movement of these nationalities. It therefore stands to reason that this "left" bloc is meant to be a weapon in the hands of the Yugo-Slavian bourgeoisie enabling it to dominate over the workers and peasants. Withal, Davidovitch will make small concessions to the bourgeoisie of the oppressed nations for the purpose of smoothing away national differences. He will deceive the masses with high-sounding phrases about peace among nations, parliamentarism, "the sovereign" rights of nations, etc., etc. As a matter of course, the "left" bloc needs pacifism only as a

screen for its efforts to frustrate union between workers and peasants.

The Yugo-Slavian Communist Party will have to do its utmost to expose the counter-revolutionary nature of the pacifist democratic regime of Davidovitch and Co. As the Davidovitch government is supported by the national parties, it stands to reason that special attention must be paid to the national question. At present the petty bourgeois parties of Bosnia, Croatia and Solvenia are half-hearted even on this question. The Croatian, Solvenian and Bosnian bourgeoisie does not even keep a minimum of its promises, thereby betraying the national liberation movement in the struggle with the hegemony of the Serbian bourgeoisie. By taking up a definite and clear position with regard to these questions, the Yugo-Slavian Communist Party will be able to expose the vacillations of the petty bourgeoisie, and to submit to severe criticism the right digression in connection with this question, which is making itself felt also in the upper strata of Serbian trade unions. The Yugo-Slavian Communist Party will also carry on an energetic struggle against the reactionary foreign policy of the Davidovitch government, which is nothing but a perpetuation of the Pashitch policy. It will demand the resumption of political and economic relations between Yugo-Slavia and the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics.

The Davidovitch Government itself by its reactionary policy towards the working class, is helping the Yugo-Slavian Communist Party to expose the Yugo-Slavian imperialists who are parading as pacifists. The new government's permission to Red Labour Unions to resume their activities is mere talk. The attitude towards the Independent Labour Party is exactly the same as under the Pashitch regime; there are still several hundred comrades in prison.

There is no doubt whatever that in Yugo-Slavia too, events will help the Communists. The task before the Communists will be to expose relentlessly every action of the "left bloc" and will endeavour to establish and strengthen the union between workers and peasants, whose final goal is—the workers' and peasants' government.

BOSHKOVITCH.

Book Reviews

THE MARX AND ENGELS ARCHIVE

IN the land of the dictatorship of the proletariat, life pulsates with creative effort; a new society is being constructed; inquiring minds, with fresh cultural powers are zealously ahead to create a new civilisation. The intellectual instrument of the proletariat in the land where it defeated the bourgeoisie on the battlefield with physical weapons, had to find an intellectual workshop worthy of its victory. Marxism, the science of the proletariat, found its most favourable environment in Soviet Russia. Not in Germany, where our great teachers, Marx and Engels, were born and brought up; not in France and England where they lived, fought and studied almost all their lives, was it possible to establish that worthy intellectual workshop for fashioning the intellectual heirloom of our great teachers, but here in Moscow, in the heart of proletarian Russia. The Marx and Engels Institute is a powerful instrument in this work. Not in German, the native language of Marx and Engels, but in Russian, the language of the first victorious proletariat, are the hitherto unpublished manuscripts of Marx and Engels published and the commentaries on the works of Marx and Engels being written. The international proletariat will have to wait until the great idea intended for the proletariat of the whole world are re-fashioned into the native language of Marx and Engels.

The first number of the Archive, published by the Marx and Engels Institute now lying before us is a *most valuable contribution* to Communist scientific literature. We do not undertake, in this brief review, to deal exhaustively with its rich contents. Principally we desire to draw the attention of the reader to what is new in this number, of the unpublished manuscripts of Marx and Engels, namely, "German Ideology," by Karl Marx, and "Correspondence with Bernstein," by Engels. We repeat that the contents of this issue is extraordinarily rich and a series of articles would be required to bring them fully to the notice of the reader. Our modest task, however, is merely to draw the reader's attention to the enormous value of the material and arouse in him the desire to study for himself this intellectual treasure—mainly consisting of the works of Marx and Engels.

“German Ideology” published for the first time in this Archive, throws a brilliant light upon the development of Marx’s idea in the realm of philosophy. In this manuscript written in Marx’s earliest years we have, as Riazanoff observes, *The first exposition of the materialist conception of history*. One of the principal ideas in the purely philosophical part of this manuscript which should be observed, is Marx’s view on the place of philosophy in the ranks of the sciences. Riazanoff is quite right when he says :

“The manuscript published enables us to establish another important fact for the scientific investigation of the philosophical evolution of Marxism. The conclusion with which we met in ‘Anti-Deuring’ had been formulated already in the manuscript on Feuerbach, ‘*Philosophy as a special science of the universal connection between things and knowledge as a summa summarium of the whole of human knowledge, becomes superfluous. Of all previous philosophies there remains only the science of the laws of thinking, formal logic and dialectics.*”

Here we find further a formulation of the relation between consciousness and environment, recalling a famous passage in “Critique of Political Economy.” Pointing out that ideology is not independent and cannot have an independent history, because history in a scientific sense deals only with human beings developing their material production, Marx says :

“Thus ethics, religion, metaphysics and other forms of ideology and the forms of consciousness corresponding with them, lose their apparent independence. They have no history, no development : *only human beings developing their material production and their material intercourse in this process also change their thinking and the product of their thoughts. Consciousness does not determine life, but life determines consciousness. The first method of investigation regards consciousness as a living individual; the second which corresponds with real life starts out from the real live individuals themselves, and regards consciousness only as their consciousness.*”

Marx’s view on philosophy as a special science, or as he describes it, as a “*summa summarium*” of all sciences, in my opinion, is a fundamental idea of Marx and Engels which abolishes once and for all the traditional role of philosophy and recognises only formal logic and dialectics, and much more attention should be paid to it than is done at present

by our Marxians. The Marxian method should be applied in a greater degree than hitherto in fields to which up till now Marxists have devoted relatively little attention, such as ethnography, history of civilisation, art, religion, psychophysiology, etc. It should be applied as a fundamental method for scientific understanding of psychical phenomena, and less attention should be devoted to pure philosophy, i.e., philosophy isolated from living science.

In a wonderfully apt and profound criticism of passivity in Feuerbach's Materialism, Marx in this manuscript gives another rendering of his famous thesis against Feuerbach, viz., "Philosophers in different ways merely explained the world, but the task is to transform it." He puts it this way :

" . . . For a *practical* materialist, i.e., for a *Communist*, it is a question of *revolutionising the existing world to turn practically against things as he finds them and change them*. Although such views are sometimes expressed by Feuerbach, nevertheless, they are always in the stage of disjointed guesses which have so little influence on his general philosophy that they can be regarded here only as means to facilitate the development of embryos. Feuerbach's conception of the physical world is limited by bare sensations. (There is a note in Marx's handwriting as follows : ' taking "humanity as a whole " instead of "the real historical man." This "man " is *realiter* a "German "). In the first case in investigating the physical world he inevitably comes up against things which for his consciousness and his senses disturb the harmony which he assumes exists between all parts of the physical world, and particularly between man and nature."*

In order to remove this, he is compelled to seek salvation in a kind of dual conception by making distinction between a common, everyday conception which sees only that which "is under one's very nose " and a higher philosophical conception which sees the "true essence of things." He does not observe that the physical world surrounding him is not a thing eternal and unchangeable, but a product of industry and social state, a product in the sense that in every historical epoch it is the result of the activities of a number of generations, each of which stands on the shoulders of the generations preceding it, developing its industry and its

* Feuerbach's mistake was not that he subordinated sentient Perception lying under his very nose to sentient reality established by a more or less precise study of palpable facts, but that in the last resort, he cannot approach perception without the " eyes," i.e., the " spectacles," of a *philosopher*.

means of intercourse, and in accordance with the changes in its requirements, changes its social structure. Even the *simplest things of "palpable authenticity" exist because of social development, because of industry and commercial intercourse.*

What attracts one's attention in this is Marx's deeply thoughtful activity. Marx demands activity of a philosopher, that he fight against things. Only by action does man understand the world, and all thought isolated from action must suffer from a fatal defect. Man when acting, changes nature, i.e., changes the physical world which surrounds us, and this Feuerbach failed to understand. Further analysing the function of consciousness and its apparent independence, Marx points out that only by dividing labour into physical and mental is consciousness enabled falsely to expound its own significance, Marx says :

"Division of labour really becomes such only when a division into physical and mental labour takes place. From that moment consciousness *may* really imagine itself to be *something different* from the *consciousness of existing practice*. From the moment that consciousness begins really to represent something, without representing something real, it is able to liberate itself from the world and proceed to form "pure theory," theology, philosophy, ethics, etc., but when this theory, theology, philosophy, ethics, etc., *comes into conflict with existing relations it is due only to the fact that the existing social relations have come into conflict with the existing forces of production*. Among certain nations this may also be a result of these antagonisms revealing themselves not within their own national frontiers, but between national consciousness and the practice of other nations, i.e., between the national and the universal consciousness of a nation (as for example in Germany to-day). If these antagonisms appear to a certain nation in the form of antagonisms within the national consciousness, then the struggle apparently is also limited by this national trash (Scheisse); because that nation in itself is nothing but trash."

One would like to quote much more, in fact all, for at every step one meets profound thoughts. Unfortunately, we cannot do this here and in leaving, for the time being, this great work of Marx, we quote the following passage dealing with the function of tradition, dragging at the individual and retarding the process of creating a new ideology corresponding with the change that has taken place on the economic basis.

“From this it follows that even within the precincts of a single nation certain individuals—even abandoning their property relations—go through completely different processes of development and that the preceding interest—a special form of relations which has been substituted by a form of relations corresponding with newer interests—long continues by tradition to predominate in the illusory collectivity (state, law), which objectively is opposed to the individual, a predominance which in the last resort can be destroyed only by revolution.”

We heartily recommend this work of the genius Marx, to all those who are interested in the burning questions of the theory and practice of Marxism.

We will now turn to the correspondence between Engels and Bernstein. This correspondence served as a collection of historical documents of first class importance, Engels—statesman, profound tactician and Marx’s best friend—stands out before us in remarkable relief. No matter whether he is dealing with the internal history of German social democracy, with the most complex questions of tactics and programme—like the national question in the Balkans, in connection with the complications arising in the relations between Austria and Russia in the ’eighties—whether he is dealing with the history of the French Socialist Party, the gradual development of the revolutionary struggle and the tactics of that struggle, or even with the question of what importance a given political system under capitalism has for the proletariat, Engels always reveals that wonderful aptitude and clearness, his youthful enthusiasm, his firm, unhesitating, consistent revolutionary line of thought, his great versatility, conscientiousness even in petty things, and a surprising diligence that is characteristic of him. To this should be added a brilliant wit, and a sense of humour which runs throughout the whole of this correspondence and makes the reading of it a real joy. Engels stands before us full of life and energy, an irresistible, full-blooded, revolutionary fighter. Here, too, we would like to quote without end, but alas, this is impossible. Nevertheless, we cannot refrain from quoting the following passages. Here is an excellent passage from a letter dated 18th of January, 1883 :

“We were very pleased with the replies of Grillenberger and S.D. to the hypocrisy of Putskamer. That is the proper way to deal with them. One must not squirm under the blows of the enemy and howl and sob and plead excuses that no harm was meant, as some do. For every blow of the

enemy we must return two and three; this has been our practice for ages, and I think that up till now we have fairly well beaten the enemy. 'The spirit of our troops rises in attack, and this is as it should be,' says old Fritz in his instructions to his generals; and the same thing can be said of our workers in Germany. But what if Kaiser, for example, during the debates on all the exceptional laws (assuming Ferick's extracts to be correct) retreats and whines that we are revolutionaries only in the Pickwickian sense? What he should have said was that the whole Reichstag and the Allied Council exists only as a result of revolution, that when old Wilhelm gobbled up three thrones and a free town, he was also a revolutionary; that all this legitimacy, all this so-called foundation of the law, is nothing more or less than the product of innumerable revolutions carried out against the will of the people and directed against the people. Oh! This damned German flabbiness of will and thought which was with such difficulty introduced into the Party simultaneously with the 'intellectuals'! Oh, if we could but get rid of it once and for all."

This is how the fighter Engels argues. Reading these lines unconsciously the figure of another genius and fighter of the same type rises up in one's mind—Lenin.

How apt and full of wit is the commenting on Rodbertus in the letter dated 8th of February, 1883.

"We shall be very grateful to you for the book by Rodbertus—Meyer. This man once nearly discovered surplus value, but his Pomeranian estate prevented him from so doing."

And now another very characteristic passage from the letter dated 20th of October, 1881:

"The 'Proletaire' people are those who say that Guesdes and Lafargue are merely the echoes of Marx which, expressed in ordinary, everyday language, means 'Ils veulent vendre les ouvriers Francais aus Prussiens et a Bismarck (They desire to sell the French workers to the Prussians and to Bismarck) and M. Malone very clearly reveals this attitude in all his works, and it must be said, in a very unworthy manner. Malone strives to ascribe the discoveries of Marx to other persons (Lasalle, Schöfle and even to De Pape). Of course it is quite in the order of things that there should be differences of opinion with party people, whoever they may be, with regard to their conduct under given circumstances

or to disagree and argue with them concerning some theoretical point. But to argue in this fashion against the most original achievements of a man like Marx reveals a pettiness of mind possessed only by printers' compositors, whose conceit you know very well from your own experience. I cannot understand in the least how one can envy genius; this is something so peculiar that we who do not possess it know beforehand that it is inaccessible to us; but one must be very petty indeed to be envious of it."

The friendship that existed between Marx and Engels has not yet been properly estimated, and yet this friendship is on a par with those remarkable examples of friendship between individuals that have occurred in history. The fascinating personality of Engels stands out in this friendship with remarkable clearness, for it was Engels who gave and sacrificed most. He devotedly sacrificed everything. Not only did he daily save Marx from death from starvation by his untiring aid, not only did he write articles for and on behalf of Marx, not only did he, all his life zealously defend his great friend and colleague at every step, but more than that he devoted the whole of his genius to the service of his friend. Himself a great thinker, for many years he voluntarily refrained from scientific labours and toiled at dull and tiring office work in Manchester, merely to be in a position to provide for Marx's material wants, and he did this in the most simple and modest manner. He always desired to keep in the background and always regarded Marx as being immeasurably superior to him in intellect. Engels made the sacrifices not out of personal sentiment, but *for the sake of the cause* which both he and Marx served, and which Engels describes to us in all its beauty. And this is evidenced by the correspondence now published.

The first number of the "Archive" is dedicated to Lenin. It is worthy of this great name. We wait with impatience for the publication of future numbers of this most valuable magazine.

RIAZONOFF.

Communist Party of Great Britain

(PUBLICATIONS DEPARTMENT)

A SHORT COURSE OF ECONOMIC SCIENCE

By A. BOGDANOFF.

This text book, which has just been issued, is one of the most important publications put out by any working-class organisation during the past twelve months. First published in Russia in 1897 it was frequently revised until 1909. In 1919, after the Revolution, it was considerably revised in the light of the experiences of the new phase of capitalism—the domination of finance capital. The new edition, now appearing for the first time in English, serves to-day in hundreds, if not thousands, of party schools and study circles now functioning in Soviet Russia, training the future administrators — of the Workers' Republic. —

“The *ideal* text book ably compiled infinitely superior to anything in the text books of the British movement.”

Communist Review, May, 1923.

**The text book of the Russian Communist Party
during the period of preparation for the Revolution**

PAPER COVER - 3S. 3D. *post free.*
CLOTH EDITION - 5S. 4D. *post free.*

Order from the Communist Bookshop,
16, KING STREET,
COVENT GARDEN,
W.C. 2.

**Centropress
Limited, T.U.**



**Number 168
Camberwell
Road, S.E.5**