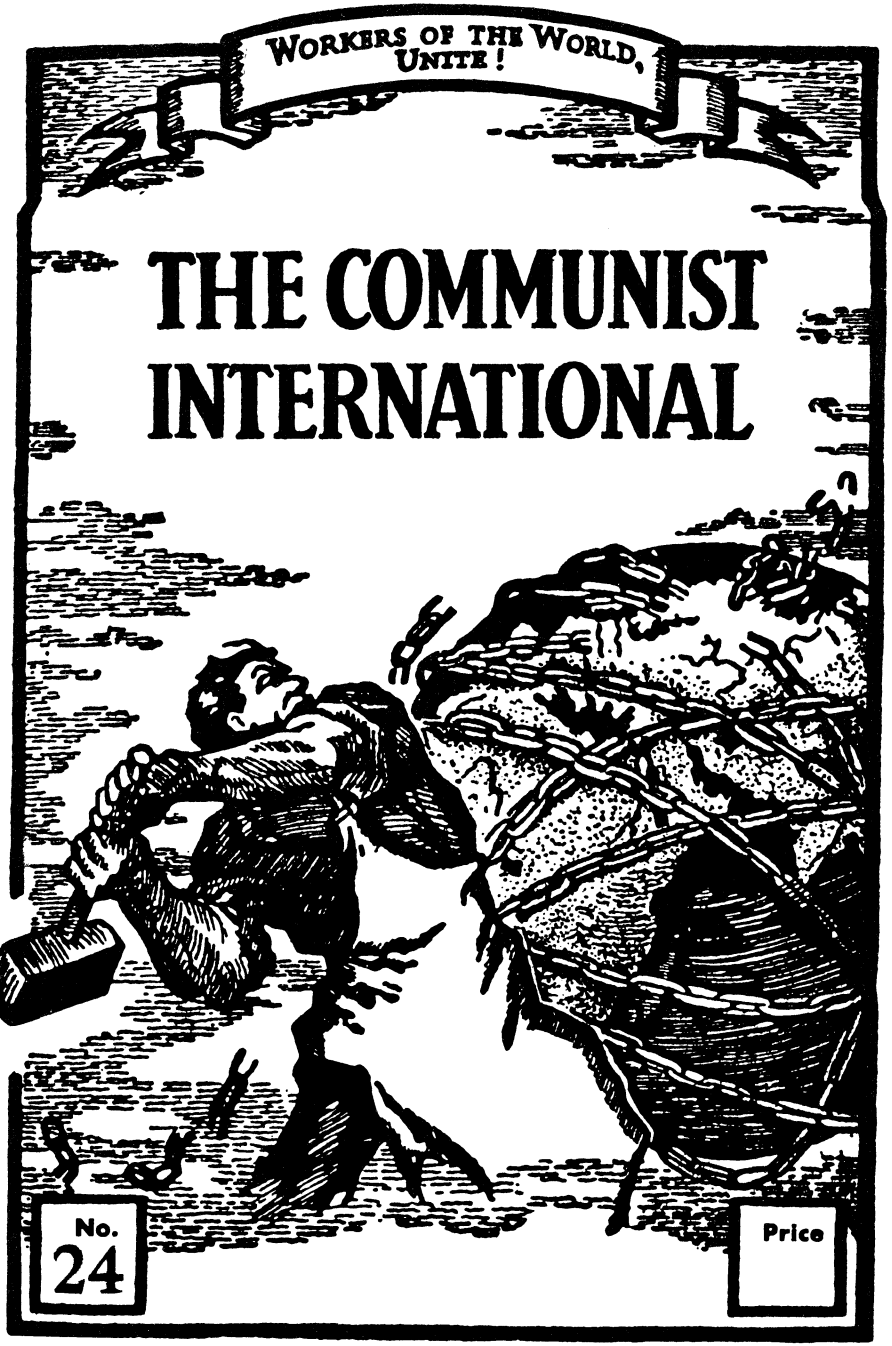

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FROM THE HAGUE TO ESSEN

By Karl Radek

History is now behaving like a wild horse. To prove that the vow of Hannibal taken by the Second International to prevent war was a deception, a whole epoch was necessary, but hardly a few months were necessary to convince the most backward worker, in the most decided fashion, that the gentlemen of the Second and Two and a Half Internationals gathered at the Hague Congress were bad comedians, and how purposeless was the comedy which they and the heroes of the Amsterdam International played at The Hague.

The Hague Conference assembled under circumstances which would compel even the blind to see. The Lausanne Conference to discuss Eastern affairs had just commenced. The representatives of the Entente gathered there, attempted to impose upon the awakening East terms of peace, which one cannot describe otherwise than as terms for a new war; for, if Turkey, weakened after the long wars, had been compelled to accept the terms dictated to her by Lord Curzon, sooner or later the whole of the people of Turkey would have revolted against them; for it was not for this that they had been shedding their blood since 1908. They did not, after four years of war, take to arms again to fight for their independence, in order, after having secured victory, to allow the yoke of the capitulations and of financial control to be placed on their necks again, or to allow the capitalists of England and France to be masters over the land which they had irrigated with their blood.

Simultaneously with the gathering at The Hague, there gathered in London MM. Poincaré, Bonar Law and Mussolini, to decide the fatal question as to what, after all, should be done with Germany. Six months' payment of tribute to the Allies was a sufficiently long period to prove that Germany under the rule of the bourgeoisie was totally incapable of fulfilling the obligations of the Versailles Treaty or that it refused to do so. It was clear to everybody that a decisive moment was approaching, that the reparations question was nearing a fresh turning point, and that the questions of peace in Central Europe would be presented at the point of the sword.

The attitude of the capitalist States towards Soviet Russia was that of neither war nor peace. The Genoa Conference ended in a complete fiasco intensified by the results of the Hague Conference on the Russian question. The Allies, who for a whole year had been discussing the economic restoration of Europe, at those conferences proved to the whole world that for them the restoration of Europe was synonymous with compensation for the capitalists who had suffered in consequence of the revolution. Millions of workers died in the war. They left millions of widows and orphans, living in poverty, uncertain of their daily bread—but nobody in the capitalist world gave a thought to compensating them for their losses. And if the people of Russia refused to restore the property of foreign capitalists in Russia and compensate them for their losses, why, let millions more of them die.

In the Far East fresh events were developing. Their forerunners are the seething revolutionary cauldron of the four hundred million population of China, the increased armaments of Japan

which, compelled under the pressure of the Washington Conference to abandon the construction of new Dreadnoughts, is rapidly building submarines and fast cruisers.

Or, as the American writer Turner, in his excellent book on the rôle of America in the Great War, says, "If the danger of war is less now than it was prior to the Great Imperialist War, how is one to explain the fact that the armaments of every capitalist State have increased?"

The Conference gathered at The Hague at that moment, and representing not only the Second and Two and a Half Internationals, but also the gigantic Amsterdam Trade Union International, which daily shouted from the housetops that it represented thirty million organised workers, had one task, viz., to say in the simplest terms and in the clearest manner to itself and to the whole labour world that the last war was not the last war, and that the workers and peasants will again be driven into war for the cause of world capitalism, unless the working class combined all its forces in order to seize power from the hands of the criminal bourgeoisie.

What else could the Hague Conference say? Could it deny the daily increasing menace of a world war when every day the ex-Cabinet Ministers, Lloyd George and Nitti, were proclaiming it from the housetops, and when all the facts were pointing in this direction? That being the case, what could the gentlemen of the Second and Two and a Half Internationals propose to the proletariat, faced with the danger of being again driven to war to-morrow? Advise them to rely on democracy—that very democracy which in 1914 in France, England and America led the workers to the slaughter like cattle without asking them whether they wished to fight, or even telling them why they were fighting? While it may be said that the majority of the population in the Allied countries took the side of the capitalist Government on the outbreak of war out of fear of the menace of German Imperialism, it has been proved that in the "greatest of all the democracies," America, the financial oligarchy secretly prepared for the war; that after the elections of 1916 in which the people expressed the desire to keep out of the war they were flung into it in order that the Morgans, Rockefellers, and Schwabs might obtain guarantees for the repayment of their loans from England and France and that the great American syndicate might continue to operate and obtain golden profits for the destruction of Europe. Can the gentlemen of the Second and Two and a Half Internationals invent a better bourgeois democracy than this American democracy, the glories of which have been sung for more than a century, not only by the European liberals, but even that King of Jesters, Karl Kautsky, the Pontifex Maximus of the Two and a Half International, who proved in a learned dissertation that it is by its very nature the Noah's Ark of modern pacifism. What other anchor of safety could the priests of these pseudo Internationals suggest to the proletariat except the systematic preparation for a world revolution? The League of Nations? That respectable virgin whose greatest delight is to be ravished by the giants of world capitalism and whose only scruple is to lavish her charms equally upon the English and French capitalists?

The Hague Conference justified the worst fears. It represented a picture of a cemetery in which the corpses that had long decayed

had crawled out of their graves to drink beer and to talk about the advantages of peace and the evils of war. The "old leaders of the proletariat," as they described themselves, but who are really people who had outlived their time by at least 300 years, sat together with not less ancient, pacifist, dames, digesting their dinners, listening to addresses on the use of the cinematograph in combating war and how to train the coming generation so as to lessen the possibilities of war. The youthful members of the Conference, like Fimmen who shook his leonine mane on the platform and shouted in three languages that never before had there been an international conference such as this, threatened the bourgeoisie with the possibility of an international general strike if war broke out. The she-wolves of social-patriotism, the Renaudels, the Hendersons, the Welles and the Vandervelde, listened to this propaganda against the defence of the fatherland conducted by the "neutral" friends, without blinking. When, however, the curtain was rung down, and in the small circle of the Commissions, when the time came to draw up the resolutions, citizen Huysmans, the sainted ex-secretary of the Second International which died in the embraces of imperialism—with the innocence of a child, declared that all this was nonsense. "When a new war breaks out," he said, "we will do exactly what we did during the Great Imperialist War." When I repeated Huysmans's statement at the plenary meeting of the Conference, it created no sensation at all. Nobody proposed that Huysmans should be ejected from the hall, because everybody felt that Huysmans was right, and Monsieur Vandervelde, whose brazenness distinguished him even in this company of card-sharpers, declared that he would vote for a resolution threatening a general strike in the event of war breaking out, with the reservation that if the "fatherland" should again be in danger he would be prepared once again to join the War Cabinet of His Majesty, the King of Belgium. And he was greeted with applause when he stepped on to the platform, and applause accompanied him when he left it.

We pointed out to these champions of peace that it was illogical to talk largely about the dangers of war and shake their fists at the capitalists behind their backs, to vow to die a hero's death at some indefinite date while at the same time remaining silent with regard to the Lausanne preparations for war in the Near East and the preparations for the seizure of the Ruhr. But not even a dog barked in reply. To be more exact, the dogs did bark, but they barked against Soviet Russia, which is notoriously the most imperialist State in the world. Only, after the meeting had ended, Mr. Charles Roden Buxton, an old, honest, English, liberal pacifist, who, disappointed with the pacifism of English liberalism, joined the Labour Party, came to us, his face wearing the air of a man about to be hanged, and declared that we were right. Such conduct was intolerable; and then he went off with the lantern of Diogenes to seek among his friends for a group that would support our modest demand to conduct an immediate agitation against the threatening danger and a one-day strike to demonstrate to international capital the growing preparedness of the proletariat to defend their lives against the war monsters. But Diogenes returned with his lamp of hope extinguished and drew from his pocket a draft of a resolution in which the Conference informed Monsieur Poincaré

and other evil-doers that they entirely disagreed with the new attempts to crush the German people and that if he, Monsieur Poincaré, insisted on carrying out this attempt, it would rouse the displeasure of all the ladies and gentlemen gathered at The Hague.

The Hague Conference, without taking a vote, rejected all our modest demand that if it was desired to combat the danger of a world war, at least they refrain from dragging the workers into the stables of a coalition with the bourgeoisie which is preparing for the war, but on the contrary to teach the proletariat immediately to carry on a daily struggle against imperialism and militarism. The Conference proceeded in its calm way and collected a bag full of wretched resolutions which threw the labour movement back to the position occupied by the Second International on the eve of the war.

Nevertheless, the Hague Congress was of great significance. It was a rehearsal of a fresh great betrayal of the proletariat in the event of a fresh world war. It was a proof that the Second, Two and a Half and the Amsterdam Internationals do not even dream of putting up a fight, for, in rejecting our resolutions, they exposed their desire to maintain the completest passivity. We did not call upon them to perform any feats of heroism; we did not say: Gentlemen, if a war breaks out you must make a revolution. On the contrary, we said: If a war broke out, the workers would not be in a position to resist it, the workers would go to war and then the task would be to do everything in order to make the war end in social revolution. This task, however, is the task of the morrow after a fresh great defeat of the proletariat. The task of to-day consists in averting this great defeat and misfortune for the working class, and to mobilise the workers for a stubborn everyday struggle against war. Only in this way can we hope to avert war. In rejecting our point of view and the suggestions arising from it, the Second, Two and a Half and Amsterdam Internationals signed their own death warrant as an active force combating war. The rejection of the United Front with the Communists in the fight against the menace of war, was only a result of the abandonment of the struggle against war itself. The same thing applies to the alliance with the bourgeois-pacifists. The latter, like the Amsterdamists, simply declaim against war. Why, indeed, should they not join the chorus? It would make it more imposing.

Here the question arises which worried every revolutionary present at the Congress, viz.—Why did these corpses crawl out of their graves? Why did they gather at this Congress? The reply is that the masses that follow them are full of alarm; that these masses, although not fighting to-day against the menace of war, nevertheless sense the impending catastrophe and tremble at the thought of it. These masses must be comforted, their fears must be calmed and some kind of beacon of hope must be shown them. The Amsterdamists calm the fears of the masses with a mirage of an alliance with the bourgeoisie like a Jew, who, passing through a gloomy forest and fearful of robbers, puts his hat on a stick and shouts, " We are two, we fear no-one." The beacon of hope is the League of Nations. " Did not the League of Nations prevent war between Sweden and Finland over the Aaland Islands question?" we were asked by an old Fligen who has known better days. " Nousense," replied his Swedish comrade, the reformist Engelberg,

"Sweden and Finland never intended to go to war over the Aaland Islands." But this is said behind the scenes. For the masses the mirage of the League of Nations is retained. Perhaps they will believe it.

II.

The test came immediately. On January 13, amidst the complete silence of the international proletariat, the French troops occupied the Ruhr Basin; the heart of German industry and of the German proletariat fell into the clutches of the French Army of Occupation. The Versailles Treaty is destroyed. Again all the questions of the situation in Europe are in the melting pot; only a fool would believe for one moment that this business will end simply by some re-decision of the reparations question. The occupation of the Ruhr is the result not only of the catastrophic position of French finance, but also a result of the fact that the French are convinced that the Entente is coming to an end. The Entente is still retained only out of fear of all the Governments of taking a leap into the unknown. But it is totally incapable of any joint action on the old basis. The French ask themselves: What will happen if an Anglo-American Alliance is formed which will economically dominate the whole world and the almighty Dollar and the Pound reduce the Franc to the level of the Mark? What will happen, they ask, if England, accustomed to using other forces as its catspaw, will help Germany to recover its military power? The development of the role of chemistry in war will enable Germany to restore her military power if she can emerge from her isolation. What will happen, ask the French, if revolution is triumphant in Germany, and the German and Russian proletariat combine their forces? They seek to avert these possibilities by dismembering Germany. At Versailles, on the strength of a promise of an alliance with America and England, which was to guarantee them against new groupings of forces, they refrained from annexing the Rhine Province from Germany. But America turned down the obligations undertaken by Wilson, and now the French bourgeoisie once again bring up the question of the dismemberment of Germany. In the eyes of wide circles of the French petty-bourgeoisie the advance on Essen is only a means to compel the German industrial kings to pay the reparations. For the French militarists, however, this advance is a military campaign, the result of which is to be the fixing of the Rhine as the military frontier of France and the placing of the Ruhr Basin under the muzzles of the French guns. Finally, in the eyes of the French steel kings and the heads of the Comité de Forge, the advance on the Ruhr Basin is a measure calculated to compel Stinnes to submit to Loucher. The dismemberment of Germany and the formation of a Franco-German coal and iron trust means nothing more or less than the opening of a new chapter in the history of Europe. It means such a re-grouping of forces, which, in spite of all the efforts of the masters of diplomacy, is a re-grouping for a future war.

The occupation of the Ruhr signified in the first place not only the subjugation of 500,000 German miners and metal workers, the vanguard of the international proletariat, but signifies at the same time the catastrophic deterioration of the economic and the political conditions of the workers of the whole of Germany. The outburst of nationalism among the masses of the petty-bourgeoisie

roused by the menace to the existence of Germany provides excellent soil for the development of Fascism which to-day is arming against the French in order that to-morrow it may be able to turn its weapons against the workers.

In its further development, the occupation of the Ruhr signifies the attempt to complete the work commenced at Versailles, viz., to reduce Germany finally to the position of a colony. France is demanding that it should have the first lien on this colony. Whether or not this business will end by an arrangement between France and England, by which the colonial exploitation of Germany will be shared by France, England and America, whether France remains alone in the Ruhr Basin and subjects the German bourgeoisie or whether it remains in the Ruhr without compromising either with England or the German bourgeoisie, at any rate these events will give a further impetus to new mighty political and perhaps even military shocks.

In this situation, the German social-democracy, one of the pillars of the Second International and of the Amsterdam International, again completely followed the lead of the bourgeoisie. However much the German social-democratic Press may deny this, the German social-democracy has again proposed civil peace to its bourgeoisie. And what have the parties of the Second International in England and France done? They have made the air ring with protests against the conduct of Poincaré. But neither the great British Labour Party nor Longuet's Party dared even to organise mass demonstrations jointly with the German social-democrats. They dared not even attempt the most modest expression of international solidarity. The leader of the Amsterdamists, Fimmen, toured Germany and other countries, explaining to the world, eagerly expecting to hear a new word from the working class, that the workers were impotent to do anything. Meinheer Fimmen declares that 20,000,000 organised workers are impotent to do anything! Why? Meinheer Fimmen refers to the split in the labour movement. But Fimmen lies. In spite of the abyss that divides the Communist International from the pseudo-Internationals, we have invited and now invite the Second and Two and a Half Internationals to combine in a joint struggle against the impending dangers. The German social-democracy, in Parliament, votes confidence in a Government representing the heavy industries, but refuses to fight jointly with Communist workmen. Messieurs Jauhaux and Blum direct the attention of the French proletariat to Lake Geneva on which are sailing the yachts of the diplomats of the League of Nations, but they refuse the hand offered them by the French Communists and revolutionary syndicalists; for they do not wish to fight against the imperialism of Poincaré. When Poincaré falls they hope to enter a bloc with the bourgeois radical group of Henriot and Peneleve. But the radical bourgeoisie have no confidence in the success of Poincaré's scheme, and therefore fear that by putting up any opposition they may call down upon themselves the reproach that they had prevented Poincaré from plundering. Like Pontius Pilate, they wash their hands of the business, and Messieurs Blum and Jauhaux do the same in order not to spoil the chances of a future arrangement with them.

And what about England? There the Labour Party has in its ranks at least nine-tenths of the workers. Nothing can prevent

it from entering into the fight except its own lack of character. It does not even dare to demand a break with France, and the cessation of support given to French imperialism by the retention of British troops on the Rhine.

The Belgian Socialist Party, faced with the criminal complicity of its Government in the attack on the Ruhr, for many days discussed the question as to whether it should completely support its Government or put forward some reservations.

But the most instructive of all the events in the camp of the Second and the Two and a Half Internationals is the energy and passion displayed by Messieurs Jauhaux and Vandervelde in attacking the first real attempt at a revolutionary movement against the impending danger in the shape of the miners' strikes in France and Belgium, which, in spite of the limited character of their aims, were a blow delivered against those who were stirring up a new imperialist adventure. Jauhaux and Vandervelde could not even defend their conduct by the pretext that they did not wish to help Stinnes and Krupp. They knew perfectly well that the revolutionary movement in Germany was stronger than that in France and Belgium, and that the slightest ray of hope of emerging from international isolation, would have been sufficient to render the labour struggles in Germany more acute, and assume national dimensions.

The Second and Two and a Half Internationals are soon to celebrate their nuptials. The bards of reformism are already strumming their harps in anticipation of the festival. But all their strumming cannot drown the words of Fimmen proclaiming the impotence of these Internationals, and no festivities will conceal the picture of their treacherous inaction in the face of the approaching catastrophe.

III.

Not for a moment did the Communist International and the Red International of Labour Unions harbour any illusions with regard to the relation of class forces in Europe. The Fourth Congress of the Comintern frankly stated that we were in a period of capitalist offensive, i.e., that the initiative in the struggle had been taken by our enemies. But, not for one moment, did we speak of the impotence of the working class. That phrase does not correspond with the facts, but simply conceals a desire for inaction. The Ruhr events were possible only as a result of the inaction of the working class. These events intensify the process of international capitalist collapse to such an extent that they provide the ground for fresh action by the masses of the proletariat. They make this action not only more necessary every day, but more possible every day. The Communist International endeavoured to organise the first battle jointly with the French and German workers; and although this battle is in its first stages, it nevertheless represents a great advance promising tremendous possibilities. The French and German Communists have adopted the same position and are doing everything to intensify this joint struggle against both German and French capitalism. They have already met in joint practical work in the Ruhr Basin. This work will expand and become more intensified and will create a bloc between the French and German workers as against the bloc between Stinnes and Loucheur; and this bloc will prove a powerful weapon if Stinnes and Loucheur decide to fall out.

In undertaking its task the Comintern simultaneously and con-

tinuously appeals to the masses of social-democratic and non-party workers to join it to form a United Front against the bourgeoisie. We are convinced that however scorntully the leaders of the Second and Two and a Half Internationals reject our offer of joint action, the insistent demands for the independent action of the Comintern will soon bear fruit. At all events, it must be said right now: the period for postponing independent action in propaganda for the United Front has passed.

THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION & the 4th CONGRESS OF THE COMINTERN

BY CLARA ZETKIN

John Reed gave the book in which he described the events and impressions of the brief but decisive period in which the Russian proletariat, under the leadership of the Bolsheviks, captured political power and established its dictatorship, *Ten Days That Shook the World.* John Reed came to Russia as a journalist from the United States to seek an ideal. The proletarian revolution led to his becoming a Communist. With the intuition born of his great talent, he perceived the world-historical significance of the feverish events and life of the November days. Yes! These ten days indeed shook the world, and the effects of the shock are still being felt in the world. For the proietarian revolution, surging forward with a mighty impulse, must become a world revolution, carrying the new principles of humanity to victory; those principles that conceive the development of society as the conscious act of man, immediately embodied in the will and the work of the proletariat to destroy capitalism and establish communism.

An echo of the world-shattering days of the Russian revolution was heard at the Fourth Congress of the Communist International in the almost unceasing applause that preceded and followed the speeches of Comrades Lenin and Trotsky, in which they dealt with the achievements of the revolution. This echo was heard also in the enthusiastic scenes that were witnessed at the close of the Congress, when the delegates spontaneously rose like one man, and deeply inspired, made the magnificent hall of the Kremlin ring with the triumphant strains of the " Internationale."

Indeed, the Congress was a tribute to the remarkable personalities of these two leaders of the Russian revolution and the world proletariat. And yet this demonstration was quite free from bourgeois " hero worship." Tribute was paid to them as the personification of all those—the famous and the thousands of unnamed—who in toil and suffering and blood, carried the banner of the revolutionary proletariat to victory; as the personification of the undying Russian revolution.

Those who paid this tribute were not a chance crowd moved by sentiment. They were the representatives of sixty-one nations from all parts of the world, stirred by the Russian revolution, and whose historic power, and the consciousness of their will and readiness to act, is reflected in the Communist International. The Communist International is the expression of the profundity and durability of the world-shaking Russian Revolution; and this expression is not merely objective, but to a greater degree, even, subjective, in the consciousness of the exploited and oppressed. It is the child of the Revolution, born to enjoy the fruits of the victory and the lessons of the Russian proletariat. It is the pioneer, clearing a path for its ideals in other countries. It was out of sheer necessity and not out of any desire for decoration that this great Congress had on its agenda the item: "Five Years of the Russian Revolution." The review of the work and achievements of the five years of revolution and work in Russia was to serve as an object lesson and guide to the proletariat in those countries still under the domination of capitalism.

A Congress of the Communist International is no more a gathering of learned historians than is a Convocation of Churchmen. It is a gathering of revolutionary fighters who consciously desire to make history, it is an international Council of War, to plan the storming of capitalism. This simple fact determined the manner and the limitations of the discussion that centred round this great question.

The desire for a clearer, and a historical understanding of the five years of the revolutionary life and labour of Soviet Russia is quite understandable. In fact, it shows that the international proletariat wishes clearly to understand what the establishment of the first State under the proletarian dictatorship, and five years of self-sacrificing struggle and labour mean for it. This knowledge is the material out of which it will forge the weapons in its fight for emancipation and its tools in its work of construction.

The discussion of this comprehensive question was divided into five sections, and each one was to be dealt with by a separate comrade. These were: Comrade Lenin, the greatest personality of the Revolution, its brain, its heart, its will; Comrade Trotsky, the organiser of the Red Army, the organiser of the defence and the victory of the Revolution; Comrade Bela Kun, the warrior in the Russian and the leader of the Hungarian Revolutions; Comrade Roland-Holst and Comrade Clara Zetkin. Thus the survey and estimation of the development of the Russian Revolution was to be handled by non-Russian communists. Unfortunately, this was not fulfilled to the degree anticipated; Comrade Roland-Holst was prevented from taking part in the Congress.

The four reports indicated above formed one whole. The very nature of the subject required that the non-Russian communists deal with the fundamental and tactical lessons of what is historically "completed" and "ended," whereas comrades Lenin and Trotsky had to deal with the character, the significance and the experiences of the "New Economic Policy." This division, of course, is somewhat artificial. The Revolution is a living continuous process and cannot be divided by rigid partitions. Comrades Lenin and Trotsky could not deal with the "New Economic Policy" without at the same time dealing with beginning of the Revolution with which it

is inseparably connected, and he could not, therefore, avoid touching a number of questions of tactics and principle. In the same way, in dealing with fundamentals of the Russian Revolution, the "New Economic Policy" cannot be avoided. Thanks to the tremendous wealth of experience contained in the five years of proletarian revolution, dull repetition was avoided, and it was possible to discuss the various events from various points of view, and in their manifold connections. Below we will attempt to give a brief survey of the four reports submitted.

The February revolution in Russia was in its nature, a dual revolution—a bourgeoise and a proletarian revolution. But with every new lesson the revolution taught the most important social class—the proletariat—the untenability of such a dualism became more and more apparent.

From the very first moment, the October Revolution was recognised as the legitimate proletarian revolution. The very fact that it took place is evidence of its proletarian character. With the conquest of political power by the proletariat with the aid of the peasantry and the establishment of the Dictatorship in the form of the Soviet system, the proletarian character of the revolution took definite shape. The proletariat is essentially international. With the outbreak of the Russian proletarian Revolution, world revolution appears on the scene of history. For world capital it foreboded the inevitable Day of Judgment, not announced, it is true, by the trumpets of the Lord of Hosts, but not less terrible and menacing for the imperialist bourgeoisie and their vassals.

It was not merely the manifold connections with the Imperialist War that marked the great historical events in Russia as the first battle in the world proletarian revolution. What marked it as that were the measures taken by the Russian Revolution reflecting its lofty and all-embracing aim. These were the most radical measures ever adopted by human society; their object was to destroy capitalism by abolishing private ownership of the means of production—the realisation of communism. Around this aim are crystallised, not only the Russian tendencies of development towards higher forms of historical life as a result of the conscious striving of the proletariat, but also the driving forces of revolution in countries standing on a much higher plane of development than Russia. The Russian proletariat entered the arena of history as the champion of the oppressed of all countries; it opened a new era of freedom. In smashing the Russian bourgeoisie with the Thor's hammer of its dictatorship, it at the same time delivered a smashing blow to the capitalists, the exploiters and the oppressors of all countries. The first proletarian State in which the creators of social wealth and social culture are honoured and those who acquire these things without working are condemned, is the *memento mori* of the domination of the class that distilled gold out of the sweat and blood of those it enslaved, thus converting inanimate property into a power over the living.

Born out of the flames of revolution, the Russian Soviet Republic was a climax of the class struggle, but it by no means marked its end. On the contrary, the conquest of political power by the proletariat brought this struggle to boiling point, and transformed it into civil war, full of passion and horror. The dictatorship of the proletariat, the historic mission of which was to make secure the work of constructing the new society in which there would be no

classes, was at first compelled to fight to save the very life of the young proletarian State from the savage attacks of the counter-revolution, and in doing so it brought into play all the means at its disposal. As Engels predicted when speaking of the proletarian revolution, all the counter-revolutionary forces of Russia, from Tsarist generals, and Liberals of all possible shades, to the S.R.'s and Mensheviks united under the banner of bourgeois " democracy." The civil war inevitably had to give rise to the " Red Terror " as a means of protection against the " White Terror." This most dangerous moment for the revolution dictated the necessity, not only for subduing the counter-revolution, and rendering it harmless, but also to deprive it of its energy, thus preventing the civil war from being too prolonged and recurrent.

Comrade Trotsky aptly remarked that the civil war surged around the peasantry as the most numerous section of the population. The Bolshevists' agrarian policy, still largely misunderstood and still attacked from all sides, inclined the peasantry towards the revolution. It played a decisive rôle, and guaranteed victory in the war which the Soviet State was conducting against its external enemies, which war was closely interconnected with the civil war of " pure democracy " against the remnants of the Tsarist armies which, with the aid of the capitalist States, strove to crush the new society. The comparatively weak Russian bourgeoisie found allies among the capitalists in all countries, who, conscious of their international solidarity, exerted all their efforts to save their power to exploit the workers by overthrowing the dictatorship of the proletariat in Soviet Russia. Without this agrarian policy, the proletarian revolution would not have been able to create the Red Army, with its heroic, indomitable will to defence and victory.

The Paris Commune clearly showed that the proletariat, striving to break the class domination of the bourgeoisie and, by capturing political power, to emancipate itself, cannot merely take over and subordinate to its great aims the old State apparatus. It must " build it anew "—it must destroy the old apparatus and then construct its own. The Russian Revolution confirmed this historical lesson. In order to live and to build, it was first of all necessary for it to destroy. The institutions and the organs of the old State—parliamentarism and its franchise—were the embodiment of the bourgeoisie and its auxiliary detachments for oppressing the proletariat. They had to be cleared out of the road to give place to the legislative and administrative Soviets of toilers and Soviet organs in which power was concentrated in the hands of the workers and peasants. Experience brought to the front yet another necessity—to destroy the economy of the old social order; every industrial and commercial enterprise was a fortified position of the bourgeoisie in its fight against the proletariat. In agriculture methods were employed that were in operation before the deluge; industry and trade, except for a few enterprises conducted on modern lines, were weakly developed and obsolete. Tsarism and the imperialist war completely ruined the economy of the country. Meanwhile it was necessary at all costs to satisfy the vital needs of the urban proletariat and the masses of the toilers as a whole, and in addition to supply all the needs of, and to maintain, the Red Army. In the exceptional circumstances prevailing at the time this was a task of incredible difficulty

which the proletarian State, fighting for its very existence, could fulfil only by resorting to the most radical and revolutionary measures.

The Communist leaders of the revolutionary Russian proletariat fully understood that a proletarian revolution is a much greater and more difficult affair than any bourgeois revolution. A proletarian revolution not only has to reconstruct the State, but also the economic basis and the whole superstructure of society. The abolition of capitalism and the introduction of communism can be the task only of the toilers themselves, and is the product of long years and decades of struggle and work towards this definite aim. Even the most powerful and centralised political power cannot perform this in one day, even with the aid of the wisest decrees. In view of this knowledge, the Bolsheviks at first presented to the proletarian State a limited, revolutionary economic programme. This programme aimed merely at the nationalisation of the land, of large scale industry, the means of communication and the banks, the establishment of a State monopoly of foreign trade and workers' control of production.

But the exceptional circumstances referred to above compelled the Soviet Government to exceed this programme. In order to overcome the counter-revolution it was not sufficient to deprive the propertied classes of political power. It was necessary, also, to tear economic power from their hands and to transfer to the proletarian State all the means of production, all goods and valuables, and, with the aid of a centralised apparatus, itself to proceed to the organisation of national economy. Thus, amidst the storm and stress of civil war, and wars against external foes, " military communism," this " substitute " arose, which prevented the worst from happening, and at the price of unparalleled sacrifices and suffering, and the progressive decline of the economy of the country, enabled Soviet Russia to defend itself against its enemies. As Comrade Trotsky remarked, political and military necessity did not always coincide with economic expediency.

In spite of the crudeness of this " military communism," in the economic sphere of Soviet Russia, it appeared to the industrial proletariat as the outward expression of its power, and as a step in advance along the path to the realisation of communist society. It would have developed directly into communism if what appeared at the beginning of the proletarian revolution to be so palpably near, was destined to pass; if the revolutionary conflagration had spread to other countries where capitalism was in a more mature stage of development. Unfortunately, the proletariat in those countries did not reveal sufficient class-consciousness and a sense of international solidarity, i.e., they did not understand the imperative conditions of their own existence and the historical tasks that confronted them, but allowed themselves to be led by their mortal enemies, the world bourgeoisie.

In spite of the monstrous lessons of the imperialist war, they failed to understand that the Russian proletarian revolution was *their* revolution, was *their* cause, was the first proud, bold, conscious manifestation of the world social revolution. These slaves dared not rise in revolt and deliver the death blow to the domination of the bourgeoisie. With their own hands they endeavoured, at the price of intensified exploitation and slavery, to restore the capitalist sys-

tem, shaken to its foundations by the predatory war and its consequences.

Not a single proletarian State having a higher economy and culture arose to express fraternal solidarity and render aid to Soviet Russia. The proletariat in countries having an old and strong labour movement, with Socialist schools and revolutionary traditions, permitted their bourgeois governments to render political and military aid to the Russian counter-revolution and attempted to strangle the Soviet Republic by blockades, by refusing to have economic and political intercourse with it and by all other means of force and cunning. The first proletarian State was left to itself in its task of self-defence and construction. Under these circumstances, the historical conditions which placed enormous obstacles in the path of development of communism in Russia acquired monstrous force. In the first place, there was the backwardness, the weakness and the low productivity of the economic apparatus. Then, also, there was the comparative weakness and lack of experience, lack of training, the weakness of labour discipline of the industrial proletariat—which had its roots in the past—and the backward methods of production, outlook, ideology and the low cultural level of the enormous majority of the masses of the toilers. The necessity of defending the gains of the revolution held together the masses of middle-peasantry that now arose, with the industrial proletariat as with an iron ring. But, while the Soviet Government was fighting, sword in hand, against the international counter-revolution to defend its right of existence, this peasantry by a number of revolts and refusal to deliver food to the towns expressed its protest against " military communism " as a system which seemed to doom the country to poverty and need. A ferment arose even in the ranks of the industrial proletariat. For four years the latter had been carrying on a severe struggle for freedom with incredible courage and inspiration amidst untold suffering and sacrifice.

A turning point had now been reached. Criticism and dissatisfaction was directed not against " military communism " as a system, but against the defects and failures of its organising and administrative apparatus. The farsighted leaders of the Russian revolution desiring to retain the proletariat in their hands, and to use its strength to construct communism, had to recognise that the hour of " military communism " had struck, and the Soviet Government was compelled to substitute it by " N.E.P."—the New Economic Policy. Without a doubt this was a policy of compromise with the petty bourgeois individualist peasantry and with Russian and foreign capital. The kernel of this policy was the substitution of the food tax-in-kind for the requisitions. In connection with this it was necessary to permit freedom of trade and freedom to conduct handicraft and petty production, and to give to capitalists the right to lease and receive as concessions large enterprises. But to assert that in doing this, the Russian revolution betrayed communism and abandoned its lofty aims, or even that it has blocked the path to these aims, is a falsehood or a misunderstanding. The efforts of the leaders are undeviatingly directed along this path. Passionately loyal to what should be, but calmly weighing up the situation as it is, they have kept the path clear for Soviet Russia to reach its aim. In spite of hesitations and waverings, the industrial proletariat are marching with their leaders through gloomy canyons and over towering crags

towards communism, with the support, the confidence and the sympathy of the peasantry.

The New Economic Policy is dictated not only by the desire to preserve the Soviet system; it was economically inevitable and necessary to reconstruct society in a spirit of communism. Indeed, what is the calculation upon which it is ultimately based? On Russian capitalism fulfilling its historical tasks, which hitherto it had hardly attempted; the perfection of the means and instruments of labour; the expansion and growth of the productive forces; the systematic regulation of labour in enterprises, in groups of enterprises and in whole branches of industry. Briefly, on raising the technical and organisational level of economy for the purpose of increasing not only the productivity of human labour-power, but also the training, experience, discipline and the fitness of the worker.

The decisive factor in the rôle of capitalism in Soviet Russia is the fact that it is no longer master in the State and therefore can no longer be absolute master in the factory. An enterprise, under the economic control of a private capitalist, is not " his enterprise "; it is the property of the proletarian State, leased to him, or granted as a concession governed by laws strictly fixing the limits of extracting profits. Side by side with private capitalism there is its powerful competitor, the " State capitalism " of the Proletarian Republic. The very thing which the private capitalist does unconsciously—or consciously strives to prevent is for proletarian State capitalism a conscious aim and a supreme law, viz.: to lay down the economic basis of communism and to secure its most speedy and perfect realisation. It is true that owing to the pressure of circumstances, it is compelled to achieve this aim by capitalist methods and all the time must bear in mind the contemptible " business basis." However, State Capitalism is radically different from ordinary capitalism in view of the revolutionary circumstance that State Capitalism is headed by the proletariat as a dominant class. In this the trades unions and the co-operatives acquire enormous importance. With the aid and support of the proletarian State these institutions grow up, not only into organs of struggle against capitalist exploitation and oppression, but also into organs of communist production and centres for training communist organisers and managers of production.

The New Economic Policy of the Soviet Government is the first example of proletarian national economy forming a transition stage from capitalism to socialism and communism. Naturally, this form must bear all the birthmarks and scars inflicted by the historical conditions of the period prevailing in Soviet Russia. When the proletariat in more highly developed capitalist countries establish their dictatorship, their period of transition towards socialism will be accomplished with far fewer difficulties and dangers; there will be less groping and blundering than was the case with their Russian brothers, who have acted here the part of pioneers. However, yet even in these countries—and this is often denied by dreamers—there will inevitably be a transitional period and a transitional system of economy from capitalism to communism, which will raise difficult problems similar to those which the proletarian revolution of Soviet Russia is solving successfully to-day. Of course, the conditions will be different, but essentially the problems will be the same. Just as the Russian workers and their leading class party paid for the lesson to the workers of other countries by their struggle for political power,

so are they now paying for the lesson in communist construction.

The price—the New Economic Policy—is a high one, but it is justified by the political and economic results. The stubborn sabotage of the peasantry is giving way to a striving to increase output.

The food tax is collected almost without the application of measures of compulsion. These taxes, together with the programme for reviving agriculture drawn up by the Soviet departments, are making the peasant farming part of the economy of the country. Side by side with the old traditions of small, individual peasant farming there is developing the beginnings of co-operative farming. The relations between town and country are improving; the peasantry has become a strong bulwark of the Soviet system.

The light industry is undoubtedly passing through a period of boom and the number of enterprises started and the number of workers employed in them, as well as the productivity of labour, are increasing. Only the heavy industry, which is mainly in the hands of the Government, and whose resources are yet small, is rising but slowly; but even here, improvement is to be observed. The fear that private capitalism would hinder the development of the young State capitalism, would out-compete it and have a damaging influence on wages and working conditions, have proven unfounded. The State enterprises, including transport, employ nearly two million working men and women, whereas the private enterprises employ only eighty thousand. If from the latter figures we subtract the number of workers employed in enterprises leased from the State by co-operative societies, it would be reduced to forty-five thousand.

Of not less importance is the fact that, generally speaking, the State enterprises are the largest and technically best-equipped productive enterprises. The average number of workers per factory employed in private enterprises is eighteen, while that in State enterprises is two hundred and fifty.

During 1921 the rouble remained stable for three months, while in 1922 it remained stable for five months. Taken as a whole the prices of articles of general consumption declined, while wages, on the other hand, increased. The standard of living of the workers employed in industry is approaching to pre-war level, and for some groups and places it even exceeds it. Undoubtedly, unemployment, the house shortage, and the effects of the famine-period still make themselves felt, but for all that the masses feel that they are recovering and the whole country seems to seethe with economic life. The people are inspired with the prospects of better times and are filled with hope. The new economic policy has not weakened the inherent ties of the Russian proletariat and the Communist Party nor its inspiration with Communist ideas. They have learned to estimate the new economic policy objectively and recognise it to be inevitable and useful. They know the value of the Soviet system and are fully aware that it can be preserved only so long as the Communists remain at its head. The people are filled with an unquenchable desire for education, to acquire knowledge and ability to master production and all the mighty forces of social construction, in order to be able consciously to develop their mighty energy.

Thus after five years of revolution, the Soviet Government, the Russian Soviet System, stands much more solidly and is much more fruitful than ever. Thanks to it, the Russian proletariat can justly

pride itself on its great communist gains. Looking back to the position in 1917, we have to confess that the only thing that the Soviet Government has surrendered in the economic sphere is that which the Russian proletarian State had been unable to organise and run itself. By doing this, however, it has merely strengthened its economic positions which command the main route to communism. The nationalisation of land, transport and communication and the large and important industrial enterprises, the banks and the State monopoly of foreign trade—all these have been retained without the necessity for attacks and retreats, which compels the admiration and tribute of even the enemies of Soviet Russia. The proletarian dictatorship, in a ridiculously short time, has put an end to the strongest survivals of feudalism much more effectively than any bourgeois revolution has ever done, and has sown the germs of a new and better social life in social institutions and in the consciousness and free impulses of millions, which no counter-revolution can destroy.

The existence of the Soviet system, guaranteed by the new economic policy, is a *conditio sine qua non* for the constructive development of the Russian proletarian revolution along the path towards communism. The only power capable, and historically destined to carry out the glorious ideals of communism stands or falls by the class domination of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The mighty and decisive significance of the conquest and retention of political power by the proletariat is strikingly illustrated by comparing the process of development of the proletarian revolution and dictatorship in Soviet Russia with that monstrosity, the bourgeois revolution and bourgeois dictatorship in Germany. No matter what sphere one takes—economic, social or cultural, home politics or foreign politics—in Germany we see weakness, disintegration, decline, retrogression and resignation. In Russia we see revival, growing strength, unrestrained progress, hope and activity.

The five years of the Russian revolution from the first day to the last covers the Communist Party of Russia with undying glory as the leading class party, the leading revolutionary party of the proletariat. Simultaneously with boldness and daring along the path towards its ideal, it was able to exhibit calm calculation in the estimation of realities. Of course, in its revolutionary policy it sometimes committed mistakes and was compelled now and again to deviate from its path. But, taken as a whole, it directed its aim towards the achievement of communism, with classical consistency and directness. It was the first titanic attempt to apply the theories of Marx to the practical every-day labours and struggles, and to convert the development of society from a play of blind, anarchic forces, into an instrument of human will and consciousness.

The five years of the Russian revolution glaringly reveals the two mighty roots of the iron will and the colossal executive powers of the Russian Communist Party. The first is the inherent organic ties between the leaders of the party and the rank and file and between the party and the proletarian masses which it leads. Thanks to this the conscious will and vital energy of the leaders are nothing more or less than the crystallisation of the will and energy of the party, of the revolutionary movement. Only thanks to this could the Bolsheviks become and remain the revolutionary class party of the proletariat, and inspire the revolutionary movement of the broad

masses of the proletariat. The second root is its strong, ideological and organisational compactness and discipline, which sternly reflect all that is best in the historical life of the proletariat, and energetically puts it into operation. The compactness and discipline of the Russian Communist Party are by no means based upon compulsory and blind obedience. They are the fruit of the training, of the penetration, the power of analysis and the ability of the leaders to make their influence felt upon and win the confidence of the rank and file. It is a clear and strong expression of mutual solidarity. Every member is trained to a conscious fulfilment of duty. In the Russian Communist Party there are no such things as " merely dues-paying members." Everyone of its members must serve it and fulfil some definite task.

Apart from the lessons of principles and tactics which they have taught to the class-conscious vanguard of the proletariat, the five years of the Russian Revolution lead us to conclusions that should be engraved in letters of fire on the hearts of everyone of us; and that is, that the subjective factor in history is a great and decisive factor for the revolution. " Men are making history as they must, but they are making it," said Engels. The Russian Communist Party and the Russian proletariat have converted this phrase from theory into practice. This is the great historical service they have rendered; the Russian Revolution is the mightiest product of the human mind that history has ever known. This great task may have been commenced within the borders of a single nation, but it must be completed on an international scale. From the greatness of the first act can be judged the greatness of that which the proletariat living beyond the frontiers of Soviet Russia have so far failed to do, but which they must do as a matter of duty in order to advance the world revolution. The further progress of social construction of the proletarian State depends on the unrestrained rise of the tide of world revolution, destined to sweep away the domination of the world bourgeoisie. On the other hand, the fate of the proletarian State will determine the fate of the exploited and enslaved workers of all other countries. The Russian Revolution will do one of two things: either it will give an impetus to the mortal enemies of the proletariat to strengthen the positions of bourgeois class domination, or rouse the exploited and oppressed to break their chains and win the world.

The Congress did not discuss the question of the Russian Revolution. It stood in profound respect before its mighty accomplishments and its unrestrained, rising power and limited itself merely to a brief resolution of sympathy and solidarity. The shock which the Russian Revolution has dealt the world has not subsided and demands deeds.

The discussions and the decisions of the Congress on all questions were all conducted from the point of view of the Russian Revolution, and were influenced by it. Face to face with the Russian proletariat, wounded and scarred in the storms of battle and suffering through which the sacred torch of Communism has guided it, the Congress of the Communist International could not, like the reformists, with an obsequious gesture say to the rulers and exploiters " Look! Take warning! " but turned to the exploited and the enslaved of the capitalist world with the appeal " Look! You must act! "

The Communist International — A Single International Workers' Party

By V. Kolaroff

Although the Fourth Congress did not put forward any new watchwords, but merely helped to make clear to all the sections of the Communist International the significance of the tactics of the united front, and threw light on the application of these tactics to the varying conditions prevailing in the respective countries, nevertheless, in the sphere of organisation, it marked a considerable advance in the process of converting the Communist International into a single international party based on the principle of democratic centralism.

Indeed, right from its inauguration, the Communist International has striven to become a centralised organisation. Arising amidst the storm of revolution, when the masses of the toilers throughout the whole of the capitalist world had risen in revolt against the domination of capitalism, it naturally had to adopt as its main object the organisation of the revolutionary struggle on an international scale, and, accordingly, had to construct its organisation correspondingly to this task. The experience of the Russian Revolution, and indeed of all great revolutionary movements, has shown that only through the medium of a single, centralised organisation of the revolutionary vanguard is it possible to secure proper leadership and to make the best use of the revolutionary forces in the struggle.

The First International, which also arose in a revolutionary period, placed the principle of centralism at the basis of its organisation. Bourgeois society, however, survived the revolutionary crisis of that day, and subsequently entered into a relatively flourishing period of development of its productive forces. It thus, temporarily, put a stop to the revolutionary movement, and consequently undermined the existence of the International, as a single, centralised, revolutionary organisation.

The Second International was formed on quite another basis. The revolutionary struggle for the overthrow of the bourgeois system existed at that time merely as a theoretical possibility, while the practical work of the Social-Democratic parties consisted mainly in organising the workers in the fight for the reform of the bourgeois system, and for toning down its inherent contradictions. For this purpose the need for a single centralised international organisation was not felt. Although international solidarity was one of the dogmas of the Second International, this, however, did not mean more than the declaration of mutual sympathy between the workers of the various countries, and usually found expression in general resolutions, which were not binding on anybody. That is why the Second International was not an international organisation in the real sense of the word; every party that called itself Socialist could join it, and, while a member, could do as it pleased, not feeling in any way bound to carry out a common international policy or to submit to any kind of international discipline. Its internationalism was an empty phrase, a deceptive illusion. Actually,

each party affiliated to it represented a completely autonomous organisation, and recognised no higher international body; while the so-called International Bureau was nothing more than an information and address bureau.

The Communist International could arise only by breaking finally, not only with the reformist falsification of the Socialism of Marx and Engels, not only with the compromising tactics of the majority of the Social-Democratic parties, but also with the forms of organisation of the Second International and its alleged sections. This was done at the inaugural conference, and every subsequent Congress made some change or addition in this direction. The Communist International emerged from the Fourth Congress as a single, more or less centralised, international party.

The essential features of an international workers' party are as follows:—

1. *A uniform programme.* The First International had a uniform programme: this was the *Communist Manifesto*, which, together with its criticism of capitalist society, formulates and lays the basis for the aims for which the vanguard of the working class of the world is fighting. The Second International did not have a common programme. Parties having a completely consistent, orthodox, Marxist programme and parties whose programmes were not much to be distinguished from petit bourgeois radicalism, equally were affiliated to this colourless International. The very first attempt to formulate a common programme revealed the babel of ideas that prevailed in it. For that reason the Second International could not carry out a consistent Marxist policy on any concrete question. The Communist International, on the other hand, commenced its activity by formulating a common revolutionary programme for all the parties affiliated to it. At the First and Second Congresses, clear and consistent resolutions were passed on the questions that had arisen in connection with the crisis by which capitalist society had been affected after the imperialist war. At the present moment the process of working out a common theoretical basis for the Communist International has progressed so far, that it is now possible to draw up a common programme of principles for all the sections affiliated to it. This became quite clear at the Fourth Congress, and there is not the slightest doubt that the Fifth Congress will finally solve this question, and accept a uniform, common programme. It is self-understood, of course, that the various parties, in agreement with the International, will draw up programmes of their own concerning the particular questions peculiar to their country, but in this they will be guided by the general principles of the common programme.

2. *Common Tactics.* The First International had this, and we find them outlined in the *Communist Manifesto*. This clear formulation of the main tactics of the revolutionary parties is applicable even to-day. During the whole period of existence of the Second International two sets of tactics contended for mastery: the tactics of opportunism and the tactics of uncompromising class struggle. Conciliation between these two sets of tactics was impossible, and if at times the Second International appeared to be unanimous, it was a unanimity of general, vague phrases, which simply concealed the impassable chasm that divided the two tendencies. This came out with startling clearness on the outbreak of the imperialist war.

At the very first contact with reality, the revolutionary phrases evaporated, and all that was left was a ruined monument to the greatest betrayal in history. In this connection, too, the Communist International reverts to the revolutionary traditions of the First International. It has definite tactics common for all its sections without exception. For the Communist International, which is and can only be an International of action, of revolutionary struggle, questions of tactics, i.e., questions concerning the laws of conduct of the Communist parties, are of first-class importance. That is why it so carefully studies this question, and attentively follows the experiences of the various parties, striving, as occasion arises, to give the lead from the correct international point of view. The Third and Fourth Congresses, and the two meetings of the Enlarged Executive which took place in the interval between the latter, were devoted to the investigation and the formulation of the immediate tactics of the Communist parties.

But the Communist International does not limit itself to general phrases and revolutionary declarations. It is a foe to phrase-mongering, and strives always to expose it. Its unanimity is not one of phrases; such unanimity is but self-deception, and bound up with very serious consequences; it seeks real unanimity, unanimity in understanding, which alone can guarantee unanimity in action. It not only strives to find the proper solution for the tactical questions that arise, but carefully watches the activity of its various sections in order to see that they carry out the tactics of the International, and that they do so in the proper manner. Unanimity in the actions of the sections of the Communist International is of such enormous importance that at the present moment, for the first time in the international Labour movement, discipline, which hitherto had been applied only within the limits of a single party. has become international. International discipline, i.e., subordination to the decisions and the instructions of the International, even when individual sections may be in disagreement with them, has become an inviolable law.

3. To secure unanimity within the International and the observation of international discipline, however, is only possible if the International and its various sections are properly organised. This is the third essential feature of a single international party. We have already said that the First International was a centralised organisation. The Socialist International, on the contrary, always represented a conglomeration of various parties and organisations having no mutual organic connection. The Communist International appeared on the scene as a reaction against the absence of principle, the treachery and the organisational immaturity of its predecessor, and set itself the task of uniting all the revolutionary forces of our times into a combined force, prepared to storm the citadel of bankrupt capitalism. For this purpose it adopted new principles of organisation.

The first and fundamental principle is the right of the International, as a whole, to intervene in the internal affairs of the various sections. No international organisation could exist without such intervention. Several of the sections who have not yet entirely outlived the old Socialist traditions are rather restive under such a control; but the advantage and the necessity for such intervention becomes more and more clear to all. At the Third Congress, the

so-called " March rising," and the whole conduct of the German Communist Party, was subjected to a friendly, but, at the same time, stern criticism. The International itself, and, above all, the German Party, gained considerably as a result of it. The Fourth Congress devoted a great deal of its time to the investigation of the internal affairs of the various sections. Considerable attention was devoted to the crisis in the French Party. Not less time and care was devoted to the affairs of the Italian Party. The Communist Parties of Czecho-Slovakia, Norway, Yugo-Slavia, America and others, also figured on the agenda of the Congress. In the various commissions set up by the Congress the unhealthy aspects of the respective organisations were investigated and criticised. The near future will show the enormous good effected by this mutual international criticism, which does not hesitate to probe into the most intimate affairs of the life and activity of the various affiliated organisations, with the sole aim of removing defects in their organisation, giving them political stimulus, and in this way achieving the idea of international compactness and activity. The Fourth Congress, both in practice and by formal resolution, sanctioned this right of international criticism.

But international criticism would be impossible, and, in any case, would have no practical value, unless there existed certain guarantees of an organisational character. International Congresses are not debating societies; their deliberations should lead to definite decisions binding for all parties. Proper decisions, corresponding to international thought and international experience, can only be arrived at, however, if the delegates to the Congresses are not bound to their parties by so-called "imperative mandates." Imperative mandates are a contradiction of the singleness of the organisation; the Fourth Congress was quite definite on this point. In order to guarantee to the delegates moral independence at the Congresses, it is necessary that the national party congresses do not precede international Congresses, but take place after them. International questions should be preliminarily discussed in the Labour Press, at party meetings, etc., but definite and binding resolutions should not be passed, for, owing to the lack of complete information with regard to international experience, such resolutions are likely to be incomplete and one-sided. The delegates should bring to the Congresses the opinions and the experiences of their comrades, but they should be given a free hand, after having learned the opinions and experiences of the comrades of other parties, to vote for the proper decisions from the international point of view. After this, the decisions of the international Congress should serve as the basis for the decisions of the national Party congresses. In this way the various sections of the Communist International will mutually influence one another.

The second fundamental principle of organisation of the Communist International is *real, single, international leadership*. The First Congress of the Communist International elected an Executive Committee, but this Committee, with the exception of the chairman, who was elected by the Congress, was composed of representatives of the affiliated parties, from whom alone they received their mandates. Owing to the fact that the members of the E.C. considered themselves the representatives of their respective parties and expressed the opinions and instructions of the latter, which did not

always harmonise with the instructions of the International; and also the fact that they were recalled frequently and others sent to replace them, it was impossible to conduct a single, consistent, and responsible leadership of the affairs of the International. In order to achieve this it was necessary to elect permanent members of the E.C., who would receive their mandates directly from the supreme organ of the International, i.e., the international Congress. This definite step forward was taken by the Fourth Congress. It not only elected an Executive in its complete and final form, to function until the next Congress, but worked out in detail its forms of activity, in accordance with which all the responsible work of leadership will be carried out by the members of the E.C. themselves, on the basis of the rational division of labour. There is not the slightest doubt that the favourable results of this reform of the leading organ of the International will soon be seen.

The third principle of organisation of the International *is uniformity in the structural organisation of the sections.* The majority of the parties that came over to us from the Socialist International brought with them organisational forms that far from corresponded to the tasks of the Communist parties in the epoch of revolution. A number of resolutions of international congresses fixed the main features of the form known as democratic centralism, which should lie at the basis of the Communist organisations; and the Third Congress accepted a detailed thesis on the structural organisation of the Communist parties. In spite of this, however, the reorganisation of the old parties and the formation of new parties is not proceeding rapidly and smoothly. This is particularly the case with regard to the illegal apparatus, which, in the period when Fascism is tending towards internationalism and towards being converted into a State institution, is of first-class importance; for only by this means will it be possible for the Communist parties to exist and operate under any exceptional circumstances that may arise. With the co-operation of the E.C., and under its immediate control, the Communist Parties must rapidly bring their work of organisational construction to conclusion. The Fourth Congress laid particular emphasis on this, and set up a special department of the E.C. to facilitate this work.

These, then, are the main features of the work done by the Fourth Congress for furthering the development of the work of organising the International. The leading idea, clearly outlined and precisely formulated at the inauguration of the Comintern, is to set up a single, revolutionary, international organisation, corresponding to the principle of democratic centralism. Such a work, the aim of which is to combine the common revolutionary energy for the common aims of all the exploited and enslaved masses of all countries, cannot be completed in a short time; still less can it be done according to a premeditated plan. It can proceed in historical stages, taking into consideration all the numerous and varied factors existing, and doing only that which is subjectively and objectively possible at the given moment.

Every attempt to force events would be risky and dangerous. The extreme variety in the conditions prevailing in the different countries, the Social-Democratic origin of a number of parties which are still burdened to some extent with the relics of their recent past all compels the Communist International to make temporary

concessions in the sphere of organisation, and to take fresh steps in the direction of democratic centralism only with great caution. For all that, the four years of existence of the International has been sufficient to enable it to apply the main principles of democratic centralism. *The Communist International now actually represents a single international revolutionary workers' party*, and its further development will still further enhance this feature.

3rd CONGRESS of the Y.C.I.

BY DORIOT

The Third Congress of the Young Communist International, which was attended by a hundred delegates, representing fifty organisations, will have a salutary effect on the Young Communist International.

It marked a turning-point in the history of the revolutionary movement of the youth. It decided on various changes necessitated either by the establishment of strong Communist Parties or by the change in the general situation. The chief changes were the abolition of the office of leadership in the political revolutionary movement, the abolition of the autonomy of the Young Communist Organisations, and their complete political subordination to the Communist Parties (or relations with the revolutionary section of the proletariat organised as Communist Parties), and the transformation of the Young Communist organisations into mass organisations, i.e., the establishment of ideological and organic relations with the working-class youth as a whole.

This necessitates a new orientation and the new road will be opened to us by a more energetic economic struggle on the part of the young workers, and a continuous defence of the interests of the young proletariat.

The tasks before the Third Congress were not very difficult. It had to ascertain if the decisions of the Second Congress had been justified by experience, and find out, by testing the results of the everyday work, if our orientation was correct. Moreover, it had to probe these experiences much more deeply, to define them more accurately, and to provide more exact data than the Second Congress ; in a word, it had to define all the modes of applying the decisions of the preceding congress. Finally, it had to decide upon the nature of the Young Workers' Movement and define the exact rôle of the Young Communists in the most serious problems of the day, viz., the capitalist offensive and reaction. The first few days of the Congress immediately showed that it was equal to its task. Two points were outstanding during the discussions: one dealing with the results of the decisions of the Second Congress, and the means of putting them into practice, and the other dealing with the serious problems of the struggle against the capitalist offensive and reaction.

The change decided upon at the Second Congress is being slowly put into practice. Our organisations are no longer political van-

guards leading the whole movement; but they are not yet mass organisations. A number of objective circumstances have retarded the transformation; for old traditions within the Federations are difficult to overcome. Moreover, the economic crisis and unemployment have hindered the entry of the working masses into our organisation, and reaction has dissolved several of our Federations. In spite of all these circumstances, however, a beginning has been made. Every one of our organisations is fully aware of the difficult tasks that confront it. This being the present situation within our organisation, the question arises, how we are to accelerate the process of transformation?

This question, theoretically, was solved by the Second Congress. It adopted the principle of the factory nucleus as the basis of the organisation of the federations. The Third Congress, however, gave practical solution to the question. It outlined in detail all the forms of application of the factory nuclei and the series of the intervening stages during the period of transformation. These two decisions constitute the greatest change concerning organisation. The Third Congress distinctly said: "These nuclei must become the basis of our organisation, as well as the deep roots of Communism among the Youth. They are the only practical means for establishing connection between the very life of the organisation and the masses. The experience of the Russian Young Communists is conclusive. Its organic base is the factory nucleus, and its influence over the young workers is continually on the increase." It never lost contact with the masses even during the most difficult days of the revolution. Such results would not have been possible under the system of territorial groups. Thus, the establishment of nuclei is very important for the organisations which desire to cope with their revolutionary task.

The nuclei must also be animated with the Communist spirit. Constant effort must be made within them to educate the Young Communists. Active work must be conducted within the organisations in order that they may survive. In addition to these minimum tasks of internal organisation, which constitute a duty towards the organisation as a whole, there are the tasks of acting as a lever for revolutionary action within the workshops, of defending the immediate interests of the proletarian Youth as a whole, of superintending the organisation of the struggle for its partial demands, and of its political education. Such, on the whole, are the most important tasks confronting the Y.C. Leagues if they are to assume, without much delay, the control and the leadership of the masses of young workers."

Many difficulties will confront us on all sides. The Congress warded off some of them by defining certain stages of the transition. These will have to be yet more clearly defined on the basis of future ezperiences in the various countries. However, the idea that we are on the road to the formation of mass organisations must predominate. There is still enough energy and enthusiasm among the Young Communists to achieve this and to overcome all difficulties.

The capitalist offensive, in its manifold forms, had painful but not unexpected repercussions within the ranks of the working-class youth—direct misery caused by starvation wages, unemployment, heartless treatment by unscrupulous employers, whose sole idea is of profit, and (alas!) at times by a section of the adult working

class, who fail to see the necessity for solidarity with the young workers. The physical weakness and backward state of organisation of the working class youth make it an easy prey of capitalism.

One of the most dangerous features of the capitalist offensive —which, while not new, tends to become general—is the employment of young workers at lower rates of pay against the adult workers during strikes, and at times even the employment of the adult against the young workers struggling for the defence of their interests. This division, which is cleverly encouraged by capitalism, is very detrimental to the working class as a whole. It must not be tolerated further, and the Third Congress used very plain language on this point.

It drew up a programme of demands for the working-class youth in opposition to that of the Social-Democrats, the realisation of which takes account of the capacity of the capitalist system—which means that it will never be carried out. Our demands must serve as a rallying ground for the wide masses of the working-class youth, and must draw them into the struggle. They are drawn up without any consideration for declining capitalism, and are based on the needs of the young workers, and on nothing else.

In order to prevent the division of the working class by capitalism into two sections, viz., adult versus young workers, one being manœuvred against the other, the Congress took up again the watchword, adopted a few months previously by the C.I. and the R.I.L.U. on the motion of the Y.C.I., of the " United Front of Young and Adult Workers."

The realisation of the United Front is hampered by many obstacles created by the reformist trade union bureaucracy. This watchword, in fact, demands constant co-operation, in all phases of working-class life, between the young and the adult workers, especially within the trade unions, as well as unreserved support of the young workers' demands by the trade union organisations. We are convinced that the adoption of our programme of demands will be the result of the daily work of the Young Communists within the trade unions and within other working-class organisations, such as the shop committees and the young workers' movements. Conscious of all the difficulties, the Congress studied them carefully and minutely defined our tasks on this field.

Reaction, another form of the capitalist offensive, has also dealt a severe blow to the working-class youth, and especially to the Young Communists. Fifteen of our Leagues are compelled to work illegally. Others are threatened with the same fate. This shows how the bourgeoisie fear the activity of the élite of the young workers organised in our ranks. Social Democracy has lent a helping hand to the bourgeoisie in its work of savage repression, and has even frequently outdone the latter in this respect. By a strange or, rather, logical coincidence, the countries in which our young members meet with the greatest difficulties are those governed with the help of the Social Democracy. The Social Democratic Young People's Organisations play the rôle of policemen and informers against the Young Communists. The Congress was able to assert that the attacks of the bourgeoisie were parried by us with great gallantry. In Italy, where, by their attitude, the Communists were able " to save the honour of the Italian working class," the Young Communists participated in the struggles in full force. In

spite of these facts. however, we must admit our weakness in the face of reaction.

The Congress made a careful study of the chief forms of resistance, corrected certain errors which had manifested themselves during the preceding year, and resolved on a strict centralisation of all means of action. The young Communists, united in their struggle against reaction, will form an enthusiastic vanguard in all these struggles, but will be under the strict discipline of the Party. The Y.C. Leagues must begin immediately the moral, material and technical training of their best forces, in order to form experienced cadres for the entire working-class in the struggle against reaction. The Congress further laid it down that the struggle against reaction is a problem for the solution of which it is essential to win over the majority of the working class, and that every action must have for its aim the establishment of closer contact with the working masses.

Another important problem before our Congress was "the struggle against militarism and the menace of war." The young workers have a special interest in this struggle, for it is they who contribute the chief contingents and the largest number of victims during imperialist slaughters. The Congress was fully aware of the importance and urgency of this matter. In the first instance, it defined precisely its attitude to all the present problems, and especially to the farcical Hague Conference, which will have no definite practical results for the working class. To the empty watchwords of the leaders of the Amsterdam International the Congress opposed the old tactics of revolutionary permeation of the army by means of nuclei, for the purpose of disintegration. It resolved to initiate immediately a great campaign lasting several months against militarism, war and the imperialist peace treaties. We cannot consider our task at an end until every young worker realises the peril in store for him, and makes up his mind to combat it.

The Social Democrats would have been more than delighted if we had let them alone on this question of future wars. However, it is the duty of every proletarian party to express its opinion very clearly and emphatically on problems of such magnitude. On the other hand, the only means to meet this menace is to obtain the unity of the entire working class in the anti-war struggle. The Congress addressed to the Social Democratic and Syndicalist Young People's International a proposal for a united anti-war front. It expressed its desire to rally the majority of the young workers for the struggle, and its approval of the united front tactics adopted by us. The Social Democrats must not imagine that the anti-war campaign depends on the acceptance of our proposal. This campaign will go on with them, if they so wish it, or without them if necessary. This was shown by the unanimity of the Congress on this question.

The programme question was also on the agenda. The Y.C.I. has had a programme since 1919. With the exception of a few secondary tactical points, it is still effective. It was more a question of revising the programme than of elaborating a new one. A few important additions were made, as, for instance, the tasks of the youth after the assumption of power, based on the numerous experiences of the Russian Communist Youth.

It is a programme of struggle. It severs us distinctly from

the Social Democrats. The latter are of the opinion that the youth has a "cultural" mission to fulfil, handed down probably by history. This purely petty bourgeoisie theory serves as a narcotic to the working-class youth. It prevents it from fighting. We have once for all condemned the theory and its prophets. The draft proposal adopted for our programme is to serve as a basis for discussion. It will be seriously discussed in every League, and the next Congress will have to give it a definite shape.

Such, briefly, are the tasks laid down by the Third Congress for the International Young Communist movement. In the present situation they can give us rapid and fruitful results, and can, within a short space of time, transform the Young Communist League into a mass organisation. The instructions we have received enjoin us to extend our activities and to strengthen our organisation numerically and ideologically. We hope to make a big stride forward. The Communist Parties must well consider the importance of our action, and must assist us in our everyday tasks. In this respect the situation has very much improved as compared with the past years. However, what has been done hitherto is not sufficient, and more must be done in future. The Congress of the Communist International has set the example, by deciding that two representatives of the Y.C.I. be included in the Central Committee of the International Communist Party. Let the parties profit by this example by imitating it, and let them above all realise that we are "the future," as Comrade Zinoviev said at the closing ceremony of our Congress.

THE RED ARMY

BY ANTONOV-OVSEENKO

Chairman of the Political Board Revolutionary Military Council

Not so long ago, in order to allay the fears of their masters, the Russian Mensheviks persisted in saying—

"The Bolsheviks are endeavouring to create a powerful standing army. However, their endeavours are doomed to failure. Being destroyers and not builders, they can only intensify chaos and make the existing disorganisation of the country more complete. Being oppressors, they are unable to rally the masses to their banner and inspire them with enthusiasm for their ideas."

In unison with the Mensheviks, the White Guard generals asserted: "This is not an army, but merely a Red mob."

"An army of tramps and vagabonds," was the contemptuous verdict of the Entente military experts.

These were the comments of our enemies about the Red Army in 1918, and their statements carried an air of conviction. In 1919, however, the ring of certainty had died down and there was less assurance in their talk about the Red Army.

Already, in the spring of 1919, Lloyd George, the most authoritative of all the leaders of imperialist democracy, was reluctantly compelled to admit in his secret communication to the rulers of the Entente:—

"By some miracle the Bolsheviks have contrived to retain their

influence over the mass of the Russian people, and what is still more remarkable, they have succeeded in creating a large and evidently well disciplined army, the majority of which is prepared to make great sacrifices for its ideals. In about twelve months' time, Russia, full of enthusiasm, and possessing an army which is the only one in the world fighting for an ideal in which it believes, will be able to initiate a new war."

Lloyd George recognised that it would be in vain to launch the armies of imperialism against the " land of the Soviets." He had already seen the miserable results of the Anglo-American landing in the North (Archangel, Murmansk), the Greek landing at Kherson, and the French at Odessa and Sebastopol. He had seen the disintegration of the German imperialist army directed against Soviet Russia.

He began to speak prophetically of the peril threatening bourgeois Europe, and the entire bourgeois world trembled at this awful vision. About a year later the red banners of our army appeared almost at the gates of Warsaw. Only by a mighty effort did the Entente succeed in repelling our " sortie from our besieged fortress " which the Entente itself had provoked.

The warning of this, however, was not lost.

" Soviet Russia cannot be overcome by armed force," said Lloyd George, and the Entente leaders agreed with him.

Thus did the mortal enemies of the Red Army pay tribute to its strength.

What appeared to be a " miracle " to the cleverest of the Entente leaders, however, had, of course, nothing to do with any supernatural forces, but was the result of the strenuous and well planned efforts of our Party.

The Mensheviks were right, of course, in pointing out that it is impossible to create a powerful standing army without mastering the elemental forces of the Revolution, without staying the disintegration of the national economy, and without retaining and consolidating the confidence of the peasant masses, numbering many millions.

Our successes in the construction of a standing Red Army are an indication of our great political and economic achievements.

What did the civil war represent during its initial stages?

Let us consider the opinion of one of the most dangerous enemies of the Soviet power—General Denikin. In *Sketches of the Russian Rebellion* (Volume II.) this general discribes, among other things, his escape, in November, 1917, from Bykhov and his progress to the Don. He felt alone and lost in an angry sea of a peasant rising, as he was tossed hither and thither in the surging crowds of passengers on the railway stations. He further describes the vain and desperate attempts of Ataman Kaledin to raise an army against the advancing " Bolsheviks." He describes the tragic death of Kaledin, who committed suicide. He relates how they, the reactionary generals, endeavoured to get recruits for their detachments under the cloak of democracy, and confesses that their " volunteer " army was stamped with a class character (page 199). When describing the hardships of this White Army during its retreat to the Kuban in March, 1918, under the pressure of the " Bolsheviks," he is compelled to admit that the path of the retreat of the " volunteers " lay through an area " seething

with hostility " (page 260). " Throughout the region, in every village and in every Cossack settlement, we found Red Guards comprising ' immigrants ' and ' frontoviki ' "[1] (page 253). " Towards the beginning of April all the immigrant settlements and 85 out of 87 Kuban Cossack settlements were already Bolshevik " (page 254).

One has to read the description of this march through hostile villages, of continuous struggles, against an enemy attacking from all sides, of the escape from one fiery ring into another, a description in which unabashed self-praise is mingled with unconscious self-betrayal, in order to realise and understand how deeply our revolution had taken root, even in the South, even among the Cossack population; and how powerless were our revolutionary forces, notwithstanding their numerical superiority, in the face of the much smaller forces of a skilful and determined enemy.

The weakness of our military organisation in the Ukraine was even more evident at the time of the German invasion in 1918. In something like two months a few German divisions overcame the puny resistance of our hastily formed detachments, dispersed them, and drove them almost entirely beyond the Ukrainian frontier.

Our experience of the German bayonets was supplemented by the Czecho-Slovak rising. The Czecho-Slovak corps, not exceeding 50,000 men, spread over the enormous railway system from Penza to Irkutsk, and succeeded in cutting off from Soviet Russia the whole of Siberia and the Urals, and a considerable section of the Volga district. They protected the White Guard—S.R. government in Samara, assisted the secret formation of the latter's detachments, and prepared the ground for Admiral Kolchak's successful campaign.

Against this small but well-organised force, we were able to bring a large number of small detachments, varying in numerical strength and arms, bearing very formidable titles, but very ineffective as a fighting force.

Experience had shown that we should be defeated if we failed to master the elemental peasant risings, and to centralise the command of the armed forces of the Revolution with the assistance of the town Red Guards (almost the only systematically organised force).

This was the meaning of Moscow's opposition to " guerrilla warfare " and of its effort to establish a regular army. The anarchic and " no boss " tendencies of the Revolution were combated by our Party with firmness and energy.

Success in this struggle meant the political triumph of the organising proletarian will over the elemental peasant forces, and the submission of the peasantry to the leadership of the proletariat.

This success could only be achieved by successfully building up the Soviet system in the industries and villages.

It was only by establishing a network of firmly welded organs of the Soviet power in the provinces, each having its war department (legislation concerning these war departments was introduced April 1st-8th, 1918), that we were able to change from the volun-

[1] Among the Cossacks, immigrants was the name given to those agricultural workers who had migrated from another district, as distinguished from the old settlers. The former were in worse economic conditions than the native Cossacks. Frontoviki are those who had been to the front in the imperialist war.

tary system to compulsory military service for all workers. It was only with the support of these provincial Soviet organs that we at the centre were able to establish a strictly uniform system of military formations, take stock of all military stores in our hands, and distribute them systematically. The centralisation of military supplies helped more than anything else to overcome the "guerrilla," independent spirit within the Red Army, to do away with the system of scattered detachments, and to establish definite military units. The consolidation of the provincial Soviet organs went hand in hand with the consolidation of the industrial organs, as well as with the consolidation of Soviet control over the transport system. Within a short time we succeeded in reviving our war industries and in staying the disintegration of our transport. It was only owing to this success on the economic field that we were able to resist the fierce attacks of our numerous enemies.

The fact that we were able to secure the service of the military experts, without whom it would have been impossible to create an army in such a short period, was a sign of the political victory of the proletarian revolution. The military experts were drawn into the army because they realised the deeply national character of its struggle against the imperialist counter-revolution. They were protected against the only too natural suspicion of the proletarian masses by the high authority of our Party, which attached special commissaries to them.

The success attending our efforts in the construction of a regular Red Army was a proof that our revolution had taken root

On the other hand, the consistent failure of the attempts of our enemies to put armed mass formations into the field against our regular army has proved that the counter-revolutionary movement had no real support among the masses.

The strategical aim of our enemies was very simple and well thought out. It consisted in cutting off the centre of Soviet Russia from the fertile border districts abounding in raw materials, and thus reducing the former to impotence by starvation. In order to achieve their aim, the counter-revolutionaries made very clever use of the decentralising tendencies and the nationalist prejudices that had been aroused by the abominable Chauvinist great-Russian policy of Tsarism.

The counter-revolutionaries used nationalism as a hand-maiden to imperialism. They endeavoured through nationalism to overcome the strong welding force of the proletarian revolution. It is on this basis that they attempted to create regular mass formations as a counter-poise to the Red Army.

But although the Russian counter-revolutionaries occupied the richest and most fertile region, abounding in untold food, raw materials, and fuel resources, and had the powerful support of the entire Entente, they failed to organise effective regular mass formations.

The attempts of Petlura and Hetman Skoropadsky to organise a national army in the Ukraine ended in a miserable fiasco. The Don army of General Krasnov, founded by the German forces of occupation, vanished rapidly under the blows of the Red forces in 1919. In March, 1919, Kolchak led an army 300,000 strong from Siberia to the Volga; four months later he fled back with only a pitiful remnant to Siberia, there soon to find his grave.

The White Guard forces were never able to be anything but irregular guerrilla forces.

Constructed on a class basis, they were strong and effective in small detachments. In their efforts to profit by their temporary successes and to retain the mastery over large areas, the White Guard generals had recourse to general mobilisations. In doing so, however their own cadres became swamped. The law of the antagonism of classes operated inexorably. As soon as serious blows were struck, the White Guard forces began to disintegrate and to dwindle. Even the initial success of our class enemies ominously prepared their own undoing. This success encouraged the counter-revolutionary landowners to avenge themselves against the " peasant usurpers " of their land; and their " Black Hundred " marauding followers to lawlessness and pillage in the rear. By its own actions, the counter-revolution did more towards the disintegration of its forces and destroying its prestige in the eyes of the masses, than any propaganda of ours. Thus it was with Kolchak, as well as with Denikin and Wrangel.

Only in Poland did the imperialist bourgeoisie succeed, with the support of France, in establishing something like a regular national army. But even the national army of Poland, with its impudent annexation policy, its shameless Chauvinism and class egoism (towards the peasants and workers) is steadily becoming disintegrated owing to the growing class antagonism within it.

Yes, Lloyd George was quite rightly alarmed about the fighting capacity of the armies of the present imperialist States. He pointed out that " the Red Army is the only army in the world which is fighting for an ideal in which it believes." It is this faith (which engenders enthusiasm) that constituted and still constitutes the fundamental strength of our Red Army.

However, in order to instil this faith into its ranks, and to light the mighty torch of enthusiasm in the Red Army, the Party had to send the maximum of its best forces into its ranks and to exert great efforts in the work of construction.

The Red Army is the concentrated personification of the Soviet system. Its core is the proletariat. While throughout the country the adult male proletariat constitutes six per cent. of the population and the peasants 67 per cent., the active forces of the Red Army comprise over 20 per cent. of workers and over 74 per cent. of peasants. Non-working-class elements were sent, not into the army, but to the forces in the rear, on compulsory labour. The trade unions are closely connected with the Red Army. During the periods of crisis they mobilised a very large number of their members for the army. Thus the Red Army represents a good working-class skeleton covered with a muscular peasant body. Our Party was the brain and the nerves of this firmly welded organism. While the number of Communists amounts only to 0.36 per cent. of the whole population, the Communist elements in the Red Army never constituted on an average less than 10 per cent., rising to 15 per cent. in the active divisions.

A complicated and withal harmonious political apparatus permeates the entire Red Army.

Its basis is the Communist nuclei within the Red Army units. Its permanent staff consists of commissaries attached to the non-party military experts: Superintendents of political work in each

company: and political sections, which are, as it were, staffs for conducting political work in the regiments, brigades, divisions, armies, and whole fronts. In addition to these, there are political organs of the provincial and district military commissariats. At the head of all political work stands the Political Board of the Revolutionary Military Council of the Republic (Pur), an apparatus centralising the political supervision of cultural and educational work within the army and of the political aspects of military operations.

It forms an indivisible whole within the Army, and it is in continuous and close contact with the Communist Party. During difficult periods of military struggle its activity becomes more strenuous, and the vital current of the Party will is transmitted through it into every fibre of the Red Army masses. Its ramifications grow in volume and in strength from the influx of new forces, as a result of mobilisations of Party members.

A cultural and educational programme of great magnitude is applied within the Red Army. The Tsarist army had about 69 per cent. of illiterates, while towards the end of 1921 there were only 8 per cent. of illiterates in the Red Army, and by the winter of 1922 only 3 per cent. By the spring of 1920 the Army had 1,566 primary schools, while at present there are 1,300 (although the numerical strength of the Army has been considerably reduced).

Every regiment has a club provided with a library, a reading room, and frequently with a stage and cinema. In all the barracks there are "Red Cosy Corners" (the embryo of a club). In January, 1919, the Army had 205 clubs; towards the end of 1919, 2,430; and at present about 1,000, exclusive of the " Red Cosy Corners." It has also 2,900 libraries. Various study circles are conducted in the clubs, such as political (Marxist), self-educational, art, military-scientific, sports (at present there are 5,000 of such circles). Mass meetings, lectures and informal talks are organised.

During the period from March, 1919, to February, 1920, over 150 million copies of central (Moscow) papers were supplied to the Red Army, in addition to innumerable newspapers published by the provincial Party Committees, and 500,000 copies weekly of special newspapers published by the Political Sections at the fronts, in the Armies, and at times in the divisions.

During the struggle with Poland the Western front alone published: 10 different journals (in four languages), in 980,000 copies; 34 various papers and bulletins (in four languages), in 2,813,000 copies; pictorial and other posters, etc., in 2,376,000 copies; postcards, in 239,000 copies, etc.

Special publications were issued for distribution in the enemy's rear.

A large number of military-political schools are training Party members for work within the Army. At present these schools are attended by 3,000 students.

This enormous political work within the Army goes on hand in hand with the work carried on, on a large scale, by the Party throughout the country. Under the careful and skilled supervision of the Central Committee, the entire Party down to its lowest nuclei (factory and village) work and live as a harmonious whole, the pulse of its 500,000 members beating in unison. Thus, it carries

to the masses the latest Party watchwords and systematically prepares the various campaigns.

And behind the Red Army is always the entire country of workers and peasants. This is especially noticeable at present, when various institutions and economic organisations are assuming the position of " Honorary Colonels " of the various units of the Red Army.

The Party, of course, paid special attention to the commanding staff of the army. The experiment of drawing military experts into the Red Army has been fully justified by results. Treachery on the part of some members of the Army command were at first a fairly frequent occurrence, but this was the inevitable price we had to pay for military reconstruction. As the Soviet system and the proletarian State became more firmly established, such occurrences became only rare exceptions. On the whole, the former officers have become reconciled with our Army, and are working conscientiously for its efficiency. In order to replenish the personnel of the Army command and to bring new forces into it, military schools were established as early as 1918. A whole network of them is functioning at present. Their social make-up is as follows: workers, over 33 per cent; peasants, over 50 per cent; Party members, up to 25 per cent. Already at present, 40 to 50 per cent. of the personnel of the Army command, from battalion commanders upward, are Party members. The lower ranks of the Army command are being gradually filled from the above-mentioned military schools and are beginning to bear an increasingly homogeneous character.

At present the full strength of our army has been reduced to 600,000 men. The following table gives the fluctuations of the numerical strength of the Red Army:—

December, 1920	5,300,000
April, 1921	4,495,000
September, 1921	1,774,500
March, 1922	1,615,000
September, 1922	895,000
February, 1923	600,000

So small an army cannot, of course, guarantee the country against the attacks from its numerous and enterprising enemies. In addition to the standing army, well-trained (military and politically) mass reserves of various years are needed. With the reduction of the numerical strength of the standing army, the tasks which the Universal Military Training Board has had on its programme since April 22nd, 1918, are coming to the fore. These tasks consist in the physical training of the working-class youth,, and also their military and political training, previous to their summoning to the colours. On this field the Young Communist League is playing a very important part. This, in fact, must become the fundamental work of the Russian Y.C. League.

On the threshold of this sixth year of the existence of a regular Red Army, our Party is justified in regarding with pride the progress made under its guidance.

It can also look calmly into the future, fully conscious of the enormous difficulties in connection with the further consolidation and development of the armed forces of the Revolution, and yet confident that it will emerge victorious from all these difficulties.

IMPRESSIONS OF THE GENERAL ELECTION

BY M. PHILIPS PRICE

Over a hundred years ago Rousseau said about the classic land of parliamentary democracy that its citizens were free once every seven years, during the few minutes when they were recording their votes for the nominees of one or other of the two political caucuses. I do not know whether it was for this reason or for any other, but it was certainly true for a long time that in England a general election came rather to be associated with something akin to a horse-race or to some other national sport, which has always been a popular institution in England. This remark does not, of course, apply to Scotland, where, it seems, the austere influence of the Presbyterian Church has caused the inhabitants to treat election days as if they were second editions of Sunday. But throughout all the south of the British Isles a general election was concerned more with personalities than with politics, more with the private life and individual character of the parliamentary candidates than with the political programmes of the parties to which they belonged.

And yet no one could help observing that in the General Election which has just taken place a new element was introduced into the contest. Up till now the parliamentary stake has been monopolised by the two great historic parties of England, the Liberals and the Conservatives, or, as they were known a hundred years ago, the Whigs and the Tories. Originally they represented very distinct political principles because they were the popular mouthpieces of two great economic interests, which at that time dominated the life of England. These were those of the agrarian aristocracy and those of the mercantile capitalists and traders. But as the time went on, the economic interests of these two classes began to merge on many important questions, and this was especially the case wherever these two parties and the interests which they represent were faced with the new element in political life in England to-day, namely, organised Labour.

I well remember elections in England in the days before the war. In the town for which I was Labour candidate in this recent election, it was usual for the Liberal candidate to get in by the lavish expenditure of money and by the promises of orders for the factories, so that the workers would be kept in employment. After he had been in for a term of years, and had secured for himself the title of "Sir" or had perhaps bought for himself a seat in the House of Lords, it would be generally regarded that it was time for the Conservatives to have a go, and so the candidate of this party would get in and remain in, till he had got a judgeship or some other public emolument.

On this occasion, however, the constituency of the city of Gloucester, for which I was candidate, presented a very different spectacle. The city is divided into two parts. One is industrial, and contains a large population of workers, living by work in the docks, on the river and canal transport services, in a big railway and carriage works, in timber yards and on the railways lines. The

other part is a residential area round the cathedral, where live the big bourgeoisie who have connections with the landowning aristocracy of the county, the petit bourgeoisie and small shopkeepers and their personal attendants, immediately dependent upon them for a livelihood. The big bourgeoisie had had enormous influence upon the casual and unskilled labourers of this quarter of the city, through their control over the administrative apparatus of local government. They were able to give work on the municipal undertakings to those who promised to vote for the Liberal or Conservative. As Labour has not got its nominees on the municipal executive, the *unskilled* labourer is afraid that, if the Labour candidate gets in, he will lose his work. But, in addition to this, the ecclesiastical authorities, in an old town like Gloucester, have great influence on the course of a political campaign, and this influence was put unconditionally at the disposal of the big bourgeoisie. They are the controllers of large charitable funds, which were left by religiously-minded persons many hundreds of years ago, and these funds are now used to dole out blankets at Christmas and coal during the winter, to all those who will agree to support and work for the Liberal or Conservative candidates at the general election.

In fact, the whole of the economic apparatus of the local authority, of the Church, and of the big bourgeoisie, was put in the scale against any party which would dare to challenge the existing order of society and to preach the principles of Socialism. And this was the situation which I found when I arrived in Gloucester two weeks before the General Election last year. It provided a good comment on the real nature of British parliamentary democracy, which is, in fact, nothing else than the instrument for enabling the big bourgeoisie to remain in possession of their economic power.

It is characteristic of the change which has come over England since the war that the nomination for the first time of a Labour candidate, in a provincial centre like Gloucester, to challenge the century-old supremacy of the two classical parties, should have led to an election campaign unprecedented in the history of the city, and to the failure of the Labour candidate to get elected by the narrow margin of 51 votes on a total poll of over 21,000. And what happened in Gloucester is, I think, fairly characteristic of what happened on an average throughout the rest of England. Organised and skilled labour rallied to the candidate who uncompromisingly stood for Socialist principles, who demanded nationalisation of the key industries of the country, who demanded immediate recognition of Soviet Russia, who defended the principles of the Russian Revolution, and who demanded that a clean sweep be made with the Versailles Treaty and the policy of indemnities. Nor is it difficult to see why this was so. One in six of the organised workers were unemployed, and were living on doles amounting to twenty shillings a week, on which they had to keep their wives and families. Many of them had been from eighteen months to two years unemployed, and were beginning to get demoralised and to lose their skill, which they had acquired after years of training. The ex-soldiers also were to a large extent tramping the streets looking for work, and among them there was a feeling of disillusionment, and a feeling that the promises which had been made to them were never intended for fulfilment. A general feeling of unhappiness and depression pervaded them, and

it was one of the most interesting symptoms of the state of England to-day to see those who four years ago would have howled down any candidate who had even suggested that the military intervention against the Russian Soviet Republic was a crime, or that the Versailles Treaty was not the last word of wisdom, now whole-heartedly declaring their support of the Labour candidate. For instance, on the polling day in Gloucester a number of ex-Service men came out and walked the streets with their war medals on their breasts and with placards on which were written: "Vote for the Labour candidate, who will see to it that you are never used again as capitalist cannon-fodder."

All references to Soviet Russia at meetings in the working-class quarters of the city met with much sympathetic applause, especially when it was pointed out that the policy of the British Government in sabotaging the granting of trading credits to Russia, at the instance of Tsarist bondholders, was partly responsible for the unemployment from which they were suffering. They even began to feel instinctively the breakdown of the capitalist system, and to understand something of the need for production for use and not for profit. And this, too, in a city where Socialistic theory has never been heard of until a few years ago, and then only from the mouths of itinerant preachers. For the English working-man is entirely ignorant of economic theories, and can only be made to speculate if he is given a practical problem connected with everyday life. The subtle propaganda of the British bourgeois Press, which has been brought to such a pitch of perfection by the oldest and most cunning capitalist class in the world, and which aims at diverting the attention of the working class from essential issues to superficialities, is largely responsible for this. Nevertheless, the extraordinary rally of organised Labour to the Labour candidates that took place throughout all England was the best proof that many of these traditions of British Labour are becoming things of the past. In Gloucester, in fact, on election day, the whole of the slum areas in the neighbourhood of the Cathedral were decked out in red flags and banners, and processions of women and children paraded the streets singing Socialist songs. Such a thing was absolutely unknown in the days before the war.

On the other hand, the big bourgeoisie and the landowning aristocracy of the countryside, with their retainers, presented a solid phalanx, supporting the Conservative party. This, of course, was natural, and nothing else could be expected. The decisive factor in the election was the petit bourgeoisie and its immediate dependants among the unskilled and unorganised workers. These people have suffered no less than organised labour from unemployment, wage cuts, and the general disillusionment of the years following upon the war. But this has not, up till now, had the effect of drawing them over to Labour. They have had for many years the poison of Chauvinist propaganda pumped into them by the Northcliffe Press. They have been taught to look upon the troubles of England as being due to a deep-seated conspiracy, concocted by the Russian Bolsheviks in alliance with the German Kaiser. Such is the depth of political degradation to which some of the petit bourgeoisie have sunk, that the writer, at one of his meetings at Gloucester, was actually asked whether it was true that he had acted during the war as the liaison officer between Lenin and the Kaiser!!! To reach these people and to clear their minds of the

Northcliffe poison requires time, and the few weeks of the election were too short to achieve this. The petit bourgeoisie and its dependants, like shop-assistants and small craftsmen, are not organised in any union, and so can only be got by house-to-house visiting. This is what the Conservatives and Liberals have done for years past, ever since this class was given votes in the middle of last century and they accompany their visits with the usual doles from the charitable organisations of the Church, or with promises of work from the municipality. But the Labour Party and Communists can only fight these insidious influences by steady propaganda; and, when this is done between now and the next election, there is no doubt that it will be possible both to neutralise the petit bourgeoisie and to secure the active support of the unorganised workers, who are dependent for their livelihood upon this class. As it is at present, *they* are the cause of the great Conservative victory in England to-day; but the enormous rise of the votes given to Labour, and the doubling of the Labour members of Parliament in the new House of Commons, are the best proof that the foundations of the new British Government are built on sand.

The New British Parliament

BY J. T. WALTON NEWBOLD, M.P.

The Parliament of the United Kingdom, now that the South of Ireland has been recognised as a "Free State" with a constitution which makes it, in effect, the equivalent of a self-governing colony, is representative of England, Wales, Scotland and the Ulster Province of Ireland.

Such is the geographic area from which the members of the two Houses of Parliament are drawn.

Now, as to the constitution of these Houses, their relation one to another, and the qualifications of the members of the Upper House and the means whereby are chosen the members of the Lower House. According to the law of the constitution, the Parliament of the United Kingdom consists of the Sovereign, the House of Lords, and the House of Commons. Each of these is, in law, equal in authority, and without the participation of all three elements nothing that is done is valid.

The British Parliament has a hoary antiquity.

THE ORIGIN OF PARLIAMENT.

The Parliament of England, as also the Parliament of Scotland was, so the historians now say, not in any sense a democratic institution, but had its origin in the relation of the King to his feudatories. It was, they admit, an incident of feudalism.

To begin with, every landlord who held his land direct from the King had, according to the custom out of which the oldest English law developed, the right to attend in the High Court of Parliament to deliberate with his fellows the conditions under which they would serve the King with men and, later, with money, and there to tell the King what was their will.

Such was the indubitable origin of the Mother of Parliaments. Until the thirteenth century—until the *Baron's War*—Parliament

was a simple assembly where as many landlords as cared to come attended to advise the King about the raising and spending of money. When the King tried to raise money without consulting them the fun began. Over more than a century he and they were intermittently quarrelling, and sometimes were at open war. In 1265 one great landlord, having captured the King in a battle, put the pen in his hand and told him to send letters to his officers, or sheriffs, in every shire (province) and every borough (free town) and command them to call together all the freemen (landlords) to appoint two men from amongst them to come to Parliament. These were the first members of the House of Commons. Most democrats think that there is something magically democratic about the word "Commons." They think it meant the "common people," whereas it really meant the "Commune of Freemen," i.e., "landlords."

For some time the greater landlords, who came to Parliament individually, and the smaller landlords who came to Parliament as representatives, all met together in one place. After a while, however, the great lords met by themselves, and became known as the House of Lords, and the smaller landlords representing the smaller landlords in the country and the landlords and merchants who lived in the towns, met by themselves and became known as the House of Commons.

For some five hundred years the House of Commons, representing, as it has done, landlords and merchants who farmed land and bought and sold the products for profit, has initiated all grants of money to the King, in whom, legally, even to this day, all executive power rests.

Right down to 1832, except the M.P.'s sent up by some of the towns and four elected by the universities, the members had to be landowners, and could only be voted for by landowners.

PARLIAMENT TO-DAY.

Since the Reform Act transferred electoral power to the bourgeoisie, however, first persons renting land or buildings, and, later, persons lodging in houses and paying rent to the occupier, who, in turn, pays rent to the owner, have been given electoral rights.

But even to-day, under all the franchise forms, the basic idea remains the same, that a man or woman votes because, permanently or temporarily, he or she has the absolutely free use, i.e., ownership, of some room or rooms, constituting part or the whole of a house on some piece of land.

The House of Lords to-day, as in the Middle Ages, consists, except for the Scottish and Irish Lords, who are elected by assemblies of all the Scottish and all the Irish Lords, of men who are summoned to Parliament because they hold certain areas of land, or are supposed to hold them, under such conditions as make them barons, or are barons because they are, also, bishops of the State Church of England, or are legal officials, who are also supposed to be barons.

The House of Commons consists of 615 persons, men or women, who represent, theoretically and legally, certain arbitrary prescribed divisions of counties (provinces), boroughs (large towns), certain tracts of land, whether in country or town, on which live the King's subjects, and, also, the members of about eight groups of universities.

This historical hotch-potch is a union of the Parliaments of

England (including Wales), of Scotland (with which union was achieved in 1707) and of Ireland (with which union was attained in 1801).

It represents the result of a series of changes in forms of governmental procedure, consequent upon struggles between different classes of property owners which have been glossed over and concealed under what are called legal fictions, so that, as far as possible, the whole shall convey the impressions of continuity and of peaceful and orderly development.

The whole place, its situation, its architectural setting, ornaments, its officialdom, its ceremonial and its phraseology, reek of centuries of history and of tradition. The whole system is meant to be, and is, for most of those who go there, most impressive.

The very man who laughs at it all, when first he goes there, tends to become reconciled to it and to regard it with a reverence that encroaches upon his cynicism. It is often as dangerous to begin by laughing at a thing when one does not understand it as to bow down to it with respect and accept it as in the nature of things.

The surest introduction to Parliament was given by the late Clerk to the House of Commons. He described it as, what to me it is and is likely to continue—viz., "a museum of antiquities." The collection is very well arranged, very inadequately labelled and catalogued, but deserving just as much attention, friendly and the reverse, from the realistic and, therefore, militarist Marxist.

So much for the psychology-moulding characteristics of the House of Commons. So much for the imperceptible, but none the less deadly, influences to which those working-class representatives, the Labour Party, are being subject, and with which they are likely to become saturated.

THE PARTIES IN THE PRESENT PARLIAMENT.

Now to the examination of the new Ministry, their supporters in Parliament, and the several parties who compose the Opposition.

The Ministry is drawn, with the exception of the Liberal member of the House of Lords who has been appointed Secretary for Scotland for the very simple reason that Scotland will return so few members to the Commons who are Tories, and that these few are not of outstanding ability or influence, entirely from the ranks of the Conservative Party.

Some half of the Ministers are either members of the House of Lords or are the sons and brothers of hereditary nobles. They have been chosen because of their family and social standing, and certainly not, in most cases, because of any remarkable personal ability or knowledge.

Their supporters, who command a majority over all other parties in the House of Commons of about eighty members, are of very much the same type, although there are amongst them a number of successful industrial and commercial magnates and lawyers. It is probable that at no time since the bourgeois conquest of power in 1832 has any majority in the House of Commons included such a large proportion of mediocrities as does the present Government majority.

The late Government included in its ranks, and had as its supporters, a most unstatesmanlike collection of personalities, but they were, at least, personalities. They had in many cases, if not in

most, obtained their seats because they had great money power at their command, either individually or collectively, but they had accomplished something within the framework of capitalist industry, finance, law or politics. They had some ability and some qualifications of intellect, even if it was only the perverted intellect of the war profiteer, the company promoter, or the advertising agent. The members and supporters of the present Ministry, however, are there, for the most part, because their fathers or other ancestors, more or less remote, acquired money and possessed themselves of land and public office.

The Ministerial benches are crowded with the choicest selection that could be made from the ranks of the hereditary governing class of Great Britain and Ireland. They are filled with the representatives of families, who, any time within the last century and a-half, have acquired a reputation as governors of colonies, or of the Indian Empire, as great civil servants, as bankers, merchants, stockbrokers, or lawyers. They are congested with men, the fortunes and prestige of whose families were made, for the most part, between 1780 and 1880.

The Conservatives in the House of Commons are pre-eminently representative of the great governing and propertied class who, having inherited land, capital investments and social standing, are one in class interest and in kinship of caste with the older generation of capitalists who form the backbone of the "Grand Old Party" of Republicans in the New England, New York, Pennsylvania, and other Northern States of the American Commonwealth.

Just as the merchants and bankers of Boston, New York, Philadelphia and Baltimore desire to consolidate the defences of bourgeois society and of oligarchic politics, so do these Conservatives of Old England desire by pursuing, leisurely and with dignity, a policy of "tranquillity," to stabilise the sovereignty not only of the propertied class, but of their particular elements of that propertied class. There is among them a very considerable number of young retired army and navy officers who, whilst amusedly tolerant of a parliamentary opposition that presents to them a side of life that they have never seen at close quarters, and often genuinely sympathetic with the poor, will not hesitate to emulate the Orgesch, the Fascisti, or the Black-and-Tans, whenever their class security and domination are seriously threatened.

They are already showing signs of irritation at the persistency of the new Labour Opposition, who have a habit of making it necessary for them to hurry back from dinners, card parties, and theatres to vote at all hours of the day and night.

EXIT LLOYD GEORGE.

The Liberals, supporting Lloyd George, are very few in number, only comprising some fifty-nine members.

Their leader only occasionally intervenes in debate, and is believed by many to be playing what is called a "waiting game." In my opinion, his influence is to-day more traditional than actual. He has fallen from political power, and the number of his Party have become so attenuated, because of the deflation of the economic power of those great industrial magnates whose tool he has been for at least twenty years. Unless these interests can regain their economic power—and in the present sustained collapse of British industrial effort, I cannot see how they can hope to do so—it is

my belief that Lloyd George's career is substantially at a close.

He might come into office again in the event of the Conservatives seeking to strengthen their ministry by the inclusion in its ranks of Lord Balfour, Austen Chamberlain and Sir Robert Horne, but, in that case, I think that either the last named or else Lord Birkenhead would take precedence of the discredited Liberal, Lloyd George. He has whole-heartedly behind him only one enormously influential capitalist, and that is Sir Alfred Mond, and nobody any longer—if anybody ever did—loves this most repulsive specimen of the Rich Jews' International.

Then we come to the Liberals who support Mr. Asquith. There are some sixty of these. They have lost one leader, but regained the most able of their parliamentarians, the most successful of modern lawyers, Sir John Simon. They have also got back two masters of parliamentary obstruction, the Scottish Radical lawyers, Hogge and Pringle. These, with Kenworthy, make a formidable trio whose expertness in opposition has brought them into a feud, born of bitter jealousy, with the young "intellectuals" of the I.L.P., who sit as Labour Members for Glasgow and other Scottish constituencies.

A PETIT-BOURGEOIS SQUABBLE.

It was to irritate, and, if possible, discredit these, as well as by an intrigue, to which it is hard to believe that their chosen leader MacDonald was not an acquiescing party, to injure the trade union spokesman, Clynes, that the Scottish group of I.L.P members made, in a seemingly clumsy manner and with consequences most disconcerting to their leaders, their attack on the Soudan loan guarantee.

They wanted much more to attack the leader of the Liberal Opposition, and to injure the leader of the Trade Union and anti-I.L.P. section of the Labour Opposition, than to expose State assistance to financial interests in which members of the Government were mixed up.

They were far-sighted enough to see that the trade union members of the Labour Party were becoming very discontented at the I.L.P and petit-bourgeois domination of the party, and at the trick by means of which these elements ejected Clynes from the leadership of the party and put MacDonald in his place. They, also, had heard the rumours that were current of an approximation being sought between the trade union M.P.s and the Radical Members of the Asquithian Liberal Party. They understood that the trade unionists were seeking allies, powerful in intellect and skilled in debate, to enable them to reverse the small majority by which the I.L.P. members had, by an act of insinuating deception, robbed Clynes of the leadership. Knowing this, the little coterie of idolators, whom MacDonald had made M.P.'s for their fulsome flattery, and who made him leader in return, set themselves through MacDonald's trumpeter, Tom Johnston, to discredit Asquith, and, through him, his followers, Pringle, Kenworthy, Hogge and Simon. At the same time they so stated their case that these men should, in turn, attack Clynes, who also had accompanied Asquith to ask the Government to give financial aid to the cotton growers of the Soudan, on whose crops depend alike the cotton mills of Asquith's constituency of Paisley and Clynes' constituency of Manchester.

It was, however, a manœuvre that, successful at the time, has

reacted against them and has served, in my opinion, their own objective a very ill turn. I have related this incident, and examined its underlying intrigue, so as to bring into relief the indeterminate boundary that divides the Asquithian Liberals from the petit-bourgeois elements who dominate the Parliamentary Labour Party.

WHO'S WHO IN THE LABOUR PARTY.

Now to the examination of the Official Opposition, the Labour Party. This includes some 142 members, and has on its flank two auxiliaries who, normally, vote with it, viz., the prohibitionist, Scrymgeour, who defeated Churchill at Dundee, and myself, representing the Communist Party. Officially, the Labour Party does not know me. Unofficially, its *personnel*, including many of the leaders and officials, is very friendly disposed to me. I vote with them uniformly against the Government when they move an amendment to any resolution under discussion. When they vote against the Government but in support of a Liberal amendment I use my discretion. If it is only a scuffle between capitalist vested interests, I endeavour to speak in the debate and to expose the little game, but refrain from voting one way or the other. If the amendment directly affects the workers to their gain or is an act of parliamentary warfare, then I vote for it.

The composition of the Labour Party is most curious, not to say interesting and entertaining. It is, as I have said, dominated by the I.L.P. and by the petit-bourgeois intellectuals, most of whom belong to the former body but some of whom are members of the Fabian Society.

Nearly all the leading members of the Union of Democratic Control, including Morel, Roden Buxton, Ponsonby, Trevelyan and so forth, are now sitting in the House as Labour M.P.'s. Many of them formerly sat there as Liberals. They are now bosom companions, intimates and intellectual guides to MacDonald, Snowden, Wallhead and Jowett. With the exception of Morel, all of the above appear to be genuine converts to Socialism of the Vienna brand and are, as is Morel, sincere men. Ponsonby and Trevelyan are like Kenworthy, men who might go far with us in a crisis. The other element, the old I.L.P., are, well, I.L.P. men. Jowett is sincere according to his rather misty lights, and Wallhead would like to be a " red " but is mesmerised by " Mac." There is a group of I.L.P. men from the West Riding of Yorkshire, some of whom are trade union representatives, who also fall in and follow " Mac." Amongst them is a good friend of Soviet Russia, Ben Turner. There are several professional men and trade union officials representing constituencies in different parts of the country who also come within the same category and are a somewhat mixed lot.

Then there is the Scottish group of I.L.P. men. There are seventeen of these. They are " Mac's " own particular bodyguard. They are chiefly school teachers, journalists and small tradesmen with one or two engineering workers, like the Marxist Muir and the sentimentalist, David Kirkwood. They are thoroughgoing exponents of I.L.P. socialism and, for the most part, good fighters who privately deride pacifism, and would endorse the final employment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. They have, however, in many cases, forfeited all hope of a livelihood in the bourgeois callings for which they were educated and, for domestic or other

reasons, dare not take their political courage in both hands and accept an unpopular cause like Communism. The best of them are, undoubtedly, Shinwell, Maxton and George Hardie—brother of Keir Hardie.

Besides these there are some eight miners, the best of whom sit for constituencies in Lanarkshire, adjoining Motherwell. Most of them are members of the I.L.P., but in several cases only as a matter of form or by tradition. In Lanarkshire at the election, the United Front was absolutely solid. In the House it remains the same.

From Northumberland, South Wales, South Yorkshire and other coalfields came some other thirty M.P.'s, also representing the Miners' Federation of Great Britain. From Lancashire, the Midlands, East London, and other industrial areas came trade union M.P.'s representing, like Tom Shaw, the textile workers: like Tillett and Jack Jones, the transport and other general workers; like Thomas and Charlton, the railwaymen; like Ammon, the postal workers, and so on. Some of them are I.L.P. members of a more or less formal character, some are Social Democrats, and some are just plain and undistinguished trade union officials.

There are, besides, several Fabians, led by Sidney Webb. There is Lansbury, an I.L.P. man, and incomparably the best of the lot, and, finally, there is that good and loyal member of the Communist Party, whose status in the Indian Movement made him a man too dangerous for Henderson to rebuff—lest funds should suffer—Shapurji Saklatvala.

There is plenty of ability and plenty of personal initiative and courage in this conglomeration, the Labour Party. So far, however, there has manifested itself very little discipline and very much material for disruption.

The Scottish I.L.P. who advanced MacDonald to the leadership, are no sticklers for that constitutionalism and respectability which are the breath of their idol's nostrils. They are an awkward team to handle, and none the more comfortable because the odd man who should have made them eighteen not only sits as Communist M.P. for Motherwell, but having been one of their number for years, has a following in all their constituencies which will most assuredly grow to great proportions should they become as orderly as their idol would like them to be. Such then, is the composition of the present House of Commons, such the membership of the several parties which go to make it, such the elements that they represent and such the tendencies that they display.

THE BUSINESS OF THE FIRST SESSION.

The short session which has just terminated was called primarily for giving legislative effect to the Treaty made between the British Government and the Government of the Irish Free State. All parties in the House, with the single exception of the Communist Party, were agreed on the measure, although a minority of the Tories, viz., certain of the Ulster members and the "Diehards," were anxious for an opportunity of voting against it. Nevertheless, the Conservative Government, the Government of the Unionists, whose chief battle-cry had been for more than a generation opposition to a parliament in Dublin, had accepted the "settlement" of the Irish question as a "fait accompli," and, whilst some of their members hated it intensely and made speeches against it, they did

not care to take the initiative of dividing the House against their own leaders. When, therefore, Saklatvala moved and seconded a motion which, in effect, meant the rejection of the Irish Treaty Bill, the Diehards, the bitterest elements amongst the Tory reactionaries, showed that, if we carried the motion to a division, they would vote with us. This being so, having formally registered our protest and secured its record being placed in the books of the House, we decided that the right thing to do, in order to avoid being found in bad company and so creating an undesirable impression, was to let our motion go by default and avoid a vote. We did not vote either for or against the Treaty.

The second measure of importance was one which did not in our opinion affect the interests of the workers sufficiently for us to give it any attention, and, for my part, I refrained from either speech or vote upon it. This was a bill to regulate the importation of Canadian cattle into this country. It was, really, an incident in a struggle between two groups of landowners—farmers and meat salesmen—the one interested in agriculture in Canada, and the other in agriculture in Great Britain.

Then there were bills of a more vital character for granting a guarantee of State aid, if necessary, to maintain the rate of interest on, and to repay the principal of, certain loans made by banks and other private interests to industrial concerns for export trade, so as to get production going again, and also to provide work for a very few of the unemployed.

There were, also, bills in certain cases to vote money to provide work for the unemployed. All of these were designed, nominally, to aid the unemployed workers, but actually, to aid the unemployed bank deposits, the unemployed investment capital awaiting borrowers, and the unemployed plant of powerful vested interests.

THE LABOUR PARTY AND THE UNEMPLOYED.

So far as the Labour Party and myself were concerned, this question of unemployment was one that, amongst them all, really mattered. We devoted most of the opportunities we had of speaking, to voicing the discontent and exposing the needs of the unemployed workers in our own constituencies and throughout the country.

The Labour Party spokesmen directed their criticism of the Government's proposal primarily to an attack upon the policy of assisting private as against State enterprise, and also to an insistent and continuous protest against the inadequacy of the Government's scheme to effect anything really to alleviate the distress.

Despite repeated endeavours I found it quite impossible to get an opportunity to speak in any of the great debates specifically concerned with the problem of unemployment, and had to be content with two interventions in discussions upon the extension of Government guarantees to the loan to Austria, under the League of Nation's Scheme, and the loan to the Sudan Government for building irrigation works on the Nile.

In the intervention I made next to no attempt to discuss unemployment, but confined my remarks to an analysis and exposure of the vested interests concerned in furthering alike the mid-European and the African loan issues. My speech was an attack on the foreign policy of the bankers as, also, the general activity

of imperialism was exemplified by this money guarantee to the Sudan cotton growers.

In the second intervention I endeavoured to discuss the policy of the Government in the matter of the Sudan loan as a part of their general policy of assisting the bankers and the investment companies, as well as the big contractors, to secure higher rates of interest and bigger dividends, by encouraging employment in the undeveloped regions of the African protectorates than they could get here at home in Britain.

The Labour Party spokesmen have no fundamental understanding of the operations of finance capital, and were, therefore, almost utterly incapable of attempting a serious analysis of the Government policy—a policy very subtle but very dangerous to the workers.

WHAT ONE COMMUNIST MAY DO.

Not having been accepted into the Labour Party, I have had no one to help me to get facilities to speak on occasions and at the length that would be necessary to enable me to develop a Communist analysis of the unemployed problem, and relief measures, at once destructive and constructive. Only when I have had time to learn how to avail myself of the rules of parliamentary procedure shall I be able in some measure to overcome the disabilities of my isolation. For me to make a scene and to outrage unduly the forms of procedure would only result either in my premature suspension or expulsion in circumstances advantageous to my opponents rather than to myself, or, what is more probable, since the governing class is cunning in its handling of its enemies—would result in me getting no further opportunities either to speak or, if I spoke, to get an audience or a hearing from those present.

For a while, it is my business to learn how to make the most of such opportunities as I get, first, to voice the grievances of the working class, second, to expose the knavery of the bourgeois politicians, third, to secure that redress for the particular troubles of my constituents that will win me the ever more solid support of these workers, and, fourth, to learn all that I can, where I am, which may now, or in the future, be of practical utility to the Communist Party and the Communist International in the battle against capitalism.

So far do I feel that I can advantageously discuss the present Parliament. Hereafter I hope to examine the policy of the Government, the interplay of parties and the tendencies within the Labour Party, but this I can only do, with profit, as the situation develops, and forces appear in bolder relief and finer perspectives.

FASCISM IN POWER

BY GIULIO AQUILA

Two months have passed since the coup d'état carried out by the Fascisti in Italy placed the Government in the hands of Mussolini. Of course, this is too short a period to enable us to pass judgment on the "Fascist Revolution," but it has already given evidence of symptomatic tendencies that deserve our close examination. This will not only enable us to anticipate the further progress of events in Italy, but, with a proper assessment of the economic, social and political peculiarities, will enable us to analyse the position in all other countries.

However, to judge these symptoms properly, to analyse the position in other countries and to be in a position to forecast the future development of events in Italy, as well as to understand them in general, it is necessary to determine what this Fascism is. The word "Fascism" has become too much the fashion nowadays, and is being abused. Without understanding the real significance of the word, it is freely applied to all counter-revolutionary tendencies and actions. Reference is made to German, Polish, Japanese and other Fascism, and frequently, the historical rôle and the relation to the labour movement of the "Fascists" in those countries have not the remotest resemblance to Italian Fascism. In his speech at the Fourth Congress of the Communist International on the capitalist offensive, comrade Radek remarked that the application of the term "Fascism" in this broad general sense had no meaning, for it explained nothing. From this it logically follows that the employment of the term in this manner not only does not bring clearness into the matter, but prevents from the outset a proper examination of the question that is so necessary at the present moment.

After commenting on the fact of the improper employment of the term, comrade Radek analysed the relations existing between Fascism and the labour movement and put the only right question on this subject: How was it possible for Fascism to secure a victory in Italy, and what are the features that distinguish it from the other forms of European counter-revolution? Emphasising the specific character of the Fascist movement, he, by the method of analysis, came to the correct conclusion that the victory of Fascism indicated the bankruptcy of the whole of the Italian labour movement of recent times. There is little left for us to add to his interpretation of the facts, but we will use it, by combining it with the analysis made by the present writer of another part of the problem, to give a brief outline of Fascism.*

The urgent necessity for an exhaustive explanation of the essence of Fascism can be seen from the fact that even in Italy itself the most contradictory views are held with regard to it. Side by side with the general view that it is counter-revolutionary, to this day we have the view that it is an Agrarian White Guard. At the same time, it is held that it is the revolutionary movement of the petty-bourgeoisie. In addition there are less widespread views to the effect that the movement is the enterprise of a modern adventurer,

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* For obvious reasons we refrain from making a more complete documentary analysis. We have been compelled to reduce even quotations to a minimum. A detailed documentary analysis will be made in a work that will soon be published.

relying on more or less considerable groups of declassed elements. The curious thing about all the conflicting views is that they all contain an element of truth; the error lies in ascribing to Fascism as a whole that which can only apply to a particular phase of its development, and this prevents those who hold these views from understanding the movement as a whole. In order to remove these errors once and for all, and to obtain a clear representation of Fascism, it would be better logically to trace the various phases of its development. In doing so we shall deal briefly with the economic position of the country.

During the last two decades, industrial capitalism in Northern Italy increased to such an extent that it began to play the determining rôle in the country. It did not, however, succeed in spreading over the whole of Italy. With a few exceptions, industrial capitalism is not at all developed in Central Italy, and particularly is this the case in the south and on the islands. At the same time the importance of agriculture is by no means in opposite ratio to that of industry. Agriculture holds an important position in the north as well as in the south and Central Italy, although its forms are not the same all over the country. In Northern Italy it is partly capitalised and partly bears the character of peasant tenant farming. In the south and on the islands it bears a definitely feudal character, while Central Italy represents a transitional stage in the territorial sense. Right up to the beginning of the Imperialist War, the political system of Italy corresponded to this economic basis. Parliament, the Government and the dynasty served to protect the interests of the landed proprietors and acted as a hindrance to the development and expansion of the industrial north. On the outbreak of the war, that antagonism of interests between the industrialists and the agrarians assumed an acute form. To the industrialists the war appeared to be the most suitable means for achieving their desired goal, i.e., on the one hand, to secure the economic privileges and the possibilities of further development, and on the other, to capture the apparatus of the State. The agrarians, not being economically interested in the Imperialist War and fearing the development of industrial capital, strove their utmost to counteract the campaign which was carried on with the moral and material aid of foreign capital in favour of Italy entering the war.

It would be premature to speak of Fascism in that period, but it should be observed that even at that time the future leader of Fascism, Mussolini—to put it mildly—began to develop activities in the interests of the industrial bourgeoisie, which for the latter were of tremendous importance. The agrarians were, of course, not the only ones opposed to the entry of Italy into the war. This was opposed also by the urban and rural proletariat, and also by the overwhelming majority of the petty-bourgeoisie who feared for their skins. The industrial bourgeoisie desired very much that this mass of opinion be swept over to the side of intervention, and this task, consciously or unconsciously, was undertaken by Mussolini. Soon after the outbreak of the war Mussolini resigned the editorship of *Avanti* and from the Italian Socialist Party; and in November, 1914, with money provided by the French, founded the *Popolo d'Italia*. The sole aim of this paper was to conduct a campaign among the workers and the petty-bourgeoisie in favour of Italy's participation in the war. It is a matter of indifference to us whether

Mussolini did this consciously or unconsciously. The method of his propaganda gives ground for believing that he acted consciously. When, simultaneously with the intensification of the campaign in favour of intervention, the resistance of the opposite camp increased, which was reflected in the conduct of the Legislature, Mussolini, in the spring of 1915, issued the watchword: " War or a Republic "; either a declaration of war or the declaration of a republic would have been equally advantageous to the bourgeoisie.

The further progress of events in the spring of 1915 are known. The bourgeoisie managed to break the resistance of the Government. Giolitti was compelled to take flight; the King, in order to save the throne, was compelled to submit, and the new Government declared war. By no means a minor part in this was played by the middle classes and the intelligentzia who were won over to the policy of the intervention.

There is no need to deal in detail with what took place during the war. Forced out of the Government by the bourgeoisie, the agrarians were deprived of all means of resistance, and, indeed, did not make any attempt to win back their former dominant position. The labour revolts that broke out from time to time, like that in Turin in 1917, were suppressed with comparative ease by the bourgeois Government.

The " victorious " bourgeoisie of Italy came out of the war rather badly knocked about. Its economic basis was weakened and disorganised by the prolonged duration of the war. The consequence of the sudden re-organisation of the relatively young and weak industry of Italy to meet the requirements of the war began to tell to an ever-increasing degree. The basic industries were bankrupt, and other branches, which sprang up chiefly to supply the needs of the war, were compelled to cut down production considerably. The economic collapse had fatal results for the bourgeois State. It was not strong enough to act energetically against the proletariat, which raised its head threateningly at the close of the war. Discipline in the army declined, and the bourgeoisie could no longer rely on the middle class intelligentzia which in 1915 helped it to break the resistance of the agrarians. This is explained by the fact that the interventionists returned from the war to an economically ruined country, and not only saw the collapse of all the hopes they had entertained from a victorious war, but also the impossibility of returning even to the former rut of middle-class existence. Furthermore, they were faced by a powerful labour movement with which many began to sympathise as offering compensation for their blighted hopes. Only the more " class conscious " section of them remained hostile to the labour movement and held it responsible for the blighting of their hopes.

Briefly summarising the above we can say: The agrarians who held political power in their hands at the beginning of 1915 were forced out of the Government by the industrial bourgeoisie, and the latter emerged from the war so exhausted and ruined that it was incapable of taking serious measures to re-organise industry and the State apparatus.

A new power appeared in the political arena—the proletariat. It is no secret that the proletariat in Italy during the first year and a half after the war played a political rôle unequalled by the proletariat of any of the other victorious countries. It is now clear, how-

ever, that this political rôle was determined by causes of a negative rather than of a positive character. It arose out of the impotence of the class enemies of the proletariat which we have briefly described above. Furthermore, the Italian proletariat, or rather its party of that time—the Socialist Party of Italy—failed to take advantage of the position then prevailing to secure an easy victory. As is known, a number of local strikes and revolts broke out, independently and isolated from each other, and the party made no effort to link them up and conduct them according to a uniform plan.

The first to speak, and in fact rather early in the period, was Mussolini. We know that he organised the first Milan Fascio as early as March, 1919. These Fascisti were a sort of Ex-Service Men's League uniting elements that had remained hostile to the labour movement. The motto of Mussolini's propaganda was "Restoration of the authority of the State." Of course, at first the propaganda was conducted quietly and took the form of pious resolutions. It is characteristic also that under the pressure of the labour movement Mussolini put forward "democratic" demands rather than nationalist demands.

After a year and a half it became quite clear that the Socialist Party would not do more than talk about revolution and that in spite of the self-sacrificing and revolutionary temper of the masses, the organised cadres of the Labour Party were incapable of bringing about a revolution. On the other hand, it became clear also that the bourgeoisie was incapable of restoring "normal conditions"—the time had arrived for the agrarians to act. In the summer of 1920, Giolitti returned to power.

It is extremely important to establish what influence this exercised upon the Fascisti. In spite of the fact that immediately on coming into power Giolitti adopted the motto of "Restoration of the authority of the State," Mussolini, nevertheless, took up a hostile attitude towards him. This is explained by the fact that the Government and the dynasty merely served the interests of the agrarians.*

During the spring of 1921 the Italian industrialists were forced to experience a severe crisis caused by the financial policy of Giolitti. There was a fall in the currency, decline in foreign trade, falling prices, and closing down of factories. The labour movement also suffered as a result of eighteen months of revolutionary babbling and treachery on the part of the reformist leaders at the time the workers had seized the factories. Deceived and disappointed, the workers abandoned their sympathies for the Socialist Party and

* It will perhaps create surprise that we present Giolitti as a champion of the agrarians. Nevertheless, this is quite in accordance with the facts. As a matter of fact, Giolitti represented the Banka Commerziale, which was really the Deutsche Bank, which prior to the war had control over the economic life of Italy. We cannot deal with the policy of this Bank. Sufficient it is to say that it was opposed to intervention and therefore took up a hostile attitude to the industrialists. The latter not only succeeded in driving Giolitti from the Government, but also seized the hegemony from the hands of the Banka Commerziale by establishing the Banka Disconto, the share capital of which during two years increased from 15 to 315 million lira. This caused the Banka Commerziale to continue its former policy. Only after the collapse of the Disconto is a change in the policy of the Commerziale to be observed, and this is explained by the shifting of the relation of forces due to the war. The Giolitti of 1922 is not the former Giolitti, and this must be taken into consideration in analysing the events of last year.

dropped back into their former indifference. The party and the trade unions became the first objects of the systematic and organised Fascist "punitive expeditions." Then came the split at the Leghorn Congress, and the Communist Party began to be organised.

The proletariat was the common enemy of both Giolitti and the Fascisti. That is why for a long time the conflict between the agrarians and the industrialists was kept in the background. Only after Giolitti had succeeded in disarming the working class, after the evacuation of the factories in September, 1920, and after the Government found it possible to carry out their policy directed against the industrialists, did the class antagonism between the agrarians and the industrialists assume definite shape. Simultaneously with the "punitive expeditions" against the trade unions and the co-operatives, which commenced a few months after the evacuation of the factories by the workers, Mussolini commenced his attacks against the Government and the dynasty. In the spring of 1921 he demanded the execution of Giolitti and the abdication of the King, because they were unable to realise the fruits of the "glorious victory."

This revolutionary form adopted by Mussolini's propaganda in the spring of 1921—"execution of the Premier and overthrow of the dynasty"—guaranteed its success. It must not be forgotten that in 1919-1921, owing to the general economic and political conditions then prevailing, everybody wished to be revolutionary. This aspect of Mussolini's activity presented a danger to Giolitti of which the latter was fully aware. Of course, he possessed sufficient power to compel the Fascisti to keep silent, but he did not wish to do this because it would free the hands of the class-conscious workers. He extricated himself from the position by dissolving Parliament and fixing a general election to take place on May 15, 1921, declaring demagogically—"let the nation decide." Of course, he knew beforehand that the decision would be in his favour. He knew that the workers would not take a very active part in the elections, and that the Fascisti would take no part at all, as they had no "electoral base." Thus he hoped to secure a comparatively easy victory with the aid of the votes of Central and South Italy.

In dissolving Parliament and causing a new election, Giolitti certainly secured for himself a respite, but that was all. In order to paralyse the power of the working class he would have to give a free hand to the Fascisti, and if he did that the latter would inevitably begin to act, not only against the proletariat, but also against him, Giolitti. If, on the other hand, he had attempted systematically to suppress the Fascist movement, he would have given an opportunity for the revolutionary proletariat to rise. Therefore, for a time he had to fight simultaneously on two fronts. He, however, did not attack the Fascisti, but allowed them a free hand to continue to perpetrate their violence against the workers, and to a certain extent legalised the Fascisti movement by entering into a broad political bloc with them. We pointed out above that the Fascisti did not have an electoral base from which to conduct their electoral campaign. Giolitti formed a national bloc of all the parties of "order," and invited the Fascisti to join. Of course, they gladly availed themselves of the invitation. Giolitti thus forestalled the propaganda against the Government and the dynasty, and this, together with the "legalisation" of the Fascisti by

including them in the bloc, led the agrarians to look quite favourably upon the "punitive expeditions"; they even prepared to organise something of the kind against the agricultural workers particularly in the Northern and Central provinces where the agricultural labourers were most strongly organised—Emilia, Toscana, Lombardy, etc. The agrarians began to join the ranks of the Fascisti in large numbers. We have no documentary evidence of the part played in this by Giolitti, but in any case the fact remains that in certain provinces the Fascisti detachments comprised a majority of agrarians. At the same time the Fascisti lost what little centralised leadership they had.

From that time Fascism became the camp of the "united" counter-revolution. Punitive expeditions became more numerous and were conducted with unparalleled severity. This was particularly the case in the agricultural provinces where the Fascisti, by breaking up the trade unions, delivered a heavy blow to the rural proletariat and the small tenant farmers.

The flow of agrarians into the ranks of the Fascisti marks the beginning of a crisis in Fascism which continues to this day. This crisis explains a number of facts which have occurred both prior to and after the capture of power by the Fascisti, which otherwise would seem inexplicable. In the latter days of the election campaign, Mussolini observed that his ranks had been filled by agrarians, but he was quite impotent to combat this; for, if he abandoned the bloc in order to declare open war against the agrarians who had permeated his organisation, he would deprive himself of the advantages presented by the bloc, he would rouse against himself the police who were at the command of Giolitti, and in this way enable the labour movement to recover—which would have meant the death of Fascism. When the elections were over, however, relying on the "genuine" Fascisti, and in the name of the original spirit of Fascism, he began to act resolutely against the alien agrarian elements. A few days after the conclusion of the elections, in an interview accorded to a popular journal representing the interests of heavy industry, he laid emphasis on the republican tendencies of Fascism, and pointed out that it was intolerable that Fascisti deputies should attend the opening of Parliament to listen to the speech from the throne, because under no circumstances could Fascisti cry "Long live the King!"

After this famous interview, which came like a bolt from the blue, several Fascisti crossed over to other parties—to the agrarians and nationalists. Others declared that although they were royalists they would nevertheless stay in the Fascisti organisation. On this matter a joint conference of Fascisti deputies and representatives from the Fascisti district organisations was called at which Mussolini found himself in the minority; he declared, however, that he had no intention of splitting the organisation. This declaration was dictated to him by the same considerations that formerly had compelled him to remain in the bloc. At that time a split in the ranks of the Fascisti would undoubtedly have resulted in an increase of strength for the proletariat. He, however, quietly and unobserved, began a systematic purging of the Fascisti ranks. We will just briefly touch one or two of its phases. First of all he put forward the watchword of a "Centralised Fascist Party" capable of conducting the impending political struggle both in Parliament and out of it. The

former "free" Fascist movement was now to be moulded into a definite party. The object of this demand is clear. Mussolini hoped thereby to bind by discipline and to get into his control the new elements that had permeated the Fascisti ranks. He succeeded in getting his demand carried at the first Fascist Congress in November, 1921, but the opponents of the "centralisation" proved to be sufficiently strong to secure half the seats on the Central Committee that was elected. The fight was continued. Soon differences with regard to tactics broke out between the two wings of the party. Mussolini always stressed the point that construction should always follow destruction and always insisted that one must not go "too far" in destruction. He was eternally speaking about organised terror and condemned individual terror. The agrarians, however, were straining to get their proletariat back to their former conditions of slavery and were prepared to employ all means to secure their end; rather it would be true to say that they used only one method—"blind bloody terror." In their eyes Fascism meant "Punitive Expeditions." It was they who perfected the technique of these expeditions, the most effective instrument of which were the "squadrons." As not all Fascisti were willing to take part in the punitive expeditions it was necessary to form permanent detachments; hence the formation of the squadrons. The members of the squadrons who were unable to support themselves received a "daily ration." The Fascisti were financed by the industrialists, the banks and agrarians. Each Fascio had its own funds, as settlements with the centre took place very irregularly. Mussolini could not oppose the formation of these squadrons, but he strove to secure himself against surprise action from them and subsequently succeeded in getting them subordinated to a Central National Command appointed by the Central Committee of the party. Nevertheless, the existence of the squadrons menaced the aims which Mussolini and the "genuine Fascisti" had set themselves.

From what has been said above it is clear that the majority of the squadrons comprised agrarian elements—advocates of resolute measures, and of people who regarded service in the squadrons as an easy means of obtaining a livelihood—people for whom the squadron was an end in itself. Both these groups—the agrarians and the declassed elements, "lumpen bourgeoisie" and "lumpen proletariat," composed in the main of ex-officers and non-commissioned officers, systematically strove to enlarge their "enterprise," and this created the danger that the Fascisti, in their victory, might "go too far," as Mussolini expressed it. This created a new crisis, which continues to this day, in spite of the efforts of Mussolini to solve it by forming a "Voluntary Militia for Home Defence."

We insist that Mussolini never desired a military victory for Fascism either over the former Government or over the proletariat; for he clearly understood that this would lead to a military dictatorship which would be as fatal for the aims of Fascism as the dictatorship of the proletariat. The aims of Fascism were determined by the interests of production, of course, purely capitalist production. All the demands he put forward, all his acts and all the concessions which he, in the course of the struggle, was compelled to make to other parties, were directed towards this end. It must not be supposed that this applies only to the latter stages. In his speech at the first Fascist Congress, Mussolini made it quite clear as to

whom Fascism was to serve. We will quote a few extracts from this speech:—

"We are proud of the fact that we and no other in 1915 were the first to raise the serious problem: War or a republic. The fact that Italy, in conjunction with a few other States, is to-day taking part in the Washington Conference, where the fate of the world is being discussed, is due to the services of the interventionists of 1915."

"Every individual is imperialistic. . . . . A people that does not possess this stimulus is lifeless; it is proceeding along the path to decline, to death."

"On the economic question we are liberal in the class sense of the word. If it were possible I would return the railways, the Post and Telegraphs, etc., to private hands."

It is clear now why, immediately after the Congress, when the other 'Fascisti' insisted on the formation of squadrons, he put forward his trade union programme.

While the other wing strove to destroy the spirit of the proletariat by fire and sword, Mussolini said:—

"No, we do not in the least intend to torture the workers, we will only punish those who follow the Socialists and the Communists, who still believe in the class struggle which threatens to destroy the nation. To those workers who abandon the class struggle and will join the National Trade Unions and, in the interests of the well-being of the nation, will strive by peaceful means to remove the antagonism of interests between employer and employed and substitute this by a realisation of mutual interests, we promise peace, freedom and employment."

Thus, in spite of some points of internal differences, Fascism is the fighting army of Italian industrial capitalism. Its task is not only to combat the "Bolshevik Menace," but to solve the problem of the *restoration of the bourgeois economic system.* For that purpose the bourgeoisie had to remove from its path of development the survivals of the "old regime" and, in addition, to deprive the proletariat of its economic, political and moral gains; for restoration is only possible at the expense of the proletariat.

Of course, it is the latter point that is the core of the problem. This must be brought out in greater relief because hitherto we have dealt in detail with the first. The facts referred to above are not so well known; and yet, without knowing them, it would be impossible to understand the events that preceded, accompanied and followed the capture of power by the Fascisti.

THE VICTORY OF FASCISM.

Before proceeding to the analysis of these facts, we must return to the question put by Comrade Radek, viz.: How did the victory of the Fascisti become possible?

This question is a most important one, particularly in view of the fact that Comrade Radek is quite right in considering that the Fascist victory was not merely a victory of arms.

To give a detailed reply to this it would be necessary to go into the details of the recent history of the Italian Labour Movement. This cannot be done, so we will confine ourselves to the essentials.

In the introductory part of this article we pointed out that for a year and a half after the conclusion of the war, the Italian proletariat played, although a prominent, yet an extremely passive role

in the political life to Italy; and we pointed out the causes of this fatal passivity. This was the incapability of creating an organisation that could consciously pursue a definite aim and lead the proletariat to real victory. We also pointed out that in spite of the absence of such an organisation, not only did the organised workers press forward along the path of revolution, but that the great stream carried with it even the indifferent, the rural poor, a large section of the petty bourgeoisie, and the overwhelming majority of the declassed military elements. The group among which Mussolini's propaganda may have had some effect at that time was still very small, and barely worth mentioning. After the lapse of a year and a half of revolutionary phrasemongering, however, it became more and more clear to the masses that the Socialists were only promising a revolution, but did not intend to do anything... When the reformists, by a piece of stupendous treachery in inducing the workers to evacuate the factories and give up their arms, struck their blow in the back of the proletariat, not only did the masses of the workers, bitterly disappointed with the movement, drop back into indifference, but also those sections of the people began to hate the revolution who had formerly joined it when the collapse of the dominant class gave ground for believing that the victory of the proletariat was inevitable. More than that: even the genuine if a little muddle-headed revolutionary workers—the syndicalists and the anarcho-syndicalists—began to hate the Socialist Party and its leaders. They charged it with causing the defeat of the workers and considered it their revolutionary duty to fight against these traitors with all the means in their power. This mass of disappointed and disillusioned people of various classes and declassed elements formed favourable ground for the propaganda of Mussolini. Owing to his former connection with the Labour Movement he knew how to win this mass over to his side and even to turn them against the " heavyweight Social-Bolsheviks." Thus we see the Fascist movement, which hitherto had a hundred or so of followers throughout the whole country—armed only in the North of Italy, where Mussolini developed his activity—recruiting numerous fresh adherents which, from December, 1920, enabled it to organise the first " Punitive expeditions " against the workers' organisations. The movement became still stronger after the fatal action of the Maximalists at Leghorn. This, together with the pseudo-revolutionary campaign of Mussolini—" Off with Giolitti's head," " Down with the dynasty," created the false impression that Fascism was a petty bourgeois revolutionary movement.

We have already referred above to the events that took place in the spring of 1921 during the elections, when the ranks of the Fascisti were filled by the agrarians. The crisis in the Fascist movement caused by this, the results of the elections, in which the Socialists and the Communists together secured only a few seats less than the number held by the former Socialist fraction, and the organisation of the Communist Party, resulted in the cessation of the flow, into the Fascist organisations, not only of the proletarian elements (which even before, of course, was not very great), but also of semi-proletarian and petty bourgeois elements. Judging from the results of the elections, the latter presumed that the Socialists would soon recover from the blow they had suffered, while the workers began to place their hopes on the Communists. When, however, Mussolini succeeded in camouflaging the crisis in the Fascist organisation and in carrying out his trade union programme, and as it became clear that the Socialist Party

was slowly dying from the organic canker from which it was suffering, and owing to its notorious " passive tactics " would be incapable of defending itself against the bloody blows of the Fascist squadrons; when finally even the Communist Party, for a thousand and one reasons, some due to its own fault—as, for instance, its stubborn desire to maintain a purist policy—failed to come up to expectations, the Fascisti, however contradictory it may appear, even while the squadrons were committing their bloody deeds of terror, managed to become a " mass movement." Of course, this was not a " revolutionary " mass movement of the " Petty Bourgeoisie." Where the " overthrow of the old political system " demanded it, the Fascisti put forward revolutionary demands, but in the main this mass movement was imbued with a Chauvinist and sometimes even an unconcealed reactionary and Black Hundred hatred of the workers.

At the moment of its victory, Fascism consisted of three distinct elements: —

(a) A Political Party, which to this day has two antagonistic wings: the wing of the " genuine " Fascisti, the " Fascisti of 1919 "; headed by Mussolini, Bianki, Finci, etc., and the other wing composed of what we, for the sake of brevity, will call the " agrarians," although such a term will have only a historical meaning, for in the agrarian group we can include all those who do not belong to the " industrial wing " and characterised generally by their pliability and narrowness of outlook.

It is impossible to determine the numerical strength of the party. The official report issued by the Fascisti some little time prior to the coup d'état speaks of over half a million membership; but this figure is incredible. It is interesting, however, to follow the development of the Fascist organisation. According to the official returns it is as follows:—

October, 1919	56	Fascio.
May, 1920	100	,,
February, 1921 ..... about	1,000	,,
May, 1921	2.000	,,
November, 1921	2,200	,,

At the present moment the number of Fascio is probably four to five thousand. Mussolini, without any difficulty, retains the lead of the party.

(b) The Squadrons, composed, particularly in the rural districts where they are most developed, mainly of agrarians and declassed elements—lumpen bourgeoisie and lumpen proletarians, non-commissioned officers who had distinguished themselves in the war, etc., for whom service in the squadrons was an easy means of obtaining a livelihood and who regarded the squadrons as an end in themselves. These elements are insistently urging the squadrons to " action " and for the last year have become a direct menace to " genuine " Fascism, which desires to be wise and " not go too far," as Mussolini repeatedly has declared.

To establish the numbers of the " black shirts " at the end of October is as difficult as establishing the number of the members of the Party and the trade unions. After the coup d'état, Mussolini spoke of a membership of 300,000. It is hardly likely that he has more than half this number. This is seen from the fact that the squadrons of " Fascist Militia " which he has recruited only number about 100,000.

(c) The Fascist Trade Unions, known as " National Corpora-

tions," the aim of which is, on the basis of "class peace," to unite, not only the workers and the rural poor, but ALL sections of society, divided into organisations according to occupation. The membership of these organisations is unknown. We think that neither the Central Committee of the Fascist Party nor the Central Committee of the National Corporations could say how many members there are. In November the Fascisti spoke of having half a million members in their trade unions, but it should be taken into consideration that while all the "black shirts" belong to the party only a small percentage of the party members belong to the "corporations." The overwhelming majority of the members of the "corporations" are not really Fascisti. The majority of the workers and peasants join them as a result of the intimidation of the Fascist terror. This is particularly true of the rural workers. In recent months workers have been forced to join the "corporations" by economic need; this applies particularly to the workers in those industries most affected by the crisis; they know that the first to be dismissed are those that belong to the "red" trade unions and that preference for employment would be given to those who belong to the "corporations."

However little "Fascist" the workers may be at heart, nevertheless they represent the mass of Fascism. It is true this mass is very passive; nevertheless, this worker and peasant mass is compelled to join the "corporations" to defend their immediate interests; they join them out of the instinct of self-preservation and out of a desire to make existence for themselves secure.

The Fascist victory, however, was not made possible by the passivity, or perhaps it would be more true to say, only by the passivity, of this mass. It was not large enough for that. The Fascist victory was due to the passivity of the broader mass. We can say without error that it was due to the passivity of the whole mass of workers and peasants. This passivity is undoubted. It increased in proportion as the "red" labour movement declined, when, after the miserable collapse of the general strike of August 1, it became evident that the revolutionary proletariat was incapable of putting up a serious resistance. When the activity and ferocity of the squadrons began to develop—convinced that they would meet with no resistance—a qualitative change had been brought about in the colossal passivity of the masses, a change which fully deserves our attention. In order to bring about a cessation of the bloody violence, which, during the preceding two years, had claimed thousands of victims, the masses were prepared to agree to anything. More than that: they thirsted for a way out. As Mussolini had frequently and definitely promised them this in the event of his being returned to power, they viewed the events of the end of October with mixed feelings of terror inspired by the memories of the dark past and the last flickerings of an impotent hope.

This must be taken into account if one desires to understand what this Fascism is as a whole, or even if one desires to understand certain of its features that became revealed after the Fascisti had captured political power. Of course, this picture is not complete; statistical evidence is lacking. We feel this the more in view of the fact that certain comrades do not agree with our point of view. But then these comrades do not agree with each other. We are in possession of some statistical evidence, and it will be revealed in the book already referred to. For the time being we will rest con-

tent with the above and proceed to the analysis of Fascism at the moment of its assumption of power.

THE HONEYMOON OF VICTORIOUS FASCISM.

The characteristic feature of this Fascist revolution which has caused surprise to many was its harmlessness. As is known, Mussolini not only spared the constitutional " institutions " of the old régime, against which he directed his revolution, but even prohibited any violence against the " Red " workers. Indeed, we know that, even though the " bloodless revolution," as Mussolini called his coup d'état, was not literally bloodless, certainly much less blood was shed than was anticipated. During the attacks of the Fascisti there were fatal casualties only in Rome and that only on the first day. This may sound somewhat frivolous, but it must not be forgotten that while the daily casualties prior to the coup d'état could be counted in dozens, between the 1st and the 15th of November only four killed were recorded as resulting from conflicts between Fascisti and workmen. Mussolini did not prevaricate when he pointed this out in his speech at the opening of Parliament. We do not mean to infer that apart from this there were no more acts of violence, but by bringing pressure upon the Fascist detachments, the Government managed to prevent bloody acts of vengeance or at any rate to reduce them to a minimum. Mussolini could not bring about a total cessation of violence. It is no secret that the Fascisti compelled our comrades to drink castor oil: we must recognise, however, that there is a difference between compelling a victim to drink castor oil and killing him, and we must recognise also the difficulty with which Mussolini managed to secure this.

Why did Mussolini strive to bring about a cessation of violence? In order to reply to this question we must return to the period preceding the revolution, when Mussolini *did all he could to prevent it taking place.*

Under the pressure of circumstances—after the failure of the general strike on the 1st August, the activity of the squadrons increased—Mussolini was compelled to put forward the motto, " WE must capture political power by constitutional means or by force." Nevertheless, he always laid emphasis on the necessity of resorting to the latter only in the case of extreme necessity. During the period between the 20th and the 24th October he was willing to form a coalition government, if not with Giolitti then at least with Sandro. He *demanded* five places in the Cabinet for the Fascisti. In this he was guided by two considerations, viz., the desire to secure influence within the Government and the endeavour to make the coalition acceptable to the Fascisti. Only four days prior to the coup d'état, speaking at the conference of the Southern Fascisti in Naples, he said, " Loyalty or disloyalty? Since I demand new elections "—and he did demand this at that time—" should it not be clear to all that I have already chosen the path? "

The same evening also in Naples, addressing the Fascisti squadrons who were wildly shouting, " To Rome! To Rome! " he said: " I tell, I assure you, I vow to you that if this will be necessary the order will be given," and then asked them to disperse quietly to their homes.

Even on 29th October, when the " revolution " was in full swing —and at that moment things looked devilishly like a revolution— Mussolini, in a leading article in the *Popolo d'Italia*, wrote:—

" A considerable portion of Upper Italy is undoubtedly in the

hands of the Fascisti. The whole of Central Italy, including Toscana (the province of Rome) is occupied by the 'Black Shirts.' It was not worth while making a mobilisation of such an extent for the sake of a transitional Government headed by Salandro (read: "A Coalition Government can no longer restrain events"). The Government must be a purely Fascist Government. . . . There can be no other solution. The people at Rome must understand that it is still possible to solve the crisis by constitutional means; to-morrow it may be too late."

In the same article he once again declares that "Fascism will not abuse its victory."

Why this desperate appeal for constitutionalism which on the next day would be impossible? The explanation is very simple. We know that for many months the squadrons had been developing and regarding themselves as an end in themselves. When the failure of the general strike of 1st August revealed to the Fascisti that they need not expect the slightest resistance from the workers, the activities of the squadrons began to develop very rapidly and at the end of October became a direct menace. Mussolini saw that unless the Fascisti, by means of a "bloodless revolution," took power, he would lose control over the squadrons, and Fascism would go "too far."

This explains the convulsive clutching at constitutionalism on the part of "republican, revolutionary" Fascism. This also explains the resolute demand of the industrialists for the immediate appointment of Mussolini as Prime Minister. Finally, it explains the further conduct of Mussolini, whose first political act was to issue the order demobilising the Fascisti squadrons (he had little success in this respect) and to issue a short manifesto in which was stated literally the following:—

"The Government will exert all efforts to preserve internal peace and to raise the prestige of the nation abroad. Only by means of labour discipline and the unity of the Fatherland will it be possible finally to overcome the crisis."

. . . Labour discipline and unity. . . . But every day *Popolo d'Italia* brings fresh news. Mussolini gives strict instructions to the prefects to maintain peace and order, and orders them to arrest all those who disturb the peace, irrespective of the party to which they belong. He declared that the laws were obligatory for all and that he personally would see to it that his orders were carried out, and that the sole duty of the Fascisti was to obey. Mussolini clearly saw the danger that threatened him and the bourgeoisie. This is seen from the fact that having forced everybody into silence after that victory of the "revolution," he did not form a purely Fascist Government, but, in form at any rate, a Coalition Government relying on a Parliamentary majority, composed of all bourgeois parties, from national liberals and democrats to the Populists (the Catholic Party). Immediately he was called upon to form a Government, Mussolini asked the former secretary of the Confederation of Labour, who commanded the greatest influence in the Confederation and in the Social Democratic Party (Turatti, Treves, D'Arragona, Baldesi) whether he would agree to join the Government. Only as a result of the pressure of his fellow party members did he temporarily refuse—so *Popolo d'Italia* wrote—to join the Government as the representative of the Confederation of Labour. Nevertheless, Mussolini gave orders to the effect that not only were no raids to be made on the trade unions and Socialist Party premises and that the local management bodies were

not to be broken up, but also that the premises taken from the trade unions and the parties (both Socialist and Communist), and the municipalities " captured " by the Fascisti after the 1st November, must be immediately restored, " in view of the fact that all the laws that had been violated hitherto now come into force again." All this constitutionalism, legality, " democracy," was assumed on the one hand to restrain the impetuosity of the squadrons, and on the other to throw dust in the eyes of the proletariat, to pacify it at least for a time until the problem of the squadrons should be solved, as any desperate attempt at resistance on the part of the proletariat would lead to the intensification of the activity of the squadrons and then it would be difficult to prevent them going " too far."

Of course, these orders were never carried out to the full, but there is no doubt also that as compared with the preceding months the general situation after the coup d'état not only did not become worse but considerably improved. This is not our statement, but that of the Italian Labour Party and the Labour organisations. In the social democratic *Justicia* of the 28th November, a resolution was published from the Reggio Emilio Trade Unions, saying, among other things, that " communications received from various representatives indicate that the situation, with a few sad exceptions, has improved." And *Avanti* of the 5th December, quoting *Voltra*, says, " The Fascisti have ceased their violence and their terror in order to adopt more fruitful and less repellent propaganda."

An article published in *Avanti* on the 25th November, entitled " From Tascano," excellently describes the situation. This article says that the activity of the Fascisti in the towns has quietened down, but continues in the rural districts. " A fig for Mussolini; we are masters here," say the Fascisti in the villages. Recollecting that Tascano is an agrarian province we will understand the reasons for such a " violation of discipline."

From the 1st December the position again tends to become worse and acts of Fascisti violence increase in number. The Fascisti again seize municipal and trade union premises, break up and disperse the management bodies (as in Lezzias), raid, burn and destroy (Tore, Annunziato, Coliari, Pola, etc.), attack the workers, beat them almost to death and even kill them (the worst case that of Turin). Communists are seized from their places of employment, taken outside of the town on automobiles, and killed. Others are killed in their homes. Nine are already reported killed. Recently, however, not only have the Communists, Anarchists and Socialists become objects of attack; in many places the Fascisti attacked republicans and workers belonging to the Populist Party. A few days ago they compelled a republican and Populist deputy to drink castor oil. In Naples they raided and broke up the editorial offices of two Populist papers, etc., etc.

The increasing violence served as a warning to Mussolini and induced him to hasten the solution of the question of the " squadrons." In the latter half of December it was resolved to form a " national militia," which was to absorb the 100,000 " Black Shirts." The date fixed for the organisation of this militia was the 20th January, 1923. and it was explained that those who joined the militia would be subject to strict discipline. This had some effect.

At the same time, we must point to an undoubtedly important fact, viz., that simultaneously with the prohibition of violence committed indiscriminately against all workers, we observe the organised and systematic persecution of the revolutionary proletariat. This fact

is of too recent origin to have its history, but it stands out too clearly for there to be any doubt upon the matter. On the pretext that "conspiracy after conspiracy is being discovered," scores of Communists and Maximalists are arrested. The whole of the editorial staff of the Communist *Il Lavatore* were arrested on such a flimsy pretext that they had to be released the next day; the authorities declare every Communist Party organisation to be a "criminal assembly"; the police are given secret instructions ruthlessly to arrest all revolutionary proletarian leaders (Communists, supporters of the Third International, Maximalists, and Anarchists); *Popolo d'Italia* demands the death sentence for all persons bribed with "Russian gold." At the same time, not only the reformists and social-democrats, but also Maximalists in the Socialist Party, who are sabotaging unity with the Communists, enjoy the protection of the authorities. All these facts speak for themselves.

The immediate danger threatening Fascism on the part of the squadrons passed by. Fascism now proceeds to the solution of the second half of its problem, viz., the restoration of bourgeois economy.

RESTORATION OF BOURGEOIS ECONOMY.

The problem of restoration divides itself into two parts: valuta and labour. We shall refer to the latter later on. For the present we shall deal with the "problem of valuta," which is exceptionally important for Italy as it has to import all its coal and iron and annually imports from 2,500,000 to 3 million tons of wheat. In order to regulate the valuta it was necessary to bring the State finances in order, and this Mussolini set to work to do. He issued a "widely proclaimed" programme, the corner-stone of which was economy in State finance and imposing the burden of taxation upon all sections of the population. The following is a list of what has been done to carry out this programme:—

(a) Economy of State Finance.—This was to include the transfer by the State to private persons of unprofitable enterprises (railways, posts, etc.), but all that it resulted in was the dismissal of large numbers of State employees and reductions in the wages of those who remained. During the first two months seventeen thousand railwaymen and workers in the railway workshops were dismissed, and another 25,000 are to be dismissed. The eight-hour day has already been partly abolished; Mussolini will soon make the railways "profitable," and then transfer them to private hands. Nothing more than this has been done in the direction of economy. It would be more true to say that what has been done has had precisely the opposite result as we shall soon see.

(b) What "imposing the burden upon all sections of the population" actually means will be seen from the two orders quoted below.

Taxes are to be imposed upon the wages of the workers in State, provincial and municipal enterprises (tobacco factories, gasworks, etc.), railwaymen and tramway workmen irrespective of whether they belong to the State or a private company. According to an official statement this is only the beginning of the gradual extension of taxation upon all workers, and following the example of Germany, the taxes will be deducted from the wages on pay day.

The new valuation and classification of the land according to profitableness with a view to increased taxation of agricultural capital and agricultural revenue.

Repeal of the law prohibiting the issue of bearer stock in order

to enable the industrialists and financial bourgeoisie in whose hands securities were mainly concentrated to avoid taxation.

In accordance with one of the decrees passed the Parliamentary Commission of Enquiry into War Expenditure and War Contracts was to report not to Parliament but to the Prime Minister, and the report was to be strictly secret. The obvious aim of this was to remove war profits from the sphere of taxation.

Summarised, the programme means, increased taxation of the proletariat (the tax on wages was a little over 10 per cent.). Increased taxation of landed property which at best will be carried out only in the course of several years, and the immediate relief from taxation on a wide scale of the industrial and financial capitalists to the damage of the State budget.

Undoubtedly, this is very advantageous for the bourgeoisie; but what is not advantageous for it—if we include heavy industry—is that the above-mentioned measures cannot bring about any equilibrium in the State finances as, in consequence of the increase in the military budget, State expenditure considerably exceeds the increase in the revenue.

Partly in order to solve the problem of the squadrons, partly to be able consistently to carry out his taxation policy against the proletariat as a means of restoring industry, and partly also as a result of the international situation that had arisen—of which we shall speak later on—Mussolini was compelled to come forward with a fantastical military project. In this connection the following has been done:—

THE ARMAMENT POLICY.

A so-called "National Militia" has been formed, composed of the "Black Shirts" called to serve God and the Fatherland, which is under the direct command of the Prime Minister (that is to say, not the King). This militia consists of about 100,000 men.

The period of military service has been increased from twelve to eighteen months, which entails an additional expenditure upon the State Treasury for the maintenance of from 300,000 to 450,000 troops.

The mounted gendarmerie has been increased to 90,000 men.

The police force has been increased, partly as a result of the increase in the number of secret service agents from 6,000 to 12,000, and also as a result of taking several hundreds of thousands of members of the Fascist squadrons into the police service.

Mussolini declared that the disbandment of the Royal Guard would lead to a considerable saving in State expenditure. As a matter of fact, however, the increase in the mounted gendarmerie and police considerably exceeds the reduction made in the Royal Guards. The latter consisted of 35,000 men.

Not less imposing are the other military measures, as, for example, the call to the colours of discharged officers and non-commissioned officers of the Reserve. Judging from recent communications, it is proposed to increase the Air Fleet by 1,000 metal aeroplanes.

Not the whole of the bourgeoisie are in sympathy with these plans and measures. Only a comparatively small section approve of them, while the rest are obviously disturbed.

MUSSOLINI AND THE BOURGEOIS PARTIES.

It must not be forgotten that not all the bourgeoisie supported the Fascisti. Nitti feared the Fascisti more than he had hopes of them. This was due to the fact that he relied on the backing of groups of British and, particularly, American capitalists, who did not

desire a Fascisti victory owing to the latter's close connection with France. Until the collapse of the Banka Disconto, Giolitti defended the interests of the large landowners. From the beginning of 1922, however, i.e., from the time the Banka Commerziale found itself without a rival, he felt more free and began to make overtures to the industrialists; in the middle of 1922, he crossed over to the side of France and began to sympathise with Fascism. The latter, however, he merely regarded as a gendarmerie. After the Fascist coup d'état a change took place in the policy of the Banka Commerziale. The leading men in the Banka Disconto naturally desired to take advantage of the "victory," and Fratelli and Peroni, a few weeks ago, opened a campaign against the Commerziale. The Commerziale considers it necessary to resume the struggle, and Giolitti is retiring to his former position of hostility to Fascism. In a leader in its issue of the 21st December, entitled "Clearing Up the Position," *Stampa*, the principal Giolitti organ, condemns the dictatorial policy of Mussolini, but declares that, not desiring to embarrass the Government, it confines itself to a friendly passivity. The *Corriera della Serra*, the organ of the Lombardy Industrial and Financial Capitalists, headed by Bonnomi, is as hostile to the hegemony of the Banka Disconto as it formerly was to that of the Banka Commerziale. Only heavy industry and the Nationalists were and are on the side of the Fascists. The former is in close co-operation with French heavy industry, and is dependent upon it. It is the interests of the latter that dictate the "firm," i.e., Imperialist policy directed mainly against British and American capitalism. ("The Mediterranean Sea must unconditionally belong to the people inhabiting its shores.").

These internal antagonisms in the camp of the bourgeoisie appeared to have been smoothed over in the period of the "victory of Fascism." It was obvious, however, that sooner or later, they must come again to the surface. One can only be surprised at the relative rapidity with which this happened. It is not difficult to prophesy that these antagonisms will become more acute in the future. It is sufficient to recall the Bill drafted by Bianci on the instructions of the Fascist "Supreme Council" on franchise reform and the reform of the Constitution. According to official reports this plan briefly is as follows:—

1. *A three-quarter majority system is established.* Every province, "with a few exceptions," forms a single constituency in which the party securing a simple majority of votes obtains three-quarters of the seats and the other quarter is divided *proportionately* among the other parties.

2. The majority in Parliament thus obtained *nominates the Prime Minister, which is confirmed by the King*, and the Prime Minister selects the members of his Cabinet and submits their names for endorsement by Parliament. *Having done that the functions of Parliament cease*, and it is then dissolved. The new general elections take place after the lapse of four years and during the intervening period the Government has unlimited and uncontrolled power.

There is no need to dwell on the dangers concealed in this "reform" for the bourgeoisie. It is not difficult to foresee that the latter, with the exception of heavy industry, of course, will very soon express their hostility towards it.

What dictated this reform? This question must be seriously analysed. In this connection we would draw attention to one fact,

viz., the inherent antagonisms in Fascism which have not been removed to this very day. We have seen that Mussolini more or less succeeded in toning down these antagonisms, but at the end of December new opposition voices arose in the Fascist camp, particularly in Venice, Pola, Bari, Florence, Brescia, Modena and Rome. Thus, in San Luca, in the Province of Brescia, the political secretary of the Provincial Federation, at a public meeting of the Fascisti on the 23rd of November, declared:—

"The work of the Fascisti is not yet ended. They are ready even now to close their ranks and advance against those who have been able to escape just retribution—which, however, will soon overtake them."

The Fascist deputy, Farinacci, in a leading article in his daily *Cremona Nuova*, of 9th December, commenting on the negotiations between Mussolini and Baldesi, expresses himself still more clearly and unambiguously on this theme:—

"We must warn the men in power that in their love for compromise they are chasing after phantoms and giving ear to sirens' songs.

"We beat the alarm; it must be heard by all those for whom it is meant, including the Fascist Government and the central organ of the party. It must remind all that there can be no understanding, no compromise with and no mercy for the enemy. The Government and the committee of the party must be told to follow the example of the Fascisti of Cremona, who to this very day are following the straight path without deviating to the right or to the left. They refrained from negotiating or having connection with the Lazzaris, Garicottism and Kazzalis, but always fight resolutely and undeviatingly, disarming and silencing the enemy."

An even more clear and aggressive tone is expressed in the letter of Cessara Forni, the assistant commander of Fascist troops, addressed to the Fascists of Brescia, who, in spite of the prohibition of the Government, and in the interests of the landowners, carried out a general mobilisation of the agricultural labourers belonging to the "Populari" Party in their province. In this letter Forni says:—

"While the contemptible deserters are howling against the conduct of the 'Black Shirts,' and the people in the Government who have too soon forgotten the October days are ready to surrender to them, let this letter from dirty Rome . . ."

Yes, Rome is "dirty." In the Fascio of Rome the antagonism between the two wings is so acute that they stand confronting each other in a state of complete military preparedness. A conflict between the Fascist troops was avoided at the last moment owing to the intervention of influential Fascist leaders.

Of course, we cannot calculate the number of conflicts that have taken place between the Fascisti. It is sufficient, however, to mention that in several towns (Venice, Pola, etc.) things reached a stage of sanguinary battles; the "dissidents" stormed the secretariat of the Fascist Party in the same way as formerly they had stormed the offices of the trade unions and the Communist organisations. In some places it was necessary to dissolve not only the squadron, but the political Fascio, for which purpose the energetic intervention of the Fascist Party was necessary. There were cases during the municipal elections when the two wings put forward separate tickets, etc.

Finally, we would refer to the sharp friction existing between

the Fascisti and the Nationalists, which, in a number of cases, led to sanguinary skirmishes. This latter is explained mainly by the fact that the Fascisti desire to retain for themselves all the " rights of the victor," while the representatives of heavy industry insist on the retention of the "Blue Shirts" (the Nationalist squadrons), as a counterpoise to the Fascist detachments if the latter should dream of capturing power, which, in the prevailing circumstances, was highly probable.

All these circumstances must be taken into consideration if one desires to have a correct idea of Mussolini's labour policy. It is the multifarious antagonism of interests within his organisation which explains the sharp contradictions in his policy. The latter is the product of the former.

We see that at the moment that Mussolini was forming his Cabinet he was thinking of introducing a policy " favourable to the workers." Did he not desire to include Baldesi in the Government? He did not miss a single opportunity to re-assure the workers on this point. Thus, in his concluding speech in the Senate on the 27th of November on the granting of full powers to the Government, he said:—

" We do not at all intend to oppress the proletariat, nor compel him to return to a low standard of existence. No, we desire to raise him physically and morally. Our policy, favourable to the proletariat, is dictated to us by the conviction that we cannot have a peaceful united and unanimous nation when 20,000,000 workers are doomed to a miserable existence and a low standard of living."

We would recall the fact that at the beginning of December, on his way to the London Conference, Mussolini broke his journey in Milan in order to visit a large metal works, where he made a speech to the workers. In this speech he demagogically emphasised the fact that he was not born an aristocrat, but a worker, and long worked as a labourer and stonemason.

" I, like you," he said, " earned my living by physical toil. I have been a labourer and a stonemason. These pages from my life can never be torn out. A man like myself cannot be an enemy of the proletariat. I am an enemy only to those who desire to mystify and deceive the proletariat."

Later on he said: " My Government is strong, very strong, and there is no need for it to seek allies. I seek none; but if anybody comes to the Government with sincere intentions and with a sincere heart, I do not turn him away, even if he belongs to the Labour organisations."

In the first period of his entry into the Government Mussolini endeavoured to influence the workers by high-sounding phrases, but his efforts were vain. One cannot attach importance to the fact that a few State officials, out of fear of losing their jobs during the period of cutting down State expenditure, " voluntarily " offered to work an extra hour per day in order to economise the finances of the State. We have already referred to the dismissals of railwaymen and the taxation of wages. In addition to these measures there are, of course, a number of others in operation which from day to day make the proletariat feel the " benefits " of the Fascist Government. To enumerate these here is impossible, but as an example we could quote the repeal of the law of the protection of motherhood, which intensified the exploitation of women, the introduction of the eleven-

hour day by the Trieste Municipality for numerous categories of labour, or the violation of the eight-hour day on the State railways. They succeeded in carrying out the latter only partially, for the indignant Fascist railwaymen retorted by seizing Naples railway station and the Government was compelled hastily to withdraw its order.

The class struggle proved stronger than the Fascist trade unions and their idea of class conciliation. Of this, not only we, but Mussolini, whose past must not be forgotten, had no doubts. He knew and now knows this as well as we. This explains the attempt to include Baldesi in the Government. We saw that this attempt failed owing to the shortsightedness of his friends. But this is only a temporary failure.

At the end of November he made a second attempt which led to Mussolini having a " friendly " interview of several hours duration with Baldesi in the beginning of December. On this occasion the plan was worked out in greater detail. He proposed to unite all the trade union organisations, the Confederation of Labour, the Catholic Unions, the Railwaymen and Seamen's Unions, etc., etc., and the Fascist Corporations into one National Syndicate, the fundamental principles of which were to be:—

(a) The recognition of the nation and the Fatherland as the basis of social life.

(b) The repudiation of the class struggle and its substitution by " emulation of ability."

This is the pure Fascist Trade Union " programme." Nevertheless, this plan failed, not as a result of the opposition of the leaders of the Confederation, but as a result of the opposition against Mussolini in the Fascist Party.

In reply to the article by Forinacci in the *Cremona Nuova* of the 9th of December, to which we referred above, Mussolini, impressed with the telegram he received in London informing him of the advantage, which had been taken by his opponents, of his three days' absence, sent a hasty wire from London to Forinacci expressing his complete moral solidarity with the latter. For all that the programme of the unity of the trade union movement still preserves its actuality. It, however, has entered a new phase quite distinct from the previous phases. *Now the unity of the trade union movement is demanded by the proletariat.* This is something radically different, for the proletariat demands unity not in the name of class conciliation but in the name of the class struggle. Two weeks of Fascist rule was sufficient to make the Italian proletariat understand where its true path lay, and it is now striving to unite the revolutionary forces. This is of tremendous importance, for it will lead to the actual realisation of unity. We have seen that the Social-Democrats only two weeks ago were prepared to hand over the proletariat to Mussolini and that in the middle of December, under the pressure of the proletariat—pretending to meet its insistent wishes—they formed a " committee for the unification of the trade union movement " on the basis of " civilised " class struggle. It must not be supposed that our statement that the Social-Democrats intended to betray the Italian proletariat to Mussolini is a piece of demagogy. This is a true statement of fact. Unfortunately, we cannot within the limits

of this article quote all the evidence of this in our possession. We will select a few quotations:—

"We must determine our attitude to every Government on its merits. There must be no foregone conclusions.

"I willingly recognise the necessity for greater discipline in the relations between workers and employers.

"We must rectify the defects and errors of our organisations: we must not blindly repeat the stupidities of the masses.

"There must be a careful selection and only the most worthy should be selected." (Extract from an interview with Columbina, the secretary of the Metal Workers' Union and a prominent leader of the Confederation of Labour, published in *Stampa* of the 24th of November, 1922.)

"His Excellency Finzi (the Fascist Assistant Secretary of State), in his desire to bring about the pacification of the country, has planned to establish a central commission with full powers to remove all sorts of antagonisms. We cannot oppose this plan and declare that we will exert all efforts to help him in this difficult and delicate task.

"Negotiations are being conducted in this sense" (at that time only with the co-operatives.—Present writer's comment).

"The possibility is not excluded of the negotiations conducted for the time being only with the co-operatives being extended to all the Labour organisations. . . .

"These ('New') tactics must have nothing in common with the former elementary negative tactics of the class struggle which aimed at bringing pressure on capital for the sake of an illusory increase in wages." (Extract from an interview with Bernani, Chairman of the "Red" Co-operative Union, published in *Il Mondo* of the 1st of December, 1922.)

The *Tribuna di Ferrovieri*, the central organ of the revolutionary Railwaymen's Union, of the 1st of December, 1922, in a leading article with the comforting title of "Without Ulterior Motives," wrote: "As we do not have to defend a particular party programme, we have no foregone conclusions, one way or another, with regard to the Government.

"If the Government cares to reckon with our demands . . . it will find in the railway staff experienced, capable, and technically tried collaborators."

The reformist leaders of the "Red" Railwaymen's Union, however, were wrong in their calculations. On the very day that the above article appeared, the railwaymen forming the Fascist Railway Corporation took possession of the Naples railway station as a protest against the Government's abolition of the eight-hour day.

Thus, in the middle of December, the Reformist and Social-Democratic leaders were compelled to form a "Committee for the Unification of the Trade Union Movement," which included syndicalists, republicans, and the followers of D'Annunzio (therefore, did not include Fascisti and Populists). The committee issued a manifesto emphasising the following three points:—

1. The trade unions must be absolutely non-political.

2. Each trade union maintains international relation only with its kindred organisations.

3. The class struggle cannot be repudiated but it must be conducted in a "civilised" manner.

THE UNITED FRONT OF THE ITALIAN PROLETARIAT.

This manifesto was the first, and to this day, the last, issued by the notorious committee.

Only in light of the facts outlined above can one understand the great significance of the resolution of the Fourth Congress of the Comintern. The unification of the revolutionary forces of the proletariat is urgently necessary, and the proletariat itself is thirsting for it. It is necessary for the purpose of energetic counteraction, which will inevitably smash the Italian reaction and the bourgeoisie that is leading it. Mussolini hopes—perhaps he has no such hopes but is compelled to make a desperate attempt—to hinder the process of reorganisation of the revolutionary forces by the systematic persecution of the revolutionary workers. He issues decree after decree for the arrest of the revolutionary leaders of the proletariat; he is agitating in his newspapers for the application of the death sentence against those who are making use of "Moscow gold"; he declares Communist organisations to be "criminal assemblies," while at the same time he protects, not only the Reformists in the ranks of the Confederation and the leaders of the Social-Democrats, but also those "maximalists" who are trying to put a spoke in the wheel of the decisions of the International Congress which guarantees the carrying out of the resolution of the Rome congress of the Socialist Party. Mussolini protects the latter from both the attacks of the Fascist brigands and from the revolutionary proletariat.

He, however, is mistaken in his calculations. So also are the betrayers of the proletariat from Turatti, D'Aragonna and Baldesi to Baratono and Bela who have now finally thrown off their masks. In spite of Mussolini's raging terror, in spite of the treachery of all the traitors, the Italian proletariat will soon achieve unity—the rock against which Fascism, suffering from a thousand inherent contradictions, will shatter itself to atoms.

POLITICS IN GAYA

BY EVELYN ROY

The Thirty-Seventh Annual Session of the Indian National Congress met in the last week of December, 1922, in the picturesque pilgrimage-place of Gaya, in the Province of Behar. No more appropriate place could have been selected, for Gaya is the traditionally sacred spot in which to offer up *Pinda* (sacrifices) to the lingering ghosts of the departed dead, and so release them from the last earthly bond, that they may journey towards *Nirvana* or seek re-birth. The fifteen thousand or more political pilgrims that wended their way on foot, in bullock-cart or steam-car to the holy spot to attend the Congress-session were perhaps unconscious of the fact that their eager pilgrimage to Gaya was to offer involuntary *Pinda* to the dear departed but lingering ghost of Gandhism, famous to the world as Non-Violent Non-Co-operation based upon Soul-Force—but such was nevertheless the fact. The much exploited cult of *Satyagraha*, which aimed to translate politics into religion and the rising flood-tide of revolution into a pacific love-feast, inaugurated by Mr. Gandhi in 1920, confirmed at Ahmedabad in 1921, and consecrated

at Bardoli a few months later, gradually wasted itself away in the sharp struggle between Government and people during the last year and was peacefully buried about the time that the Civil Disobedience Committee, after touring the country for nine months, published its report. According to Hindu custom, after a definite period of mourning for the dear departed is over, the *Sradh* ceremony is performed, consisting of a feast given to all the friends and relatives of the deceased. The *Sradh* at Gaya marks the close of a definite period in the Indian Nationalist Movement—the preparatory period inevitably characterised by confusion of ideas and mistakes in tactics, but valuable for the political lessons to be deduced therefrom. The new period that lies ahead was inaugurated from the funeral ashes of the old.

Viewed in this light, the *Sradh* at Gaya becomes no longer what it is heralded by the orthodox Gandhists to be—an unqualified victory and triumphant vindication of the principles of "pure Gandhism"—but a half-melancholy, half-pleasing ceremony of respect and relinquishment of the ties that bound the venerated dead to earthly affairs. As such, we profess our love and loyalty to their sacred memory, but we feel that they belong to us no longer, that they have passed beyond our ken forever. Such was the meaning of the six thousand Congress-delegates assembled in the vast Khaddar-pandal (homespun tent); such was the sentiment of the thousands of spectators who journeyed to Gaya for the sacred week; such was the nature of the resolutions passed by the sovereign assembly of the Indian people. Respect and veneration for the dead departed; the final separation of the ghostly wraith of Non-Violent Non-Co-operation based upon Love-Force from the pulsating life of the vital body politic—this was the actual significance of the funeral ceremony celebrated by the Thirty-Seventh National Congress at Gaya in December of the year 1922.

II.

The social and economic background of the Thirty-Seventh National Congress was wide as the poles asunder from that which marked its predecessor at Ahmedabad the year before. Then, revolution was at its flood-tide; repression had only just begun to lift its ugly head in the arrest, a few weeks previously, of the popular Ali brothers and the President-elect of the National Assembly, Mr. C. R. Das. The adored Mahatma Gandhi was still free to lead his trusting followers whithersoever he willed, and the great masses of the Indian people stood ready, at his lightest command, to declare a National Strike, to refuse payment of taxes and to launch the entire country upon a campaign of Civil Disobedience which might have ended anywhere, even in the attainment of the mythical *Swaraj* which the Mahatma promised within one year.

This year, how different the situation and general spirit of the people! A full year had rolled away without the slightest approach of the promised *Swaraj*. Mahatma Gandhi and twenty-five thousand faithful followers fill the Government "hotels" as a reward for having followed the injunctions of Non-Violent Non-Co-operation based on Soul-Force. The middle-classes, once the vanguard of the National Movement, are divided among themselves and weak in their counsels as to the future course to follow. Boycott of schools and law-courts, depending on them for fulfilment, has been an acknow-

ledged failure; boycott of foreign cloth and liquor-shops, and the propagation of *Khaddar* and *Charka* (homespun and weaving), which depended on the masses for fulfilment, has equally failed, not for lack of goodwill or loyalty to the imprisoned Mahatma, but from sheer economic disability of the starving workers and peasants to pay higher prices and work longer hours in the sacred but abstract name of Patriotism. The chief clauses of the "Constructive Programme," adopted at Bardoli in February, 1922, just after the riot of Chauri Chaura, and which urged the prosecution of the triple Boycott while suspending indefinitely the declaration of Civil Disobedience and Non-payment of Taxes as well as the use of all aggressive tactics, have had the ultimate effect of dampening the enthusiasm of the masses for the national cause and of withdrawing from it the backbone of mass-energy, while at the same time giving free play to the forces of Government repression, let loose in all their vigour since the departure of the Prince of Wales from Indian soil. The Report of the Civil Disobedience Committee, published ten months after its appointment by the Congress, confirms the indefinite suspension of the declaration of Mass Civil Disobedience, but lets loose a new issue upon the country—that of entry into the Government Reform Councils. Public opinion, misled by this red herring drawn across the trail, rages in controversy upon the vexed question; the Report of the Civil Disobedience Committee discloses its six members to be equally divided for and against; the speeches of Mr. C. R. Das, at Dehra Dun and Amraoti, a few weeks before the annual session of the Congress, declare that he and his followers will make the question of contesting the next elections to the Reform Councils an issue in the coming Convention.

Meanwhile, what of the masses, of whom everyone in India, politically minded or otherwise, has learned to speak? From the Government and the landlords to the Congress politicians and the social reformers, an abnormal interest is displayed in the question of the "masses"—a vague term meant to include within its scope without being too explicit, the rebellious city-proletariat and landless peasantry, as well as those innocuous millions of "lumpen" proletariat, the Untouchables and Pariahs whom Mr. Gandhi and the Salvation Army alike reach out to reclaim from the cruel ostracism of Hindu orthodoxy. "Back to the masses," "Back to the Villages," has become the slogan of every shade of political opinion, and one hesitates to think whether this sudden enthusiasm for the "masses" should entirely be attributed to selfless patrotism, or whether that new and potent force in Indian National life, the hitherto dumb and inarticulate workers and peasants, has become a pawn in the political game, waged heretofore between the Government and the middle-classes. How otherwise to explain this eagerness to reach the "masses"; the sudden zeal for organisation and propaganda on the part of Congress-wallahs; the equally sudden desire to rush remedial legislation through unwilling legislatures, on the part of the Government, to somewhat better the condition of rack-rented peasantry and sweated factory hands? With what tender solicitude the Government of India notices, whether it be in the speeches of Viceroy or Provincial Governors, or in the official Annual Reports, the effect of improving economic conditions, of better harvests and a favourable rainfall, upon the uncertain temper of the rural population and the belligerent spirit of the striking

city-workers. The Thirty-Seventh Annual Session of the Indian National Congress met this year upon a background of comparative industrial calm, broken by sporadic strikes of a purely isolated and economic nature, in no way comparable with the country-wide fever of industrial unrest which displayed itself in political strikes and national *hartals* during the corresponding period of last year. But it met, at the same time, in a period of intense organising activity on the part of the working-masses, of the slow but persistent growth of trade-unionism and co-operative effort, of industrial and economic conferences and efforts at federating the loosely-scattered labour-organisations whose number and influence have immensely multiplied within the preceding twelvemonth.

It met, at the same time, in the aftermath of several sharp agrarian revolts; in the south the Mophahs of Malabar, crushed after seven months' guerilla warfare, with unnumbered casualties and seven thousand victims condemned to penal servitude. In the North the Akalis, struggling in the name of religion for possession of rich temple-lands, had vindicated the dynamic possibilities inherent in organised mass-action by taking possession of the disputed lands by the use of direct action, and when impeded by the armed forces of the State, by offering themselves up in unlimited numbers for arrest. In the tug of war between Government and Akalis, the former found itself worsted, with public opinion steadily growing more alienated and strained. What began as a local quarrel developed into a national issue, and the Government withdrew, discomfited, but the price paid for this unrecognised victory of direct action was six thousand Akalis lying in jail, beaten, abused and maltreated, some to the point of death. Again, in Bengal, Behar and the Central Provinces, acute agrarian unrest was repeatedly put down in the course of the year; in Bombay the passive resistance campaign of the *Mulshi Pethas* to resist eviction from their land was compromised by the Government by the payment of compensation. The serious agrarian upheavals of 1920-21 in the United Provinces were stilled by the passage of a Land Act and by the " exemplary " punishment of the openly rebellious such as the recent wholesale condemnation of 172 villagers implicated in the riot of Chauri Chaura to death by hanging! In such an atmosphere, then, of subdued aspirations and fallen hopes, of disillusionment and sense of failure, did the Thirty-Seventh National Congress meet in the holy city of Gaya in the province of Behar, the stronghold of reactionary landlordism and remote from the industrial unrest of modern India. And the Congress met, not to give a new lead to the waiting people, nor to draw ripe lessons from the mistakes and failures of the past year, but to pay honour to the departed ghost of Gandhism; to hold a *Sradh* ceremony and offer *Pinda* to the defunct doctrine of Non-Violent Non-Co-operation based upon Soul-Force, as embodied in the corpse of the Constructive Programme.

III.

Three events bade fair to disturb the harmony of the prospective solemnities and a fourth actually obtruded itself upon the Congress meditations, forcing some recognition from the Mourners there assembled of present-day actualities in the land of the living. We refer first to the publication, in November, of the Report of the Civil Disobedience Committee, which declared the country to be unfit for the inauguration of Mass Civil Disobedience, including Non-

payment of Taxes, but recommended, by an evenly split vote, the reconsideration of the Boycott of the Reform Councils, with the object of contesting the elections to be held in the spring of 1923. The second discordant note was struck by no less a person than the President-elect of the Congress, Mr. C. R. Das, newly released from six months' confinement in jail, who after the report of the Civil Disobedience Committee saw fit to deliver himself of two speeches which set the whole country by the ears. In addition to echoing the heresy of the Council-entry, qualified with the object of "ending or mending them," the Deshbandhu (Friend of the Country) startled his compatriots and the Bureaucracy alike by enunciating such heresies as the following:—

"I do not want that sort of Swaraj which will be for the middle-classes alone. I want Swaraj for the masses, not for the classes. I don't care for the bourgeoisie. How few are they? Swaraj must be for the masses, and must be won by the masses." (Speech at the Dehra Dun, November 1st, 1922.)

A few weeks later, he published a "Mass" programme, in his daily vernacular organ the *Bangalar Katha*, which declared for the Constructive Programme an election to the Reform Councils, and stressed the necessity for organising labour and peasant-societies as a means to declare a National Strike and enforce Non-payment of Taxes for the final winning of Swaraj, which vague term he recommended should be defined by a National Committee.

Excitement and speculation were still bubbling over the Desbandhu's heresies to orthodox Gandhism, when a third event on the very eve of the Congress plunged the entire nation into a fever of fright and bewilderment. This was the cabling out to India by Reuter, evidently under Government orders, of the complete Programme of Social Democracy drawn up for the consideration of the National Congress by the exiled "Vanguard" Party in Europe. The printed copies sent with the December 1st number of the "Vanguard" (now the official organ of the Communist Party of India), reached that country on December 19th and was promptly proscribed by the Bengal Government on December 20th. The cabled document was published in the entire Indian Press, Official, Moderate and Nationalist, on December 21, 22nd and 23rd, the comments thereon extending over the entire week that preceded the opening of the National Congress at Gaya. The object of the Government in the spectacular move, was to alienate the Moderates by the sceptre of Bolshevism, and to frighten the Congress, and especially Mr. Das' party, out of any discussion that might remotedly resemble the "Vanguard" programme. Both of these designs were successful. The landlords and Moderates rallied most satisfactorily to the side of "law and order," and the Nationalists busily tried to whitewash themselves of any suspicion that they might faintly approve of such rash republican ideas. Needless to say, the "Vanguard" programme, though it might have been in the hearts of some, found no one to sponsor it in the national conclave, but thanks to the crude advertisement by the Government, its text was known to the entire country. That its classes of social and economic reform, such as the eight-hour day, the confiscation of large estates for re-distribution among the landless peasantry, and the nationalisation of public utilities, remained undiscussed, proves the crime of the Congress to be one of deliberate commission rather than omission.

But when even Mr. Das' mild programme proved too much for the Congress patriots to swallow, what hope was there for a programme branded as Bolshevik, which concerned itself chiefly with the amelioration of the lot of the Indian workers and peasants? The Sradh Ceremony at Gaya was not to be disturbed by such discordant notes, the High Priests' oft-repeated protestations of love for the "masses" notwithstanding.

But a gleam from the outer world did find its way into the Congress pandal towards the close of its deliberations. This was the reported news of the breakdown of the Lausanne Conference and the threatened possibility of war between England and Turkey. This fact, of immense importance to the Indian Mussulmans assembled simultaneously in the annual session of the All-India Khilafat Conference at Gaya, agitated the overwhelmingly Hindu Congress to a ludicrously disproportionate extent. A clue to this otherwise inexplicable concern of the representatives of 250,000,000 Hindus for the success at arms of the Moslem Turks and the preservation of the Holy Places of Islam under Turkish control, is to be found in the fanatic zeal of the 70,000,000 Indian Moslems, determined to assist their brothers in the Faith, and in the vague assumption that the peoples of Asia are united in a solid bond of brotherhood to resist the encroachments of European "civilisation." Hindu-Moslem unity is among the first essentials to a successful national struggle, and so far, this unity has been made to hang upon the perilous thread of a purely religious and artificial issue, the championing by the Hindus of the cause of the Khilafat, in return for the support of the Indian Mussulmans to the national cause.

IV.

Certain outstanding figures in the Congress may be taken as symbolic of the tendencies that direct the current of national life in India to-day. The voice of Mr. C. R. Das, expressing the ideals and aspirations of the liberal Indian intelligentzia struggling to free itself from the social and economic interests of the bourgeoisie; opposed to him, the colourless figure of Mr. C. Rajagopalacharya, the "deputy-Mahatma," expounding the principles and dogmas of "pure Gandhism," and personifying the reactionary spirit of the lower-middle-class Extremism, sounding the death-knell to progress and scurrying to cover at the slightest hint of revolution. The voice of bourgeois radicalism, speaking in the person of N. C. Kelker, the leader of the Maharashtra school of political rationalism, as opposed to the metaphysical reactionaries of orthodox Nationalism and temporarily allied with the liberal intellectuals of the Left Wing in their common fight against the stand-patters of the Center, who still commanded an overwhelming majority. These were the voices of definite organised groups, representing the needs and more or less conscious aspirations of an entire class. There were other voices, less distinct and not so clearly heard, but nevertheless symbolic of rising social forces destined to dominate the sittings of future Congresses—the voice of Mr. P. K. Mazundar, echoing that of Hazrat Mohani at Ahmedabad, demanding the Swaraj be defined as "complete independence without foreign connection by the people of India by all legitimate and proper means." Here spoke the new school of radical Republicanism, new as yet to India, but corresponding to the unexpressed desires and needs of a vast section of the people. Fainter still, and heard for the first time within the Indian National

Congress, spoke the voice of the workers and landless peasants, through the lips of the venerable Mr. Singaravolu Chottiar, of Madras, who introduced himself, amid the cheers and laughter of the assembled delegates, as an "Indian Communist," and who urged upon the Congress the necessity of making common cause with Labour to bring about a National Strike, so as to get rid of the domination both of the Government and of the bourgeoisie. Communists throughout the world, he assured his brother delegates, were with India in her battle for freedom. In a Manifesto issued just before the Congress, Mr. Singaravolu stressed the necessity of adopting an economic programme which would include the immediate grievances of the Indian workers and peasants within its scope.

The great struggle between the two contending parties within the Congress, the Right and Left Wing combined against the Centre, apparently hung upon the burning issue of Council-entry—whether or not the Congress Party should change its tactics and contest the coming elections to the Government Reform Councils. But the real issue lay deeper, and was tersely expressed in the popular names given to the respective factions, viz., the parties of "Pro-Change" and of "No-Change." Whether or not the Congress should exercise the right of private judgment upon the mistakes and failures of the past year, and reverse the programme and tactics sanctified by the benediction of Mahatma Gandhi, proven wrong by time and trial—or whether it should follow blindly the dictates of the Mahatmaji throughout the time of his incarceration, regardless of opinions to the contrary—this was the real issue of the struggle at Gaya. Every resolution brought before the house was presented in this spirit by loyal followers of orthodox Gandhism, and was voted upon in this form. "Change or No-Change," "Love and Loyalty to the martyred Mahatma or Treason to his sacred memory"—thus was every question formulated and thus was it decided, in the Sradh ceremony at Gaya, where every vote cast was a Pinda offered to the beloved memory of the revered Mahatmaji. Orthodox Gandhism scored a complete and overwhelming majority in the Thirty-Seventh Session of the Indian National Congress, but for all that, orthodox Gandhism is dead, and what transpired at Gaya was merely the respectful offering of friends and relatives to the lingering ghost of the deceased, to release it finally and forever of the last earthly tie that still bound it to the life of the body politic.

V.

A study of the resolutions accepted and rejected during the five days' Congress deliberations reveals the nature of the struggle that has raged within the ranks of the Non-Co-operators throughout the past eight months. It is the struggle between the past and the present, between the dead and the living, between reaction and progress, which resulted in the temporary and illusive triumph of the former over the latter. The orthodox No-Changers, in their zeal to paralyse the movement by laying upon it the skinny death-hand of inaction and futility, rejected all the recommendations which their own Civil Disobedience Committee had recommended—the withdrawal of the boycott of law-courts and schools—and re-affirmed their faith in these confessedly moribund tactics. The recommendation of the same Committee to boycott British, as opposed to merely "foreign" cloth, brought forward as a resolution before the Con-

gress, was likewise rejected on the grounds that the specific boycott of British goods implied a hatred foreign to the doctrine of Non-Violence and Love. The main bone of contention—that of Council-entry—was debated exclusively from the point of view, on the part of the orthodox No-Changers, as to whether Mahatma Gandhi would sanction such a departure from the policy laid down by him at Ahmedabad and confirmed at Calcutta. In the words of Mr. Rajagopalacharya, known to the Congress as the "Deputy Mahatma":—

"The Congress should remember that no great change from the present programme could be recommended by any but the wisest and greatest of leaders. It is not possible for small men to ask the Congress to take a line different from what this house, sitting at Calcutta, decided, after a careful consideration."

All the speeches of Mr. Rajagopalacharya, in upholding or opposing the various resolutions put forward, were tuned to the same key, and made use of the same arguments, *ad nauseam*. There were eight counter-resolutions on the subject of Council-entry, representing every shade of compromise, leading to the extreme of Council-boycott on one hand, and Council-entry on the other, but to them all Mr. Rajagopalacharya opposed the same argument, which was less of an argument than a credo: "We must not change the policy of the Mahatma; we must complete the Constructive Programme." And confronted with this uncompromising issue of "loyalty" to the imprisoned Mahatma, the pilgrims of the Sradh at Gaya rendered their tribute to the dead, and the resolution on Council-entry was lost by a two-thirds majority.

There were other resolutions lost, of equal if not more importance to that of Council-entry, which was stressed far beyond its due. The resolution presented last year by Hazrat Mohani, now in jail, demanding a change in the Congress programme by declaring the goal of the Indian people to be the attainment of independence *outside* the British Empire, "by all possible and proper means," was presented again this year at Gaya by the spokesmen of his party, which appears to have grown considerably in the past twelve months. Needless to say, the resolution was lost by an overwhelming majority, but the number of votes cast for it was larger than last year, and the speeches made in favour were more outspoken. The annual appearance of such a resolution denotes the growth of that hitherto *rara avis* in the constitutional Congress movement—a party of radical republicanism.

Manifestly in order to show that the No-Change Party still asserted its right to give a lead to the people, and as a counter-irritant to the contagious cry of Council-entry, the Congress majority adopted two last-minute resolutions which would be laughable, were they not so pathetic in their inadequacy. One was on Civil Disobedience—ambiguously worded and vague in portent, but launched as a possible objective so soon as the faithful followers should complete the preliminary requirements, viz., the collection of twenty-five lakhs of rupees (£170,000) for the Tilak Swaraj fund, and the enrolment of 50,000 volunteers, pledged to Non-Violent Non-Co-operation and the fulfilment of the Constructive Programme. The resolution on Civil Disobedience, passed against the unanimous recommendation of the Civil Disobedience Committee appointed by the Congress, is one of those anomalies which can only be explained

by a study of the psychology of the No-Changers. The very men who had most loudly cried down the use of this weapon as "dangerous," now proposed its adoption and carried the resolution successfully through the hypnotised Congress. It was meant less as a threat to the Government than a bribe to the sensation seeker. But the Congress has cried "Wolf! Wolf!" too often for either the Government or people to pay heed. The resolutions affirmed the boycott of schools and law-courts, and providing for a conditional declaration of Civil Disobedience (which is to be individual and not mass), were best described by the Pro-Change Press as "whipping a dead horse."

The other last-minute resolution thrown as a sop to the sensation-monger bordered less on the Bolshevik, as described by the Anglo-Indian Press, than on the lunatic, taking into consideration the nature of the element which proposed it. It declared:—

"The Congress hereby repudiates the authority of the legislatures————in future to raise any loan or incur any liabilities on behalf of the nation, and notifies to the world that, on the attainment of Swarajya, the people of India, though holding themselves liable for all debts and liabilities rightly or wrongly incurred hitherto by the Government, will not hold themselves bound to repay any loans or discharge any liabilities incurred on and after this date on the authority of the so-called legislatures brought into existence in spite of the national boycott."

This heroic gesture of defiance before the Government, the Councils and the world was presented on the last day of the Congress, without having been fully discussed in the Subjects Committee, where it was proposed for the first time late on the previous night, and in the absence of some of the leaders. Mr. Rajagopalacharya himself, who proposed the resolution, seemed a little amazed at his own temerity in departing so far from the footsteps of the Mahatmaji, and made little effort to support his point in the face of opposing speeches, which stigmatised the resolution as "non-moral, to say the least." But his faithful followers, trained to obedience, voted blindly in favour, and to the great surprise of everbody present, the resolution was overwhelmingly adopted. By this dictum, the petty-bourgeoisie, represented by the Congress-patriots, have driven another nail into their own coffin, since who among the financiers, whether foreign or native, now investing their capital in India, will be interested in having come to power a class which has beforehand repudiated the principal and interest on those investments?

The only other noteworthy resolution adopted by the Congress was that approving the organisation of Indian labour "with a view to improve and promote their well-being and secure them their just rights, and also to prevent the exploitation of Indian labour and Indian resources." This resolution was passed unanimously, it being the fashion in Congress as well as other circles to talk about the "masses," and a Committee on Labour Organisation was appointed "to assist the Executive Council of the All-India Trade Union Congress, for the organisation of Indian labour, both agricultural and industrial." A similar resolution was passed by the Congress two years ago at Nagpur, but nothing came of it. It remains to be seen whether the present resolution will be taken more literally.

VI.

A curious feature of all Indian National Congress Sessions, and in fact, of the whole nationalist movement, is its relationship to the politico-religious agitation over the Islamic Khilafat, to which the 70,000,000 Indian Mussulmans are pledged. The Near Eastern question, involving the struggle of Turkish nationalism against Franco-British Imperialism, is thus a not unimportant factor in Indian politics as well, for a common faith and fierce religious fanaticism sways the martial followers of the Prophet in India to sentimental and to a certain extent practical sympathy for their Mussulman brothers in Turkey. The extent of this sympathy is largely regulated by the priestly hierarchy known as the *Jamiat-ul-Ulema,* which pulls the strings behind the All-India Khilafat Committee, with its country-wide organisation. The older and sister organisation, the All-India Muslim League, which constituted the Mussulman counterpart to the largely Hindu National Congress, and whose aims were more political and more Indian than the religious ones of the Khilafat, has gradually waned in influence and to such an extent that this year's annual session of the All-India Muslim League did not take place at all. Its former constituents have been fairly well merged within the ranks of the National Congress organisation (with which it was united in 1916 while maintaining a separate existence), and of the Khilafat Committee. Between these two more vigorous bodies, its own significance has become *nil.*

It was formerly held to be a stroke of Mr. Gandhi's inspired statesmanship that united the Hindus and Mussulmans of India in a common struggle with the slogan of "Swaraj and the righting of the Khilafat wrongs." What was at best a mere superficial unity, brought about by the mingling of the waters of two streams, each having a separate source and contrary destination, has been rendered nugatory by the external events of the past year, reacting upon Indian political life. The military triumph of Mustapha Kemal Pasha, and the dethronement of the traitor Sultan, who was at the same time the Caliph of the world of Islam, was bound to have a repercussion upon Mohammedan sentiment outside of Turkey, to which the religious aspect of this bold step meant more than the political. The real meaning of the appointment of a new Caliph divested of temporal power has been well and aptly characterised as the separation of the Church from the State, of religion from politics by the new Turkish Government. Great Britain tried to make capital out of this courageous and necessary step by offering shelter to the ex-Sultan and seeking to foist him upon the Mussulman world as their spiritual head. But the Indian Mussulmans, steeped in fanaticism, saw through this move and supported the action of Mustapha Kemal. The Jamiat-ul-Ulema has not, however, given its sanction unconditionally. Certain sinister forces are at work within that ecclesiastical body, inspired more by dubious political than spiritual considerations. The same forces were at play during the recent simultaneous sessions of the Jamiat-ul-Ulema, the All-India Khilafat Conference and the National Congress at Gaya. There, the same questions of policy and tactics, discussed in the Congress, were decided by these bodies, and the curious fact is, that their decisions were not influenced by those of the Congress, but vice versa. The whole question of Council-entry was postponed by the National Congress until after the deliberations of the Jamiat-ul-Ulema and

Khilafat Conference were announced, and even Mr. Das, leader of the liberal intellectuals, declared in his presidential address:—

"It is needless to point out that should the Khilafat Conference come to the conclusion that under the present circumstances it would be an offence against their religion to enter the Councils, the Congress would unhesitatingly accept their decision, because no work in this country towards the attainment of Swaraj is possible without the hearty co-operation of both Hindus and Mussulmans."

The debate on the Council-entry resolution was postponed till the fourth day's session of the Congress, in order to await the decision of the Ulema and Khilafat Conference. When given, it was unfavourable, the Ulemas declaring roundly that "even an attempt to stand for election to the Councils, though without the intention of entering them or of taking the oath of allegiance, is forbidden by religion."

The Khilafat Conference was so busy passing resolutions supporting Mustapha Kemal Pasha and upholding his claims at Lausanne, that the Council-entry resolution was postponed and finally dropped altogether. The Lausanne deadlock reacted in a notable way upon the deliberations of Indian nationalism, and the news of its possible breakdown which came in the midst of them, caused the Khilafat Conference to pass a resolution calling upon all Indian Moslems "to unite to oppose the hostile forces arrayed against the Turks, because Civil Disobedience is the best weapon in their hands to attain Khilafat demands and to force the hands of the Government."

A similar resolution, urged upon the National Congress in the very midst of the debate on Council-entry, was postponed, and passed at the close of the Congress session in a very diluted form, whereby:—

"This Congress resolves that the Working Committee do take steps in consultation with the Khilafat Working Committee to secure united action by Hindus and Mussulmans and others to prevent the exploitation of India for any such unjust cause, and to deal with the situation."

Thus, the Khilafat stands committed to declare Civil Disobedience in the event of a new Turkish war, while the Congress has refrained from fully committing itself on this point. The Khilafat Conference also declared for the boycott of British goods, as well as of schools and law-courts; approved in rather lukewarm fashion of the organisation of labour "to prepare among them religious and political affairs," and declared for the collection of ten lakhs of rupees (about £70,000) and the enrolment of 50,000 volunteers within three months time.

Both Congress and Khilafat voted to form a Committee to inquire into the causes of the Hindu-Muslem friction, and to devise ways and means of drawing the two great religious communities closer in the national struggle. But the deepening of religious issues is indicated by the very significant resolution of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha (an orthodox body of Hindu Conservatives which also held its annual conference at Gaya), "to organise in all villages and towns Hindu Sabhas (societies) and bands of Hindu volunteers with the object of protecting the Hindu community from the attacks regarded to be aggressive and unjust." This means the formation of a Hindu religious organisation on aggressive and orthodox lines, similar in spirit to the purely religious Mussulman organisation of

the Khilafat, and destined perhaps, to clash with it on the political field, as all such religious bodies inevitably must when permitted to meddle in and influence political issues. The growth of political consciousness and of political parties in India has not yet broken up the old religious divisions where the reactionary and orthodox members of each community are re-assembling their forces for future conflicts. This tendency will be aided, unseen, by the Imperialistic ruler.

VII.

The Congress ended, as was to be expected, in a split between the forces of the living from those which clung to the dead past. Mr. C. R. Das and his followers, on the termination of the Congress session, issued a Manifesto, announcing the formation, within the Congress ranks, of the "Congress Khilafat Swaraj Party," based upon "the attainment of Swaraj by all the peaceful and legitimate means, working on the principle of Non-Violent Non-Co-operation." Mr. Das resigned his presidency of the Congress, on the ground that his views did not coincide with those of the majority, but declared his party would continue to work within the Congress until the majority were converted to their viewpoint, meanwhile reserving the right to follow those tactics which seemed best to them. The Executive of the new party numbers among it such men as Mr. C. R. Das, President, Hakim Ajmal Khan, Motilal Nehru, V. J. Patel, N. C. Kelker, M. R. Jayakar, C. S. Ranga Iyer, V. Abhayanker, etc., etc.—names which speak volumes to those even slightly acquainted with the Indian nationalist movement. It means that the Left, represented by C. R. Das and the liberal intellectuals, has temporarily joined forces with the Right—that school of rationalist politicians who have long since headed a revolt away from Congress leading-strings back into the ranks of the co-operating Moderates, and whose philosophy of nationalism is summed up in the phrase "Responsive Co-operation." The new party, which met at the end of January to draw up a programme and line of action, has not yet published the result of its deliberations, which covered such questions as the formation of a Pan-Asiatic Federation (to supplant Pan-Islamism); boycott of British goods, and participation in elections to the Reform Councils. A Committee is at work drawing up a tentative scheme of Swaraj, which the new party has set itself the task of defining, and will place before the country for discussion and approval through the Press and platform. The scheme includes the main points set forth in Das' presidential address before the Thirty-Seventh National Congress, viz.: (1) The formation of local autonomous centres on the lines of ancient Indian village system, integrated into a loosely federated national unit. (2) The residuary power of control to remain in the hands of the Central Government, so exercised as to interfere least with the local autonomy of the integrated village-units.

In view of Mr. Das' reiterated insistence on the importance of attaining "Swaraj for the masses and not for the classes," which raised such a clamour in the British and Indian Press, and led to his being stigmatised as "Bolshevik," the specific declaration of the first convention of the new party on the rights of private property have a double interest and significance. The members declare that "private and individual property will be recognised and maintained, and the growth of individual wealth, both movable and immovable,

will be permitted." This frank declaration of class-affiliation and class-consciousness betokens more than the mere winning over of Mr. Das and the school of liberal intellectuals to the protection of bourgeois property-rights. It shows the rapid crystallisation of ideology in the Indian national struggle, and the presence of a predominating bourgeois element, determined to protect its class-interests from the very outset against the rising flood-tide of mass-energy that may some day find an outlet in revolution.

The Sradh at Gaya is over, and the door on the past two years of Non-Violent Non-Co-operation based upon Soul-Force is closed and sealed for ever. The ghost of Gandhism is released from its earthly moorings, and Indian politics is freed from its spiritual bondage to pursue its temporal course, for better or for worse, towards some kind of Swaraj within or without the British Empire. New forces have been released in the struggle, temporarily confused and merged, but destined each day to grow more distinct, more conscious of the mission each is to fulfil. The sentimental liberalism of Mr. Das and his disciples has been drowned beneath the advancing wave of bourgeois rationalism, intent upon winning for itself a place in the sun. But the revolutionary energy of the masses is yet to be reckoned with. In the words of the "Open Letter to Mr. C. R. Das and His Followers":—

"There are but two ways ahead: reversion to the Constitutional Democracy of the Liberals, or adoption of more revolutionary methods. ————Either Mr. Das will soon have to abandon his original position in favour of the 'Responsive Co-operation' of the Mahratta Rationalists, or he will have to part company with them in order to organise the third party inside the National Congress—the party of workers and peasants, which will infuse vigour into the national struggle by means of revolutionary mass action." (Open Letter to Chittaranjan Das and His Followers, by M. N. Roy. Zurich, February 3rd, 1923.)

Only the organisation of such a mass party can save the Congress from sinking into permanent imbecility and decay, rendered useless on the one hand by the growing importance of the co-operating Moderates, representing the interests of the powerful Indian bourgeoisie, and on the other, by the organisation of the Indian workers, and peasants to struggle for the improvement of their economic position, abandoning the political arena for a decade to the Home Rulers and adherents of the Liberal League.

A HISTORICAL PARALLEL

BY Z. LEDER

The discussion as to the methods of combatting the menace of war is as old as the Labour movement itself, and the question of to what extent the working class could co-operate with the bourgeois pacifists has always been its outstanding feature. The early history of the First International between 1867 and 1868 is most instructive in this connection.

At the same time as the vanguard of the international working class were convening their Second Congress in Lausanne in September, 1867, the " flower of the bourgeois intelligentzia " of that time convened a " Peace and Freedom " Congress in Geneva for the purpose of forming a bourgeois-republican " League of Peace and Freedom." As J. Ph. Becker—who closely followed the development of Marxian ideas—in his " Der Vorbote " then wrote (September, 1867): " The fact that they are not meeting in the same place and at the same time and at a joint Congress proves that two interests prevail which divide society into groups. . . . In Geneva the Democrats and bourgeoisie set the tone; while in Lausanne it is the voice of the Social-Democracy, the proletariat alone that is valid. Between these two views, antagonistic owing to historically operating causes, there is a chasm that grows ever wider as a result of economic inequality and social injustice. Both at the inauguration and at the Congresses and Conferences of the International Workingmen's Association, the principles of the Revolution of the eighteenth century were taken for granted, and therefore their declaration was regarded as superfluous. While the one-sided political democracy desires to carry the revolution, which has come to a standstill, to a final conclusion by the establishment of a republic, the Social Democrats help to accelerate the achievement of this end, in order immediately to make it the starting point—by the establishment of a free society—for the introduction of a new cultural epoch—the social epoch. Even under such circumstances, however, there are *always some points* which could serve as a basis for co-operation of the *two sides*."

In 1867 the Marxists were quite clear in their minds that " the old progressive parties having fallen into a mass of political, religious, national and social prejudices through the particularist interests of their members, *are now no longer capable of decisive action and have degenerated . . . . that only the workers by hand and by brain whose interests are* in complete harmony with the historic requirements of cultural progress, will, in unity with all great hearts, bear aloft the *banner of Humanity and Humaneness, and as the Party of Regeneration of world history will beat a new path for itself.*" Nevertheless, they held that there were certain points in common between the proletariat and the bourgeois pacifists, and the Congress of 1867 declared its complete and definite association with the Peace League formed at Geneva on September 7th, and its aim to maintain peace. The Congress of the I.W.A. resolved to send delegates to the Congress of the League, but demanded that the latter declare itself for the " emancipation

[1] Resolution moved by the Geneva Section of the German Groups at the Lausanne Congress of the I.W.A., Aug. 25, 1867. " Der Vorbote," September, 1867, page 1412.

of the working class from its state of slavery and oppression." A year later, after the experience of the Geneva Peace Congress, the International had recovered from this illusion. In 1868, when the Third Congress of the International was meeting in Brussels, Herr Vogt, once again in the name of the "League of Peace and Freedom," giving assurances of its sympathies for the spirit of the International ("social reform"), invited the members to take part in the Second Congress for Peace and Freedom. The Congress of the International, however, resolved "that the working class alone can prevent war." It called upon the workers, in the event of the danger of war arising, *to cease work*, and advised the bourgeois friends of peace and freedom, if they were sincere in their strivings, *to join the ranks of the International.* Members of the I.W.A. could take part in the Congress of the League for Peace and Freedom only on the condition that the discussions and decisions of that Congress was binding only on the participants personally The International, on its part, imposed the obligation upon its members attending the Peace Congress to put forward the resolutions of its three Congresses.[2]

A comparison of the resolutions of the Lausanne and Brussels Congresses shows quite clearly the change that took place in the attitude of the International towards the "peace strivings" of the "progressive" bourgeois parties during the brief period of one year. Quite apart from the change in the official attitude, we can observe three points of view prevailing in the International on this question.

First, the Marxists. We have already indicated their position by the quotation from Becker, and the resolution proposed by the German Section in 1867. In 1868 also, the Becker resolution expressed itself much more clearly with regard to modern war than did the compromise resolution of the Commission referred to, composed of Mermillord, Tolain and Becker. "Great wars," says this resolution, "are waged not only in the interests of dynasties, but also in the interests of the Great Powers and trade, and are conducted with the object of securing advantages for the ruling class." Further on it continues: "The proletariat alone is interested in abolishing for ever the internal *class war*, and also the external national wars." Not only does the wording of the Becker resolution clearly indicate the attitude of the Marxists to the problem, but the historians of the International, like the strictly orthodox Marxian *Jaeckh* and the Bakuinist *Brubbacher* are also unanimous in the opinion that the members of the International who followed Marx desired "to base the struggle against war mainly or exclusively upon the working-class movement."

The second tendency revealed on this question was represented by the *Bakuninists*. In July and September, 1868, the great apostle of Anarchism took for his field of action, not the International Workingmen's Association, but the bourgeois League of Peace and Freedom. Having become a member of the Central Committee of the League, after the Geneva Congress, Bakunin believed that he could convert it into an instrument for the political, religious and philosophical emancipation of humanity, while the I.W.A. was chiefly to serve for the economic emancipation. Only when the League

[2] "Der Vorbote," Oct.-Nov., 1868, pp. 160-162, and the Official Report of the Congress in "Le Peuple Belge," September 18 and 22, 1868.

turned down his petit bourgeois conclusionist programme of "Economic equality for all classes and all human individuals on earth," which was unacceptable to the bourgeoisie, did he break his connection with it—at the Berne Congress in the same year—and he transferred his activity to the International Workingmen's Association.

The third tendency was that of the *Proudhonists*. Proudhon's "La Guerre et la Paix," published in 1869, a year later, in many ways indicates the attitude taken up by this group towards the war and peace problems. After an exaggerated and vulgar panegyric of war, this master mind of "Philosophy of Poverty" fame comes to the conclusion that war is impossible because humanity does not want war ("if man is determined we can rest assured as to the results"). The Proudhonists within the International Workingmen's Association acted on these lines. In 1867, *Fribourg* was quite alarmed at the fact that the "International was denying its principles, not by affiliating, but merely by entering into official contact with a political organisation." In 1868, this same Fribourg at the Berne Congress declared that he would combat the "Nihilist" doctrines of Bakunin and his friends wherever he would meet them, and rejoiced at the progress the League was making in the direction of "Socialist-liberal" ideas. *Malon*, *Landorn*, and *Clusevet*, however, protested against the tendency towards a spirit of exclusiveness revealed in the Brussels resolution, and divided their sympathies between the International Workingmen's Association and the bourgeois Peace League.[1]

On the morrow of the two Congresses mentioned above, the Franco-German War proved that Becker and his friends were right when they declared that "great wars are waged not only in the interests of dynasties, but also in the interests of the Great Powers and trade, and are conducted to secure advantages for the ruling class."

The next great war brought about the collapse of the Second International, in the same way as the war of 1870-71 brought about the collapse of the First International. But half-a-century of imperialist development lies between, which has brought national and class antagonisms to their very highest pitch. This fact is admitted by every sincere bourgeois historian. The historical task of the Second International was to prepare for and complete the transition to Socialism, as was clearly expressed in the resolution of the Stuttgart Congress in 1907. Only to Kautsky—the official successor to so-called orthodox Marxism—belongs the honour of proclaiming that its task was: "Mutual international support in the struggle to extend democracy and to consolidate the proletariat in political and economic mass organisations on democratic lines."[2]

After half-a-century, the question again arises as to what should be the attitude of the international labour movement towards the bourgeois-liberal pacifist movement. It is remarkable that the "revived International"—the Second—and the Amsterdam Trade Union International, have declared that co-operation with the bourgeoisie is desirable and necessary. The hoary president of the French League of the Rights of Man, *Frederick Buisson*, at the

[1] E. E. Fribourg, L'Association Internationale des Travailleurs Paris, 1871.

[2] "The Revived International." "Vorwaerts," No. 583. Dec. 19. 1922.

recent Hague Congress, recalled the fact that he was present at the Geneva Congress of the League of Peace and Freedom in 1867. He warned his new Social-Democratic fellow members that a repetition of the formulæ of 1867 would not do for 1922. He remarked with satisfaction that since 1867 at least *a section* of the working class has become more *moderate* in its demands on the bourgeois pacifist movement. Three years after the Berne and Amsterdam Congresses of the International Labour Bureau and after the Berne Congress of the Second International, which drew up a "radical programme" for the reform of Clemenceau's, Wilson's and Lloyd George's "League of Nations," these two Internationals allow the pacifists to force a resolution upon them at the Hague which regards the foremost task of the Trade Union International in the struggle against war to be "to draw up a programme for the absolutely necessary reform of the League of Nations" (Lafontaine resolution). After the Hague Peace Congress, A.D. 1922, a leader of the Second International, *Otto Wels*, declares that "it is the duty of the workers to bring an ever-increasing number of citizens within the sphere of influence of these (pacifists) ideas."

The work of guaranteeing peace begun at the Hague can be successful only "by so uniting those who stand for peace as to make an international general strike superfluous."[1] After the Hague Peace Congress, 1922, a leader of the Amsterdam Trade Union International, Th. Leipart, after defending the spokesmen of the Two-and-a-half International, declares that: "General strike resolutions do not solve the problem; it must be hoped *that all citizens, the Press, Parliament, the schools, teachers, and men of art and letters will earnestly and persistently take up the propaganda of the ideas of peace.*"[2] And more clearly than either of these two does the typical leader of the Amsterdam Trade Union International, Jouhaux, declare that his friends were in complete and "unreserved agreement with bourgeois pacifists in that it is necessary to make use of all the existing international organisations as a means of action, however precarious may be their power and however insufficient their numbers."[3] This means that a section of the working class movement *unreservedly accepted the programme of the Liberal pacifists, without for a moment dreaming of putting forward one of its own.*

In order fully to contrast the picture of 1922 with that of 1867-68 another touch or two is necessary. We will recall the fact that the Russian Delegation, as against the Jouhaux-Wels-Leipart-Vandervelde-Lafontaine-Buisson programme, put forward a resolution opposing a bloc with the bourgeois pacifists, on the grounds that such a bloc would be nothing more than the collaboration of classes. Finally, we have de Uigt, the spokesman of the Anarcho-Syndicalists and of the Anti-Militarist Bureau of Holland, declaring at the Hague Conference in the name of his friends, "*we will not co-operate with the pacifists who support capitalism. Only the proletariat can guarantee world peace. We will have nothing to do with the League of Nations.*"

The evolution from 1867-68 to 1922 is obvious. We do not

[1] The Hague Congress. "Vorwaerts," Dec. 19, 1922. No. 598.
[2] Korrespondenzblatt des H.D.G.B. No. 51, Dec. 23, 1922.
[3] Le Congrès de la Haye. "Atelier," No. 145, Dec., 1922.

intend, in this brief article, to go into the social driving forces of this evolution. No doubt other comrades who will write on this subject will do this. It is indisputable, however, that when, after half-a-century of class struggle, a section of the Labour movement—or its leaders—on one of the most important problems accept the Liberal bourgeois pacifist solution of this problem, it—or they—*take up a position on the other side of the barricade.* What I want particularly to draw attention to here—and this is the object for which I drew the historic parallel—is, that the ideological doctrines are the same. It seems to me that, in spite of half-a-century of development, the identity of the conflicting ideas within the Labour movement are unmistakable. Marxism, Bakuninism, and Proudhonism are the three doctrines that dominate the three points of view to-day as they did half-a-century ago.

However remote the modern Labour movement must be from purely doctrinaire views, if it really desires to be international, it seems to me in the light of this historical parallel, nevertheless, that *one* lesson stands out clearly: we must with greater energy than hitherto carry the teaching of revolutionary Marxism among the masses, and combat the false doctrines of Bakuninism and Proudhonism. In the last resort the Amsterdam International is Proudhonist with their "Philosophy of Poverty," and the Anarcho-Syndicalists are Bakuninist with their muddle-headedness and vacillations. Only the Communist International has given sanctuary to the teachings of revolutionary Marxism.

From Russian Social-Democracy to the Communist International

BY A. MARTINOFF

We publish this article by Com. Martinoff, one of the most prominent founders and leaders of Menshevism as being characteristic of the slow and profound evolution of the author from Social-democracy to Communism.—ED.

Prior to the Paris Commune the predominant position in the proletarian movement was held by France; from 1871 until the world war it was held by Germany; at the present moment it is held by Russia.

The old "French Method" of revolutionary struggle was the method of Jacobinism and Blanquism. Its characteristics were irreconcilability of the extreme revolutionary parties, strict discipline, a striving towards a centralised leadership of the movement, the employment of violence in the struggle for power and the dictatorial suppression of resistance when power had been achieved. These were classical revolutionary tactics. In so far, however, as they were applied by the proletarian party, they suffered from a serious defect. The proletariat in the French revolutions was still merged with the petty bourgeois elements, it was scattered, it had not yet been welded into extensive working class industrial and political organisations; it had not yet been imbued with a clear class consciousness; it had not yet undergone a Marxian theoretical training or the experience of parliamentary practice. For that reason, in its revolts, it either

spontaneously or blindly followed leaders who did not clearly understand the character of the various political parties and classes in bourgeois society, the laws of its development, or the cunning mechanism of the political system. Briefly speaking, the proletariat of the period of the French revolutions, in the mass, still lacked proletarian culture, the class consciousness and the organisation necessary to enable it to achieve the position of a dominant class and as a consequence, it was doomed to be the catspaw for other classes.

An attempt to overcome this defect, and as it seemed to us successfully, was made by the means of the " German method " as applied by the German Social Democracy which came to the head of the Second International. But precisely that which, as the founders of the German Social Democracy imagined, was to lay a firm foundation for the old French method, owing to historical conditions was converted into a bad substitute for the latter. Passing from parliamentary victory to parliamentary victory, enlarging its Press and extending its organisation during the course of decades, the German Social Democracy and the other parties of the Second International came no nearer to achieving their ultimate goal; for owing to their opportunism, from being a lever for the violent overthrow of the bourgeois State, they were converted into chains binding the proletariat to the State. The Marxism advocated by these parties gradually degenerated into the most vulgar democratism and social patriotism, which was most strikingly revealed when the World War broke out.

The experiences of the parliamentary and educational tactics of the Second International have not been in vain, however, any more than the earlier experiences of the proletarian revolts of the period of the French revolutions were in vain. No class throughout the whole history of humanity has set itself such a great and at the same time so difficult a task as the proletariat has set itself. It is not to be wondered at, therefore, that, in marching on to victory, it learns by its defeats. Even before the experiences of the Second International could be submitted to the final test of the war, new tactics began to be developed in Russia during the period of the first Russian revolution, viz., Russian Bolshevik tactics which *successfully combined the German method with the French method—the former being subordinate to the latter*—and which rendered it possible for the proletariat, at last, to make the first breach in the fortress of capitalism.

Bolshevik tactics have long ceased to be local or national tactics. They have been adopted by the whole of the Third International. They have obtained recognition wherever the proletariat is conducting a life and death struggle for its emancipation. For this reason Communists in all countries should know how these tactics were tempered in the fires of the Russian revolutions; they should study closely the history of these revolutions in the same way as we Russian Marxists studied the history of the French revolutions and of the German Social Democracy.

The Russian Communist Party is now celebrating its twenty-fifth anniversary, calculating its birth from the First Conference of the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party in 1898. It would have good grounds for celebrating its fortieth anniversary next year, for the foundations of the Russian Social Democratic Movement

were laid by G. V. Plekhanoff and P. B. Axelrod in 1884, when they formed abroad the first Russian Social Democratic group known as the "Emancipation of Labour Group." It was this first group that defined the historic tasks of the Russian Social Democracy, which in their turn determined the tactics of the movement throughout the whole period of the First Russian Revolution. This definition was as follows:—

"The Russian revolution will be a bourgeois revolution, but predominance in this revolution must be taken by the Social Democratic Party of the working class."

It is now clear to us that Plekhanoff's and Axelrod's definition of the historic task suffered from an inherent contradiction, for it is impossible for a proletarian party to lead a revolution and conduct it to a victorious finish without attempting to go beyond the limits of the bourgeois system. Nevertheless, for that period, the task was defined correctly, for it reflected the objective contradictions of the internal and international position of Russia at the end of the last century. At the time Plekhanoff wrote his first remarkable criticism of the Narodniki, industrial capitalism in Russia had only just achieved its first important successes. Russia was then a most backward country, with a greatly predominating peasantry, which, after the reforms of 1861, had become ruined owing to the introduction of the money system in the villages. These peasants threw up a considerable class of well-to-do peasants—kulaks; nevertheless, they were unable to organise agriculture on a capitalist basis, for the rural districts were being dragged down by strong survivals of feudalism, the chief of which was the Tsarist Autocracy. Thus the overthrow of the Autocracy promised to open wide scope for capitalist development in Russia and particularly in the rural districts.

This implied that Russia was on the threshold of a bourgeois revolution. Owing to the internal and international position of the country, however, the only driving force of this revolution could be the proletariat. The Russian capitalist bourgeoisie, encouraged by the imperialist policy of the Tsarist Government and alarmed by the widely developing proletarian struggle, did not conceive of anything more advanced than the Prussian Constitution. Russia had a strong, democratic intelligentsia, but did not have an *economically strong* urban bourgeois democracy, and even if it had, the latter could not have played the rôle that the urban democracy played in the West. Finally the ignorant peasantry, in spite of its rebel traditions, was still imbued with the spirit of Tsarist feudalism and could not have served as the basis for an independent political party. Consequently the predominance of the Russian proletariat in the Russian revolution was inevitable.

Thus life itself imposed upon the Russian Social Democracy a contradictory task, the contradiction of which, however, could not have revealed itself in 1890, because all the Russian Social Democrats, at that time, pictured the immediate revolution in very modest dimensions. Nobody at that time spoke of a republic, but only of securing a "Democratic Constitution." With the limited view of the scope of the revolution prevailing in the 'nineties there were no reasons for expecting that any sharp conflicts would arise between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, in the course of the revolution. Accordingly, Plekhanoff and Axelrod hoped that the liberal bour-

geois-democratic intelligentsia would support the revolutionary Social Democracy in Russia and willingly submit to its leadership if it succeeded in taking the initiative in the "national movement for liberation."

The situation changed sharply at the beginning of the twentieth century, when the industrial crisis, which broke out then, disturbed the equilibrium that had existed for so long in Europe and created a revolutionary situation in Russia. Very soon it became revealed how closely the new classes of Russian bourgeois liberalism and petty bourgeois radicalism (the S.R's.) were bound to the ideology of the moribund West European bourgeoisie, and how difficult it was for the Social Democracy to lead the movement without, from the very first moment, coming into sharp conflict with the bourgeois parties. This brought out in greater relief the inherent contradiction of the task which our party had set itself from the very beginning of its existence, and very soon led to its being split into two factions—Mensheviks and Bolsheviks.

The Mensheviks, arguing all the time on the assumption that the Russian revolution would be a bourgeois revolution, did everything to prevent a situation arising in which our party would have to take power; they feared that if it did it would damage the cause of Socialism. For that reason they argued that, throughout the course of the revolutionary period the Social Democracy must limit itself to the position of the extreme left opposition; for that reason they never resolved to enter into a decisive combat with the bourgeoisie, but adopted the tactics of alternately supporting the peasants and the liberals. This also explains why it persistently strove to copy the "German method" of parliamentarism and organic construction. Even if it was compelled to act according to the "French method" it always looked back, hesitated and only went half-way; finally this is why democracy, for it, was a fetish, for naturally, if power was to remain in the hands of the bourgeoisie, democracy was the most advantageous system for the proletariat.

The Bolsheviks, on the other hand, while not denying that the Russian revolution would be a bourgeois revolution, nevertheless claimed that the Social Democracy must become predominant in it, take the lead of it and conduct it to complete and final victory. This point of view, right from the very first moment of its formulation by the "Iskra" group in 1901, led the Bolsheviks along the path of French Jacobinism, which they gradually learned to combine with the "German method," the latter, however, being regarded as an auxiliary and subordinate method. The Jacobinism of the Bolsheviks, however, was not an imitation of the tactics of the great French revolutionaries of the 18th century; it had deep roots in Russia and was fostered by past Russian revolutionary traditions. As soon as the first rays of the Russian Revolution appeared in 1901, our revolutionary Social Democracy began to be elbowed out of its position by the liberals and the S.R.'s, who not only refused to fight against Tsarism under its leadership, but on the contrary reflecting the then prevailing temper of the Western bourgeoisie, and adopting the mask of Bernsteinian falsified Marxism, they endeavoured to destroy the intellectual weapons of the proletariat and to subject the revolutionary intelligensia to their own influence. This compelled the old "Iskra-ists," the future Bolsheviks, to beat the alarm and declared that Socialism was in danger. They declared ruthless

war upon all forms of contemporaneous bourgeois ideology, and fought for the political independence of the Russian proletariat, strove to guard it from bourgeois influences, to retain its predominance in the Revolution and to train it to conduct an irreconcilable and ruthless war against Tsarism and all its tacit and avowed allies. The leader in this struggle which in its outward form recalled the struggle between the Mountain and the Gironde, from the very first was Lenin, whose iron will, Marxist training, complete saturation with the Russian revolutionary traditions of the heroic times of the "Zemlia Volia" and "Narodnaya Volia" movements and of the still earlier times of the glorious crusade of the revolutionary materialists and socialists, Tchernishewski and Dobroluboff, against bourgeois liberalism and idealism, marked him out for the role of Jacobin leader.

The political and organisational foundations of the future Bolshevik faction in the Russian Social Democracy were laid down in the period of the old "Iskra" group in 1901-1903. After the 9th of January, 1905, when the profound significance of the Russian Revolution began to be revealed, when the revolutionary movement began to spread to the rural districts and to penetrate into the army, the Bolsheviks began to develop an independent political platform and steer straight for the "dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasants." The Bolsheviks knew that, in advancing towards a dictatorship, in a revolution which they still regarded as a bourgeois revolution, they would meet with many difficulties. But they rightly argued: the Russian Revolution will end either in an abortion—the granting of a Prussian constitution, and an arrangement between the bourgeoisie and the feudal classes (the Tsarist bureaucracy and the landed aristocracy) or in complete victory, and thus bring about a radical solution of the agrarian question. In the latter event it would inevitably carry the proletariat and the peasantry to power, who only by means of the dictatorship will be able to break the resistance of the forces of the bourgeois-feudal counter-revolution. There are only two ways, they said, and not suffering from the indecision of Hamlet, they resolutely selected the second path and dared to march towards complete victory, leaving it to the future to decide how the difficulties which must arise as the result of that victory are to be solved.

The first Russian Revolution, as we know, did not enable the Bolsheviks to put the correctness of their tactics to a complete test. The Revolution was suppressed with the aid of French milliards before the developing peasant movement managed to render sufficient aid to the revolutionary proletariat. That Revolution, however, did not pass in vain. It served as a splendid school for the proletariat and for the Bolshevik faction. It armed the latter with that experience, the skill and the qualities which guaranteed it victory in the future when the World War had undermined the forces of European capitalism and created more favourable conditions for the Second Russian Revolution.

By the end of the Russian Revolution in 1905 the Bolsheviks succeeded in removing the contradiction from the formulation of the fundamental problem of our Party. It was precisely the Bolshevik tactics that suggested to Kautsky—and on this point the Bolsheviks were in agreement with him—that the Russian Revolution will not be a bourgeois revolution but a means between a bourgeois

revolution and a socialist revolution, that, in the event of victory, it will bring about a bourgeois reformation in the villages and at the same time take the first steps towards socialism in the towns.

Already in the period of the First Revolution the Bolsheviks had learned how to combine the old "French Method" of direct action with the "German method" of parliamentarism and organic construction, and although the initiative in the application of the "German method" most frequently in Russia came from the Mensheviks, nevertheless the Bolsheviks defeated the Mensheviks in this sphere because the former adopted an historically more correct, more determined and more revolutionary course. Thus, for example, the initiative in organising the non-Party Council of Workers' Deputies in Petrograd in 1905 came from the Mensheviks, but the policy conducted by this Council was the Bolshevik policy. Again the initiative in the participation of our Party in the election to the Duma came from the Mensheviks, but the tactics of our Social-Democratic Parliamentary Faction, in the last resort, were the Bolshevik tactics of a Left bloc with the Trudoviki against the Cadets, and many Mensheviks in the Duma were compelled, in spite of themselves, to adopt these tactics. Still another example. The initiative for the organisation of Trade Unions and Sick Benefit Funds came from the Mensheviks, but the Bolsheviks drove the Mensheviks from these positions in 1912, when the revolutionary tide again began to rise.

Finally, the Bolsheviks, already during the period of the First Russian Revolution, learned to manœuvre very well, to make a sharp change of tactics in accordance with the change in the situation, while at the same time preserving intact its fighting centre when the Party was compelled to retreat, so that when a favourable turn in events took place, it was able rapidly to reorganise the ranks of the Party and again throw them into the impetuous attack.

Thus the Bolshevik faction which in 1911 finally broke with the Mensheviks and formed an independent party, laid a new path for the Socialist movement and prepared for the great test to which the world war was to put the European Socialists.

It alone, amidst the raging storm of the world catastrophe, dared to throw the challenge to the united front of the world bourgeoisie and issue the battle cry to convert the imperialist war into a civil war. It alone, having become hardened in the struggle with the Mensheviks in Russia, dared, at the Zimmerwald Conference, to split from the Second International—including the morass of the left centre—fully convinced that the Second International was nothing more than Menshevism on a world scale. The present state of the parties of the Second and Two-and-a-Half Internationals proves that the Bolsheviks in their tactics were right. When the February Revolution broke out in Russia the Bolsheviks were in a minority, not only in the Soviets, but also in the working class districts. Even in Russia the workers were not free from the intoxication of social patriotism, or at all events submitted to the general mood of fearing to go out of the war without the consent of the mighty Allies.

Under those circumstances, for the Bolsheviks to have made an immediate attempt to capture power would have been madness. But, although the conditions prevailing at the beginning of the February Revolution were very favourable for the Bolsheviks, nevertheless Lenin, with true revolutionary instinct, foresaw that these

conditions would change in the further progress of the Revolution. For that reason, on arriving in Russia, he dared to stand alone against all; he called upon the Bolsheviks to collect their forces and prepare to overthrow the Coalition Government and hand power over to the Soviets, which would alone be able to drag Russia out of the war, give land to the peasants and make the first steps towards Socialism. Having set themselves this aim, the Bolsheviks were not in the least dismayed concerning the catastrophic position in which the country was in at the time—this should be a lesson for the German workers—but began to kick the heels of the Coalition Government and at every step to expose its betrayal of the Revolution, and they achieved their aim. After the Korniloff rising, the majority of the troops came over to the side of the Bolsheviks, and this enabled them to bring about the October Revolution without difficulty.

The Mensheviks and the S.R.'s reproached the Bolsheviks with behaving like demagogues, that they were deliberately destroying the army at the moment when a powerful enemy was facing it at the front, that they were encouraging the workers to put forward economic demands which the country was totally unable to concede, and that they were encouraging the peasants to seize the large estates which would inevitably lead to the plunder of the stock and the ruin of agriculture.

These charges had some foundation, nevertheless the Bolsheviks were infinitely more far-sighted than their opponents and they acted far more in the interest of the Revolution than the Mensheviks and the S.R.'s who helplessly marked time and were impotent to solve a single one of the fundamental problems of the Revolution. The positive experience of the Russian October Revolution and the German Revolution proves obviously that during an imperialist war, the widening of the scope of a Revolution does far more in the long run, to protect the country from foreign domination than does strengthening the old military apparatus, which, at any moment, is prepared to serve as an instrument of the foreign and native bourgeoisie against the working class. The same experience has shown that no economic sacrifices are too great to maintain the revolutionary enthusiasm of the people and to secure the victory of the Revolution, and that in any case, whatever sacrifices are made are nevertheless, less than those made by the people, when the counter-revolution is victorious. When conditions have ripened for Revolution, the body politic can be cured only by surgical measures and not by opportunist mixtures.

When the Bolsheviks were making preparations for the October Revolution, they fully took into consideration the economic backwardness of Russia and proposed, in the event of victory, to take only the first step towards Socialism. When they seized power, and when the counter-revolution surrounded them in a ring of fire, they proceeded further than they had intended. In conducting a desperate struggle for power against a world of enemies, in order to maintain the revolutionary proletariat and in order to secure food for the proletariat and the Red Army, they steered a straight course for Communism. We say directly that they proceeded along this path, not only further than they had intended, but even further than the conditions of the struggle for power demanded; for, impressed by events in Germany, they over-estimated the nearness of the Socialist Revolution in the West. In one sense, the October Revolution

failed to avoid the fate of all past European revolutions, which in their stormy development, exceeded the limits of the economic possibilities of the particular time and place. While, however, previous revolution, as a consequence of this, always ended in a temporary triumph of the counter-revolution, the Bolshevik power, equipped with Marxist reasoning, managed to save their Revolution from this sad finale. When the immediate, direct aim of the Bolsheviks was achieved, when the Soviet Government emerged victorious from the civil war, the Bolsheviks acting in the same way as they did at Brest, made a sharp turn in their course in order to avoid the split that was beginning between the proletariat and the peasantry and represented the greatest danger for the Revolution. They took the path of the New Economic Policy, and instead of Communism, they set their immediate course for State Capitalism.

Miracles do not happen, and the Bolsheviks failed to do that which fundamentally contradicted our Marxist conception of history. They did not succeed, by waving a magic wand, in, at one blow, converting a backward and overwhelming peasant country into a Communist State. But all that which from the first, prior to the October Revolution, they had intended to do, and all that which was within the limits of possibility, they performed. They have entrenched themselves in positions from which no one to-day can drive them. They have preserved the power of the proletariat in our backward country and by that have converted it into an unextinguishable beacon of the Socialist Revolution for the Proletariat of the Whole World, scattering the sparks of revolutionary conflagration all around.

The capitalist world excellently understands this. It is powerless to restore the economic equilibrium of the world system destroyed by the Imperialist War, and therefore cannot for long avert the repetition of this war which is likely finally to destroy it. For that reason it, with feverish haste strives to extinguish the sparks scattered by Soviet Russia, strives by savage violence to trample down the young shoots of the revolutionary movement in Europe, while there is still time, while the majority of the proletariat under its rule are still under the spell of the tenets of the decaying Second International.

Vain are the convulsive efforts of world fascism! The bourgeoisie cannot destroy the proletariat any more than a man can destroy his own shadow; and the blows which at the present moment are raining from all sides on the heads of the Communist workers, serve only as water to the mills of the Third International, to the mills of world Bolshevism. The experience of the Russian Revolution has shown that the proletariat can never learn to achieve victory without having gone through the school of severe revolutionary battles with inevitable partial defeats. Only such heavy trials imbue the conscience of the masses of the workers with the conviction that in this struggle they have nothing to lose but their chains, and a world to gain. The majority of the European workers who have not yet outlived the Social Democratic illusions are receiving a good lesson with the aid of the Fascist stick, which "Like a sledge-hammer, shatters glass, but forges steel."

The Development of the Capitalist Offensive By Z. Leder

The United States.

In America, as everywhere else, at the close of the war a state of excitement prevailed among the workers. In this connection the Hague correspondent of the *Berliner Tageblatt* on January 29th wrote:—

> "To this (viz., the nervousness created by President Wilson's policy and the obstacles put in the way of his programme in Paris) must be added the disappointment in American circles at the absence of the expected trade boom and the appearance of many difficult and disquieting problems demanding immediate solution. Apart from the question of the decontrol of the railways, the regulation of freights, the policy of the allied banks and industrial output, great fears are entertained in connection with the labour question."
>
> The *New York Herald* says that "unemployment has reached proportions which are positively dangerous. The elation and confidence which existed even towards the end of last year have disappeared entirely. This state of mind was reflected in the Senate debates on Wilson's demand for an appropriation of 100 million dollars in aid of the impoverished European States. The debates on this question resulted in a wholesale condemnation of Wilson's policy. . . . ."

One of the republican candidates to the presidency, Senator Harding, delivered a speech demanding the immediate recall of the president, who should be asked to draw up a programme enabling the business world to work at full speed, as well as to find work for the returning soldiers. Otherwise there will be anarchy. If the whole world is at present trembling with the fear of Bolshevism (Harding's exact words), it is mainly due to the policy of our supreme executive power! Harding spoke against the 100 million dollar grant for which Wilson had cabled. He declared that he had no faith in Wilson's theory that a barrier can be erected between Bolshevism and the West by supplying food to the starving people of Europe. The President's main task was a speedy conclusion of peace. "If during the next three months the so-called peace questions are not solved, America will be much too busy putting out Bolshevist conflagrations to pay much attention to the starving peoples of Europe."

The Senate debate and the declaration of the present president of the United States gives a very clear notion of the mood of the American working masses at the end of the World War. On like of which it had hardly ever experienced. In connection with Feb. 6th, 1919 the bourgeoisie was startled by the Seattle events the the Seattle dock workers strike, 110 unions decided, after a ballot, to declare a general strike in all the undertakings (including the printing works) and work was brought to a standstill for a whole week. The country was convulsed by a whole series of other economic struggles: the strike of 365,000 metal workers, which started on September 22nd, 1919, and was called off by the strike committee only on January 8th, 1920; the strike of 400,000 miners, which

lasted many months; the strike of 100,000 New York long-shoremen; the strike of 100,000 builders in Chicago, etc.

President Wilson's timid and hypocritical attempts to pave the way for an understanding between the workers and the capitalist magnates failed completely. The so-called National Industrial Conference, held in October, 1919, was a sorry farce, which at the same time discredited those who organised it. The class struggle was at its height. The capitalists fought ruthlessly against the workers' demands. The Courts of Justice and the administrative authorities supported the capitalists against the workers, who were fighting for their existence.

The number of strikes which took place in 1919 was not greater than that during several preceding years, but they assumed proportions hitherto unknown. While prior to 1919 the number of workers who took part in a strike never exceeded 60,000, in each of six of the strikes that took place in 1919 over 100,000 workers took part.

This stubborn struggle continued throughout 1920. The workers repeatedly brought forward demands for higher pay and shorter working hours. They took the offensive, although frequently their demands were only for a return to the pre-war economic level which was considerably lowered during the World War. Two academicians, O. Douglas, a professor of Chicago University, and Francis Lamberson, published the results of their investigations into labour conditions in the third volume of the *American Economic Review* for 1921, which showed that the real wages of the American workers at the end of the World War were 10 per cent. to 20 per cent. lower than in the period of 1890—1899, and 7 per cent. to 17 per cent. lower than during the period preceding the great rise in prices in 1916. The results of these investigations show that no one can accuse the workers of having derived great profits from the World War. To quote the above-mentioned writers, the workers were compelled (like the maid in the fairy tale) to run faster in order to remain on the same spot.

Other investigations also show that the real wages were lowered during the war. The chairman of the railway department of the American Federation of Labour has calculated that capital in mining, manufacturing and transport during the period of 1913—1920 increased from 28 per cent. to 45.8 per cent., while during the same period the number of workers employed in these branches of industry fell from 65.5 per cent. to 48.9 per cent.

About the middle of 1920, a crisis set in in the U.S.A., which soon assumed the proportions of an unprecedented world crisis. The American capitalists, who even before the war were never willing to concede anything to the workers, took up the offensive. The Government's former feeble attempts to limit to some extent the autocratic powers of capitalism were now reduced to nothing. On March 1st., 1920, the railways were returned to their owners. Even the Railroad Labour Board (a concession made to Labour for the return of the railroads to their former owners) did not come into being without the pressure of a strike.

This Board was intended to be an impartial arbitrator between the workers and the railway companies in the event of any differences arising between them. It soon became evident, however, that the Labour Board was working in the interest of the railway magnates

The American magnates, who in their former struggles with the metal workers, railwaymen, builders and dockers, had already shown their determination not to give way an inch, resolved to enforce the principle of the "open shop" also in other branches of industry. The struggle for the "open shop" is such a vital question in the U.S.A. that, about the middle of 1920, the *Buffalo Commercial* declared that until this question was settled, no other question mattered. In the name of the sacred principle of the "open shop," the notorious U.S. Steel Corporation prohibited the sale of steel (for the manufacture of tools and instruments), to those employers who entered into negotiations with the Iron and Steel Workers' Unions. The National Association of Manufacturers (which controls eight million workers) on May 18th, 1920, put forward a "platform for American Industries," in which it demanded a comprehensive limitation of strike and trade-union rights, and accused the American Federation of Labour of aspiring to political power. The excuse given for this campaign is the prevailing trade depression, but the Labour leaders declare that it is nothing but a deliberate policy of the employers aimed at the destruction of the Labour movement. There is no doubt whatever that the aim of the employers is: to enforce lower wages, a longer working day, inferior labour conditions and the introduction of an autocratic regimé in the factories and workshops. In the beginning of 1921, a more or less impartial institution described the situation as follows:—

Evidently the reaction, setting in as a result of the strikes, the trade depression and the election success of the republicans (who represent business and industrial interests) induced the employers to launch their attack against the trade unions. The "open shop" campaign appears to have been conducted in 44 States by 540 organisations. The principle of the "open shop" has been adopted in most of the big industrial States and it is proposed to establish a U.S. and Canadian Employers' Association on the base of this principle. The ruthless treatment of the workers by the employers' organisations, the administrative bodies and the Courts of Justice, prompted even Gompers to declare in 1921, that the verdicts of the Courts were favourable to greedy profiteers, and devoid of any humanitarian feelings. On the same subject, *Labour*, the organ of the Washington railwaymen, stated that the "American Constitution was wide enough to 'cover' the dollar, but only in rare cases is it wide enough to protect the human being." The financial Press, on the other hand, welcomed such verdicts, as a "preventative against isolated conflicts degenerating into class war." However, the American capitalists, not satisfied with the means put at their disposal by the class Government, are organising their own private police and army on a scale which is alarming the bourgeoisie. In January, 1920, there appeared a scientific work by Sidney Cowart, entitled *The Labour Spy*, which was to a great extent based on the voluminous work of Professor R. Cabet, of Harvard University. Cowart's work shows that the clients of the secret service agencies are the big industrial undertakings, especially the Railway Companies, the Steel Trust, the Telegraph Companies, the Building Contractors' Associations, the Engineering Industry and the great iron masters. The Strike Insurance companies have also secret service agencies of their own. The main business of the 12 big secret service agencies, which have two branches in each

of the important industrial centres and of hundreds of small local agencies, is to provide " agents provocateurs " and strike breakers. That these agencies find their business profitable is proved by the fact that the Sherman Service Company, for instance, is not only able to pay for describing the harmonious relations existing between the firm and capital and labour, but also pays the imposing sum of 258,000 dollars income tax.

These " spy " agencies make it their business to find in the workshops, creatures who act as informers about all the actions and conversations of their fellow workers, the foremen and the managers. They place their agents in the trade unions—where they not only keep their eye on the activities of the leaders, but frequently provoke strikes, sow discord and strife within the unions and, in fact, stick at nothing in order to serve the interest of the capitalists. The infamous activities of these agencies assumed such proportions that a Bill was introduced in the Massachussets State Assembly in February, 1921, declaring the work of the secret agents was incitement to commit punishable offences, and liable to a penalty not exceeding twenty years imprisonment.

In addition to the coercive power placed at their disposal by their own class Government, the American Capitalists make excellent use of the powerful weapon of dismissal against the workers. They take advantage of the trade depression to dismiss workers wholesale. There are no statistics on unemployment, for there is no State registration of the unemployed in America, nor does the State do anything for the unemployed.

In the State of Massachusetts, which has population of three-and-a-half-million, the number of unemployed in September, 1920, amounted to 16.4 per cent. of the organised workers, and reached 29.2 in December of the same year. In January, 1921, it was officially acknowledged that the number unemployed in the U.S.A. was 2,000,000. In the autumn of 1921, there were 60 per cent. unemployed in some districts. The organised workers were the first to be dismissed. Secretary of Labour, Davis, put the figures of unemployment at that time as high as 5,735,000. According to the information from New York, the number of unemployed at the end of November was 6,000,000. In his memorandum presented to the official Conference convened to discuss unemployment, the Secretary of Commerce, Hoover, gave the figure of unemployment as 3,500,000. Neither the State nor the Capitalists, however, seem to be very much concerned about the enormous growth of unemployment. They refuse to give any aid to the unemployed on the plea that such aid would " encourage idleness." This Conference which ironically enough was described as a " Conference to combat unemployment " issued the following statement:—

> " The special methods recommended for the solution of our economic crisis can be successful only if they are applied in the spirit of patriotic forbearance by all sections of the population."

While the Conference discussed ways and means for the assisting of the " poor " railway magnates, unemployment continued to increase until (according to some returns) the number of unemployed in the spring of 1922 reached the figure of 7,500,000. In March the economic prospects in the U.S.A. were estimated to be very promising, particularly as the rise in prices was expected to increase

the purchasing powers of the farmers. Contrary to these expectations, American trade went from bad to worse.

The unemployment figures must have reached even higher proportions in April (when over 600,000 miners came out on strike and in July when hundreds of thousands of railwaymen swelled the ranks of the strikers). Even now there are no exact unemployment figures, as the "free democratic" Republic of North America, dooms its citizens to death by starvation without making the least provision for them. *The Jobless*, the organ of the unemployed in America, stated in August, that in New York City alone there were 294,000 unemployed.

By smashing the trade unions, by wholesale dismissals of workers, and the adoption of coercive measures against them, the American capitalists achieved their aim. Wages have been reduced in most of the industries. According to investigations made concerning one and a half million workers in 62 industrial concerns, the weekly wage of the American workers increased by 14 per cent. between July, 1914 and 1920. It decreased by 23 per cent. between July, 1920 and July, 1921. According to the statistics supplied by the U.S. Labour Bureau concerning 32,417 workers employed in 34 stockyards and meatpacking concerns (viz., 35 per cent. of all the workers in this branch of industry) wages were highest in 1920. Since then time rates, as well as piece rates, have been on the decrease (Bulletin No. 294 of the Department of Labour). The investigations instituted by the trade unions show that in the case of the railwaymen (except foremen and apprentices whose real wage was only decreased 2.5 per cent.) the purchasing power of the various categories of the workers in the workshops was lowered by 9.6 per cent. to 19.8 per cent. Only in one group (the carriage builders) has there been an increase of 6.4 per cent., as compared with 1915. During the strike of the railway workshop employees the Department of Labour strove to prove that the real wages of the workers were higher than in 1917 even after the reductions had taken place. However, the cost of living in 1917 was 35 per cent. higher than in 1915, while it was only in 1918 and 1919 that an attempt was made to approximate earnings to the rise in the cost of living, so that the wages in 1917 were nominally only from 7 per cent. to 17 per cent. higher than in 1915. Moreover, the New York *Nation*, of July 5th, stated that the real wage of this category of workers even in 1915 was 4 per cent. lower than in 1895. These statements are borne out by the official statistics.

There can hardly be any doubt that real wages, either remained stationary or even declined not only during the period of 1914—1920, but also during the period when wages were lowered owing to the fall of market prices, and owing to the capitalist offensive. The *Labour Market Bulletin*, of July last year, published a comparative table of the average weekly wages in the State of New York prevailing in July, 1914, and in July, 1921, which showed wage increases during this period: in the glass and china industries—85 per cent.; in the metal, engineering and transport appliances industries—88 per cent.; in the printing and paper industries—95 per cent.; in the chemical industry—101 per cent.; and in the textile industry—117 per cent.

The figures of the U.S. Index in July were 101 per cent. higher than those of the peace time index. Thus bearing in mind that the

calculations of the official index figures are rather tendentious, it may be assumed that only the conditions of the textile workers had improved, as compared with the pre-war period. In this branch of industry, however, the employers soon adopted the offensive against the workers. Another table, showing rates of wages and the rate required for a minimum standard of existence during the period of 1913—1920 presents a similar picture. Between 1913—1916 period wages increased and almost kept pace with the increased cost of living, lagging behind only a few points. In 1918 the rates of wages increased up to 130 per cent., as compared with 1913, while the existence minimum went up to 174 per cent. In 1919 conditions seemed to be more normal: the rates of wages reached 191 per cent., while the existence minimum went up to 199 per cent. On the other hand, in 1920 the rates of wages were 184 per cent., while the existence minimum was 216 per cent. The discrepancy between wages and the existence minimum of wide masses is exemplified by the calculations of the Department of Labour for 1921, according to which the average earnings of a miner employed in the soft coal industry amounted to 1,357.40 dollars, while the existence minimum (according to the Department's own calculations) was fixed at 1,500 dollars, and according to other calculations at 1,800 dollars.

The figures placed on many occasions before the Department of Labour by the Miners' Union, show many cases of miners earning only from 500 to 800 dollars a year. According to information contained in the May number of the *International Miners' Journal*, the real wages of hewers in the soft coal mines of the central coal basins steadily decreased during 1900 and 1918, viz., from 2.10 dollars per day in 1900, or from 2.1 in 1907 to 1.63 dollars and 1.88 dollars in 1918. An improvement set in after 1917, and the real wages went up in 1921 (April—December) to 1.90 dollars per day and during the first quarter of 1922, 2.20 dollars.

The situation is no better with regard to working hours. In April, 1921, the Steel King, Gary, declared, that the managers of his concerns advocated the repeal of the 8-hour day, which was in force in most of his enterprises. He declared again in May that no final decision had as yet been arrived. In July the "U.S. Steel Corporation" practically abolished the 8-hour day by ceasing to pay for overtime. Other steel concerns followed this example. The position of the workers in other branches of industry in this respect is considerably better owing to the stubborn resistance they put up against the abolition of the 8-hour day. For example, the 8-hour day is in force in 31 out of 34 stockyards and meatpacking concerns. Overtime if worked is paid for, at increased rates. In the printing industry the workers, since May 1st, 1921, are conducting a struggle for a 44-hour week, which 40,000 workers have already succeeded in obtaining (*American Federationist*, September, 1922). However, the capitalist offensive has a detrimental effect on the 8-hour day. According to a statement in the *New York Times*, of June 18th, the "National Industrial Conference Board," put the percentage of workers working a 48 and less hours week in 1919 at 50. The *Times* goes on to say, however, that the present crisis has necessitated longer working hours in certain industries, thus reducing the number of workers working less than a 48-hour week.

A statement made by Gompers, well known for his moderate views, shows to what extent the capitalist offensive, during the very

first quarter of 1922, jeopardised the position of the working class in America. Speaking in April, 1922, in connection with the situation in the mining and railway districts, he said:—

> "Two important branches of industry, which have a vital interest for the country, are placed in a perilous position by the policy of the Government, owing to obsolete coercive methods and to the greed of employers who desire to get rich at all costs."

Gompers is right, for the struggle in the mining and railway industries shows clearly that the American capitalists are endeavouring to deprive these workers of the small gains they obtained at the cost of great sacrifices. In the mining industry the coal magnates wished to compel the workers to accept a 40 per cent. reduction of wages. Moreover, in many States they insisted on the repeal of general agreements, and conclusion of separate district agreements. They also proposed to repeal the "Check Off" system (which is tantamount to the recognition of the trade unions) as the trade union members dues are deducted direct from wages. In some districts the employers insisted on the introduction of the "Open Shop" principle. On the railways, the Railway Labour Board, which is nothing but a tool in the hands of the railway magnates, attempted to compel the platelayers, the mechanics and the shopmen to accept a reduction of wages amounting on an average to 13.2 per cent., and for some categories of workers to 20 per cent. It was also proposed to abolish special rates for overtime. The statement placed before the Railway Labour Board by the Workers' representative shows to what extent the proposed changes would affect the workers. He said that:—

> "The wages are not sufficient to guarantee 200,000 working class families even the bare necessaries of life. Under such circumstances the earnings of a large section of railwaymen would not enable heads of families to buy even such rations as are provided to the inmates of the Cook County Jail in Illinois."

A true picture of the conditions which would have been created, if the proposed wage reductions had come into force, is presented by the statement of a witness who certainly cannot be accused of particular sympathy with the worker, and certainly not of any ill-feeling towards the capitalists. This witness, who is no other than Nicholas Roosevelt, wrote as follows in the *Temps*, on August 2nd, concerning the miners' strike:—

> "The miners are demanding security of labour and earnings to enable them to lead a more or less bearable existence. Unfortunately, it does not seem probable that their aspirations will be realised before their industry has undergone a complete reorganisation."

For twenty weeks (from April 1st to August 15th) and even longer, the position of the mining industry was very critical owing to the strife within it. At the same time the entire industrial life of the great North American Capitalist Republic was disorganised owing to the struggles on the railways. The Capitalist Dictatorship used all the coercive measures at its disposal to crush the proletariat in this struggle. It did not shrink from any methods of provocation and had recourse to the most violent measures, in order to break down the resistance of the workers. At the very beginning of the

struggle, the legal authorities in the most important industrial centres of Pennsylvania and West Virginia (where organised labour predominates) issued orders prohibiting the workers from organising. On July 23rd the United States Shipping Board announced that it had chartered 72 vessels for the transport of British coal to America. Already on the 25th of the same month the "U.S. Inter-State Commerce Commission" declared a state of "National Emergency." Mass evictions became the order of the day in a large number of working class districts. The capitalists even resorted to the wholesale destruction of workers' camps. Whole districts were flooded with strike breakers, private detectives, spies, and armed forces. In Herrin (Illinois) an armed conflict took place between the miners and the armed guards protecting the mines. Similar methods were employed against the railwaymen. When, after the decisions of the Labour Board, the railwaymen declared that 400,000 of shop workers were ready to fight against the decisions, the Railway Labour Board decided to deprive the trade unions of all the rights they had hitherto enjoyed. The trade unions were to be substituted by scab labour organisations who were given the right to represent the interest of the railway shop workers on the Labour Board. Mr. Cooper stated officially that strike breakers "can claim the protection of the Federal Government as well as of the State Governments." Similar methods were adopted all along the line of the railway shop workers' strike. Threats, provocation, and every other kind of coercion were brought into play.

Nevertheless, the American miners successfully repulsed the capitalist offensive. John L. Lewis, president of the Miners' Union, stated in the September number of the official organ of the American Federation of Labour, that the Cleveland agreement "will become the turning point in the efforts of the united industrial and financial forces to bring about the so-called 'deflation' of labour." The opposition leaders were less optimistic with regard to the issue of the struggle. (See, for instance, the article by John Dorsey in the *Labour Herald*, for October, 1922.) One must bear in mind that new conflicts may arise in connection with the renewed negotiations, which fall due in the mining industry in twelve months time. There is no doubt whatever that the coal magnates will then be still better prepared for the struggle than during the recent strikes. In the above mentioned article, Dorsey points out that the miners' trade union will have to get ready for a stubborn fight in the Courts of Justice. Owing to the Coranado Court decision, the trade unions must expect an attack on its funds. The last stages of the Herrin events will take place in the Criminal Court, and the miners must do their utmost to save the numerous defendants from the death penalty and from long terms of imprisonment.

We have already mentioned the decision of the Coranado Court. It has special significance as one of the newest forms of struggle adopted by the capitalists against the trade unions, with which we have already dealt before. The New York *Nation*, of June 2nd, 1922, quite rightly calls it the "American Taff Vale Case." According to the decision of the Coranado Court, given on June 5th, 1922, the trade unions are responsible for the losses and damage arising out of the actions of their officials, even if such actions in themselves do not constitute a punishable offence. The *Nation* said that this decision is a terrible blow aimed at the organised proletariat.

In its July number, the official organ of the British Ministry of Labour also establishes an analogy between this decision and the Taff Vale decision. This publication expressed its opinion that the Coranado decision will lead to big political actions by the American working class, which, however, cannot take place until the courts resume in October.

(To be continued.)

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

Adler-Engels Correspondence

BY MAXIM ZETKIN

When we read the letters exchanged between Victor Adler and Frederick Engels published in this volume, the grand figures of these two noted leaders of the Labour movement seem to stand out as though they were alive. A chapter of the history of the Labour movement is revived. One sees again the unexpectedly rapid development, the surprisingly rapid success, of the Austrian Social-Democratic Party under Adler's brilliant leadership, during the period of 1890-1895. ("Adler has organised the thing splendidly"—this and similar references are frequently made by Engels.) The entire international movement of the proletariat passes in review before us. The World Congresses—the "International Guards Parades" as Engels once somewhat irreverently described them—the Congresses of Paris (1889), of Brussels (1891), of Zürich (1893), refreshing in our memories the glorious old times when the Second International was still in the ascendant. "The International is now established, and it is invincible," says Adler after the Congress of Zürich. One after another arise the grand figures of nearly all those who have played any part in the movement during the years 1890-1895, or any part in politics in general. Liebknecht, Bebel, Kautsky, Zetkin, Guesde, Jaurès, Millerand, Turati, Bernstein, Keir Hardie, and so on.

We see before us the grand figures of Adler and Engels, who, even in their private lives, command respect and affection. Adler looks up to his older friend with confidence and adoration, and the latter is always ready to help with word and deed, never affecting the overbearing attitude of a schoolmaster. Adler, indeed, was at times in financial straits, and this fact could be appreciated only by those who knew that Adler had inherited considerable wealth from his family, which was sacrificed by him for the Party. Engels generously but unostentatiously helped Adler, and Adler accepted this aid as from a friend, without squeamishness, yet with full appreciation of the kindness that had been shown him. Thus Engels writes on May 19th, 1892: "I therefore think it necessary for the further development of the Austrian movement that you should be given the opportunity, first, of meeting all the

[1] Victor Adler's articles, speeches and letters, published by the Executive Committee of the German Social-Democratic Party. Volume I., "Victor Adler and Frederick Engels," pages X+192. People's Bookshop of Vienna. 1922.

unavoidable current expenses, and, secondly also, of making every possible provision for the future. . . I would therefore propose to put at your disposal the above-mentioned fees " (one thousand marks due to Engels from his publisher, Dietz, for " The Situation of the Working Class in England ")."

Adler replied: " Your offer is so friendly in substance, so exquisitely kind in form, and so honourable as regards the person who makes it, that I will tell you quite frankly that in the course of a fairly long period it has been the first ray of light which brought joy to my inner being." It was at that time that Adler was beset by many cares, owing to the prolonged and severe illness of his wife.

Equally magnanimous was the attitude of Adler and Engels in the delicate matter of creating the proper atmosphere for Louise Kautsky (Karl Kautsky's first wife). She should have everything that she needed, without being influenced or put in a false position. Many pages are devoted by both of them to the discussion of the pros and cons, in order to arrive at the proper decision, in a spirit of utter unselfishness. Adler writes: " The fact of Louise being with you relieves our mind. . . However, from her letter to Emma, I understand that she is still unsettled in her mind as to whether she should stay with you or not. I would desire it, but I will take care not to influence her." Engels replied: " Best thanks for your hint as to Louise. It is also my wish that she should remain with me; if she decides to go, it will be very hard for me to part from her. But it would cause me constant pain if I were compelled to believe that she had sacrificed other duties and other prospects for my sake."

When Engels lay on his death-bed, seized with a severe cancer of the throat, and unsuspecting of his approaching end, Adler hastened to him, but was careful to conceal the true cause of his anxiety. He tried to make Engels believe that he was merely taking advantage of an unexpected vacation to visit his friend and take his advice upon difficult political questions. The letter in which he wrote of his coming was the last letter that Adler wrote to Engels; it was dated July 15th, 1895. On August 5th, 1895, Engels passed away; his mortal remains were cremated and his ashes thrown into the sea, in accordance with his expressed wish.

On the whole, the private life of the two correspondents is naturally given little prominence in these letters. First and foremost are the affairs of the Party, political and economic questions, sociology and history. The work of the Party brings its little and big worries, as well as its little and big joys. Many a sigh is heaved by Adler; and anyone who is not alien to Party life can well appreciate this. Adler writes: " The whole day long I have worked like a horse, and now I must immediately go to a workers' meeting." At that meeting the newspaper was to be established, the necessary funds collected, and the assistance of the necessary workers enlisted. We feel all these things as we read, and we appreciate the ready way in which Engels contributed his aid by word and deed. We share in the sad complaint made by Adler: " The worst of it is, not that we have an insufficiency of forces, but rather that we have a super-abundance of people for whom we have no use." The daily work consumes the man entirely, without leaving any time for himself. Adler writes: " I thoroughly enjoy

my imprisonment," and he had enough opportunity for enjoying it. Thus, on June 15th, 1895, he writes from the Rudolfsheim County Gaol: "Dear General! In a few days I shall be released. Thanks to my determination to have this time for myself, and to cast away for a fortnight all things temporal, I have enjoyed the time spent here since May 18th more than any other period in the course of a great many years. I have found it so delightful and refreshing." How charactistic is this utterence of the overworked Party man! Engels if, of course, less enthusiastic about Alder's delightful arrest; he finds that the newspaper cannot spare him. Adler should devote his time to the newspaper: sitting in prison should be left to the "sitting editor," or, as Engels aptly describes him, "the lamb that has to bear all the sins of the editorial board."

We find frequent and thorough-going discussions in these letters upon the situation in the various countries. We see Engels at work, giving his opinions, his advice and predictions, based on the fundamental investigation of economic and social relations in the respective country. One should read, for instance, the letter written by Engels on October 11th, 1893, dealing exhaustively with Austria. Unfortunately, the letter is too long to be quoted here *in extenso*, but a few remarks can be given. We thus find in Austria "strongly developed industry, but . . . . mostly still backward in regard to productive forces; the industrialists are kept in tow by the Stock Exchange. . . A politically fairly indifferent crowd of Philistines in the cities; the country farmers encumbered with debts and exploited by the landowners; the big proprietors in the saddle as the real rulers of the land, content with their political position, which indirectly makes their sway secure. . . A big bourgeoisie comprising a small number of high financiers, closely allied with the major industries, exercising their political power in even more indirect fashion and even more contented. . . On the other hand, the peasantry cannot be organised because it is broken up by small farming." Engels goes on to describe the "Government, which, in spite of appearances, is formally but little restricted in its autocratic appetites . . . . constantly worried over the question of national minorities, over its perpetual financial difficulties, over the Hungarian question and foreign complications." Engels arrives at the conclusion: "As against parties which never know what they want, and a Government which is equally ignorant of its own mind, a party that is conscious of its own aims, and pursues them vigorously and perseveringly, must always win. Furthermore, everything that the Austrian Workers' Party desires and hopes to achieve is dictated by the very needs of the progressing economic development of the country." This was the prophecy made by Engels before he learned that Tauffe had already officially announced the contemplated electoral reform in Austria.

The conditions of the working class in England at that time are depicted by Engels in an article contributed by him to the *Arbeiter Zeitung*, and dated May 23rd, 1890. He lays stress on the great importance of the then beginning organisation of the unskilled workers. "On April 1st, 1889, was founded the Gas-workers' and General Labourers' Union; it has 100,000 members to-day. . . Now (after the Dock Strike) union after union is being formed among these mostly unskilled workers ('the bottom elements of the workers of East London'). Yet there is a wide

difference between these new unions and the old trade unions. The old unions of the 'skilled' workers are exclusive organisations. They debar from membership all workers who have not been apprenticed to the craft, thus creating for themselves the competition of a large body of unskilled; they are wealthy, but all their funds are devoted to sick and death benefits; they are conservative, and call themselves 'Socialists up to a certain point.' On the other hand, the new 'unskilled' unions will accept any skilled worker; they are substantially, and the gas workers exclusively, strike-unions, and their funds are strike-funds; and, if they are not yet Socialists to a man, they choose none but Socialists as their leaders." Full credit is given to the work of Marx's daughter, Eleanor Aveling, in the organisation of the unskilled, particularly of the women. On the whole, Engels depicted the situation in excessively roseate hues under the fresh impression of the successful May-Day celebration of 1890, and in view of the rapid rise of the unions of the unskilled labourers. On March 16th, 1895, he writes somewhat more soberly: "The movement here may be summed up as follows: instinctive progress goes on amongst the masses, the tendency is maintained; but every time there is need to give conscious expression to this instinct and impulsive tendency, this is done by the sectarian leaders in such a stupid and narrow-minded manner that one would feel tempted to shower abuses at them. But this is precisely the Anglo-Saxon method, after all."

Clear light on the blurred situation among the French "Socialists" is thrown by Engels in a letter dated July 7th, 1894. Now, when history has already spoken, one reads with particular relish what Engels has to say about Millerand and Jaurès. He writes: "Of the principal leaders, Millerand is one of the shrewdest, and I believe also one of the most straightforward; but I fear that he is still possessed of some bourgeois-juridical prejudices, even stronger that he suspects it himself. . . Jaurès is a professor, a doctrinaire, who was fond of listening to his own voice, and to whom the Chamber listens more gladly than to either Guesde or Vaillant, because he is still akin to the gentlemen of the Majority. I believe he has the honest intention of developing into a real Socialist."

In parenthesis, it should be observed that references to individual politicians in these letters are made only in connection with their work and the movement as a whole; seldom does one find a thorough-going characterisation; we get mostly brief and terse remarks. Thus, in speaking of Vollmar's fiasco in his first revisionist attempts, Engels casually remarks: "This should suffice for an ex-soldier of the Pope." And in March, 1895, Engels writes about Edward Bernstein's articles on the third volume of *Capital*: "E. Bernstein's articles are extremely confused." Had Engels lived to know the latter-day Bernstein, he would certainly not have excused him because of his neurasthenia and overwork.

As is known, Marx and Engels devoted a good deal of attention to Russia. In these letters, however, there is little talk about Russia. It is only *en passant* that Engels writes, on December 22nd, 1894: "In Russia it is the beginning of the end of the Tsarist autocracy, for the autocracy will hardly withstand the latest shuffling of the throne." In the same letter we read: "In the German Empire 'Little Willy' wants to force the passage of the

Haliez and destroy a great empire." We find little mention of even Germany and the German movement in these letters. A short reference to the policy of "Herr von Köller" and "Little Willy," a few stray remarks about Liebknecht, Bebel and a few others, a few words about traditional German narrow-mindedness, and that is about all.

General questions are discussed as they arise in connection with the everyday tasks, e.g., the agitation upon the land question, the significance of the franchise, and so forth. Thus, Engels writes to the Party Conference at Vienna in March, 1894: "In Austria it is a question of winning universal suffrage, the weapon which in the hands of a class-conscious working class goes farther and hits harder than the small-calibre rifle in the hands of a drilled soldier."

In this connection Engels sheds light also upon the international effect of political events: "It will be only after you (i.e., the Austrians) will have won electoral reform—of some kind—that there will be any sense in the agitation against the three-class electoral system in Prussia. And even now the fact that an electoral reform of any kind is to be granted in Austria will remove the menace to universal suffrage in Germany."

High value for the proletariat is put on parliament. Engels writes on October 11th, 1893: "Here it ought to be said: the advent of the first Social-Democrat into the Reichsrath has marked the dawn of a new epoch for Austria."

The views of Engels on tactics can be seen from a passage in his letter of August 30th, 1892, which reads: "There are only too many who, for the sake of convenience and to avoid worrying their brains, would like to adopt for all eternity the tactics that are suitable for the moment. We do not make our tactics out of nothing, but out of the changing circumstances; in our present situation we must only too frequently let our opponents dictate our tactics."

Particularly interesting is the attitude of Adler and Engels toward the General Strike. From their correspondence we learn what vagueness there existed at the time as to the possibilities of the General Strike. The comrades approach the General Strike as gingerly as a society dame handling a hand-grenade. Because of their importance, I am quoting more fully some passages in the letters. We read in Adler's letter of October 11th, 1893: "I have managed to get the question of the General Strike put off, I hope, for a long time to come." A few weeks later Adler writes: "The General Strike is naturally dead, even as a useful threat to the enemy; for even the elbow refuses to believe in it." Engels writes, on January 11th, 1894: "The Czechs at the Budweis Party Conference have discarded the General Strike, which seemed to make most noise out there." Further on we read: "It was inconceivable tactlessness (on the part of Karl Kautsky), in the midst of a movement fighting tooth and nail against the catch-phrase of the General Strike, to try and launch a purely academic and abstract discussion of the pros and cons of the subject." Adler writes again on March 19th, 1894: "The Party Conference (at Vienna) will no doubt instruct us to keep the General Strike, as a weapon, in our minds, but without forcing us to apply it. The most dangerous element, the miners, I hope to win over by a separate agreement, so that the intensification of their demand for the eight-hour

shift shall not force us into a General Strike." To this Engels replies, a few days later: "I congratulate you on the manner in which you have lulled the General Strike to sleep." Finally, Adler writes again: "I am satisfied with the outcome of the Party Conference. . . The General Strike was recognised as the 'last resort,' which was a great relief to everybody, not only to myself."

It is particularly important and interesting to read what Engels says about revolution, notably about the French Revolution (in his letter to Adler on December 4th, 1889). I can quote here only a few striking passages: "We will emphatically point out that the revolutionary heads of the great French Revolution properly saw the force that alone could save the Revolution. . . The Paris Commune (Cloots) was in favour of a campaign of propaganda as the only means of salvation. . . But the Commune, Hebert, Cloots, etc.) was beheaded. . . The plebians, the embryonic elements of the later proletarians, whose energy alone could save the Revolution, were brought to reason and order."

The influence of external political events upon the Revolution is clearly seen. "Danton sought peace with England, i.e., with Fox and the English Opposition. . . The English elections proved favourable to Pitt, and Fox was removed from office and power for many years to come. . . This was the undoing of Danton: Robespierre conquered and beheaded him." Robespierre fared no better. The Reign of Terror reached the height of madness, because it was necessary to maintain Robespierre at the helm under the then prevailing internal circumstances. But it was rendered absolutely superfluous by the victory of Fleury on June 24th, 1794, who not only liberated the frontiers, but also delivered to France the whole of Belgium and indirectly the left bank of the Rhine. Robespierre became superfluous, and he fell on July 24th."

On reading these letters one becomes convinced that Engels did not entertain any hazy and nebulous notions about Revolution, but deeply studied the practical details of carrying it out. Thus, Adler tells us in the preface: "Engels heartily welcomed Adler's plan of becoming a factory inspector; he thought that we had plenty of agitators, but no one who was familiar with the machinery of management, and it is just such people that we will need when we come to power."

There is a great variety of other problems discussed by Engels and Adler in their letters. I will merely touch upon two of the more important among the latter. I would like to quote what Engels has to say on certain effects of protective tariffs: "At any rate, I was immensely glad to learn from you about the rapid industrial advance in Austria and Hungary. This is the only solid basis for the advance of our movement. And it is also the only good point in the protective tariff system. Big industries, big capitalists and large proletarian masses are artificially fostered, the centralisation of capital is accelerated, and the middle classes are destroyed. On the other hand, while advancing your own industries, you are also rendering a service to England: the quicker British world domination is destroyed, the sooner will the workers here (in England) come to power."

Further on, we find a reprint of a long letter by Engels to an

unknown correspondent on the subject of anti-Semitism. Its substance is briefly summarised by Engels himself:—

"Thus anti-Semitism is nothing else but a reaction of mediæval and dying elements of society against modern society, which consists substantially of capitalists and wage-workers; it is therefore only a tool for reactionary aims under an ostensible Socialistic cloak."

Engels speaks but little of his quiet, scientific research work. On October 23rd, 1892, he writes: "I am now engaged on the third volume of *Capital*. If I only had had but three quiet months during the last three years, it would have long since been completed. I find that I have already overcome the most difficult passages, much better than I did it last time; at all events, I have now reached the principal difficulty, which has been hampering my work for many years," etc. Finally, on January 11th, 1894, Engels announces: "The third volume is at last ready for publication." Thus we see once again the confirmation of what we have already gathered from the "Marx and Engels Correspondence." We learn from these letters with increasing conviction that "Engels made it his life purpose to be the helpmate of the Genius (Marx) and his work." (Adler.) In this work Engels assisted even after the death of his friend. "The intelligent reader can discover the traces of affection, of admiration and adoration for his dead friend in his edition of the second and third volumes of *Capital*" (Adler.) Indeed, there can be no better guide to us than Engels as to the best method of studying the second and third volumes of *Capital*. This he does very thoroughly in his last letter to Adler on March 16th, 1895; at the same time he sheds light on the origin of some of the chapters. It is to be regretted that the letter is too long to be reproduced; besides, it was already made public by Adler himself in 1908 (*Der Kampf*, Volume I, No. 6).

Those desirous of learning more should read these letters for themselves. They will be repaid by an abundance of those experiences which the direct intercourse with great personalities alone can give. The reader will become profoundly convinced that the whole life of the two dead leaders, until their last moments, was permeated by feverish longing and ardent desire for the one great goal: the emancipation of the proletariat.

MARX & TRADE-UNIONS*

BY A. MALETSKY

It is high time to make Marx accessible to the masses, and the educational value of the "proletarianisation" of Marx's ideas is strikingly brought out in this book. We refer to the necessity for bringing to light Marxian views that hitherto have been little known because they were "inopportune." In other words, the "Marxists" have, as it were, formed themselves into a close corporation, and monopolised the study of Marxism, and, having secured influence in the labour movement on the strength of it, have striven their utmost to place such a construction on Marxism as would best fit in with their system of ideas of the peaceful development of bour-

*Marx and the Trade Unions by Auerbach

geois society. The lion's mane of the turbulent-spirited Marx was trimmed and curled by the Philistines, and he was made to appear as a respectable social reformer—in fact, quite a droll figure, and not by any means the terrible person that had been painted to frighten honest burghers.

Marx had been calumniated! The ignorant youths, mostly originating from the East, misunderstood him. Marx was a "European"; how, then, could semi-Asiatics understand him? "The ideas of evolution, which in their youth were indeed a little wild, have been distorted into a rabid revolution!" This was the cry of the Marxists, and they decided to put a stop to the scandal. They set to work, and after ten years of effort they produced a "Marxism" for the everyday needs of the docile social-democracy that could be used for all purposes. Marx must even give his blessing to the conduct of the "Marxian" German Social-Democrats during the war, and so the super-Marxist Cunow, in all seriousness, urged in the name of Marx that to combat Imperialism was quite "un-Marxian."

Is not Imperialism a higher stage in the development of capitalism? Have Marxists ever combatted evolutionary tendencies? If Imperialism is the outcome of the progress of capitalism, it follows therefore that it furthers economic development; it is therefore in the interests of the proletariat, and therefore the Social-Democrats must support the war!

Then came the semi-Asiatics and spoiled the whole game. Not only do they dare to put a different interpretation upon Marx, but, what is worse, they aspire to put their "distorted" Marxian views into practice. They overthrow Tsarism and the domination of the bourgeoisie in Russia, and, in all violation of the Kautsky-Cunow rules of conduct, established the first Proletarian State; they have the brazenness to hold power for five years, and show no intention of giving it up. They completely ignore previous "Marxian experts" who have studied Marx all their lives.

The war and the Russian Revolution have brought to the front, in extraordinary relief, all that which hitherto had been veiled over. Only now do we see what mischief was done to the ideas of Marx, how all non-essentials were put together, and how every revolutionary idea was carefully eliminated. Where Marx committed some errors in detail, it was endeavoured to prove that it was an error in principle. Everything that proved the contrary, because it was revolutionary, was hidden beneath a heap of trifles. This was rendered possible by the fact that for decades the peaceful development of Western Europe and the colossal growth of capitalism had opened up endless prospects of adapting and using the bourgeois State. It was forgotten that it was Marx, the revolutionary thinker, who uttered the fundamental truth that: "The reconciliation of class antagonisms is impossible under the domination of capitalism. The transformation of capitalism into Socialism is impossible without a violent revolution." And yet these people daily swore by Marx.

Now things have changed. The great Russian Revolution has created light. In questions of Marxian conceptions of the State, the heavy blows of Comrade Lenin have smashed the fabrications of the falsifiers of Marx, and, step by step, revolutionary Marxism is being excavated from the heap of rubbish in which it has been

buried. Now, in the epoch of social revolution, Marxian ideas will find quite a different response. In Russia, for the first time since Marxism was founded, proletarian Marxian education is being given on the widest possible scale. The legacy of Marx here is being inherited, not by a handful of bourgeois intellectuals and trade union bureaucrats with definite caste interests, but by the great revolutionary proletariat itself. And here there is no danger that the expenses incurred will be wasted.

Auerbach's book, in a way, is a contribution to the great and necessary task of freeing Marx. Although it is not faultless, it is nevertheless a useful book, conscientiously done and written in a fluent style. The book is divided into two parts, theoretical and practical, and is, in the main, a brief review of the history of the German trade union movement up to 1913.

In his introduction the author claims that there is no contradiction between the revolutionary overthrow of the capitalist system of production and capitalist social forms—demanded by Marx—and the recognition that it is the business of the trade unions to conduct the struggle for the improvement of the conditions of the workers under the present system. In his opinion this seeming contradiction arises out of a misunderstanding of Marx. We think that the formulation of the contradiction is not a happy one. It is not clear to us why revolutionary struggle and trade union struggle should be placed in opposition to each other at all. To do this, one must regard the trade union struggle from quite a special viewpoint. Nor is the "contradiction" more clearly expressed when it is pointed out: "While the proletariat cannot achieve its aim through parliament, and the revolution cannot be brought about by social reforms, nevertheless we take part in elections and fight for reforms." We think the formula of the contradiction is much more general. It is not trade union struggle or revolutionary struggle, but revolutionary struggle or reformism; it is the forcible storming of capitalism, the capture of political power on the one hand and the struggle for partial demands, for reforms within the framework of bourgeois society, on the other. To demand the right to vote and at the same time to insist that only by a revolution can the proletariat come to power and not by getting votes, is as much a contradiction as the struggle for increased wages while recognising that only by storming capitalism can the "wage question" really be solved, i.e., by abolishing wage labour and wages. And this is the more so because the Marxian conception of the trade union struggle clearly points out that it is precisely the struggle for everyday interests that trains the proletarian to become a revolutionary fighter. It is precisely on the contradiction in Socialist tactics on the political field, that the anarchists and Syndicalists concentrate their attacks. Let us now deal with the main contents of the book.

In Chapter I., Part I., the author analyses the trade union struggle from the standpoint of Marxian economics. Starting from the theory of value, the author indicates the difference between the Marxian theory of value and that of the bourgeois classical economists, where it differs from Lasalle's "iron law of wages," and how the Marxian theory of value repudiates the theory of the wages fund and the practical conclusions arising from it. The author points out how it is quite possible by means of strikes to secure an

increase of wages without causing an increase of prices, which, if it took place, would make the worker lose as a consumer what he had gained as a producer. Increases of wages are secured at the expense of a part of the surplus value of the capitalists. Therefore, other things being equal, an increase of wages means a reduction of the rate of profit. The theoretical section concludes by pointing out how the trade unions gradually, as capitalism develops, are compelled to take up the defensive. The capitalists are compelled, after severe competitive struggles, to endeavour to counteract the reduction of the rate of profit by means of economic solidarity, i.e., the abolition of competition. Thus we see that, at the end of the development, the trade unions are unable to defend themselves against the capitalists. On page 45 we read: "Not being a means for bringing about the gradual expropriation of the capitalist class, or for helping in the removal of the capitalist form of production by a just—i.e., a Socialist distribution—the trade unions are steadily losing all possibility of counteracting the continuous capitalist offensive. *The purely economic field contains no path to the goal by means of the economic struggle.*"

While, as Auerbach wishes to point out, the trade unions on the economic field have landed in a cul-de-sac, they acquire a completely different significance, however, if we regard them, not as purely economic organisations, but as socio-political organisations.

This is what the author endeavours to show in Chapter II., Part I. "The trade unions serve as a means of bringing the proletariat to a consciousness of its class position." He quotes Marx's statement in conversation with Hamann, in which he described the trade unions as "schools for Socialism." It is known that this statement is interpreted in different ways. By those who believe in politics alone, it is taken to mean that the trade unions serve as corridors for their members into the Socialist Party. This is most strikingly illustrated in the history of France.

According to Auerbach, however, this clearly contradicts Marx's idea. Further, in the conversation referred to above, Marx said: "If they are to fulfil their tasks, the trade unions must never enter into a political alliance with, or be made dependent upon, a political party. If they do, it will be a death-blow to the trade unions." The "Neutralists" have drawn very broad conclusions from this. To be neutral, to them, means to be non-political—which is absurd. In the course of time, neutrality gives rise to the demand for the independence of the trade unions of the political parties, and the recognition of their equality with the latter. How easily this has led to the narrow British Trade Unionism, is known, Equality of rights can only imply division of labour in the class struggle; but it does not imply an independence that may lead to opposition to the demands arising out of the struggle for the emancipation of the proletariat.

In the same way must the importance of strikes be judged. The strike is the most important weapon in the struggle for the introduction of the new society. On page 50 we read: "The trade unions one day will be confronted with the task of so leading every economic strike as will make it an important stage in the decisive struggle, i.e., as *must lead to the utmost advancement in Socialist consciousness.*"

This is how Auerbach at the end of Chapter II., Part I., formu-

lates the tasks of the trade unions. What strikes us at once is the lack of harmony between the two first chapters of Part I. In Chapter I., we get a clear and precise formulation of the theoretical basis of the industrial struggle, in which Marx is extensively quoted and analysed; while the social theory, which is considered the most important, is rather meagrely dealt with. The few quotations made from Marx all centre round the idea that the workers, in the everyday struggle conducted by the trade unions, must learn the character of capitalism, and that it is impossible under capitalism to secure any real improvement in conditions. From this logically follows that the hitherto purely economic struggle must be converted into a struggle of one class against the other. But "a struggle of one class against another is a political struggle." And we ask, Suppose the trade unions have achieved this stage of development, the above quotation from Marx in the 'forties of the nineteenth century, still stands: what, then, is their future function? Have the trade unions fulfilled their task when they have brought their members to a state of Socialist consciousness? What is it that specifically places the trade unions in opposition to the parties? How is the somewhat nebulous formula—"to lead economic strikes in such a way as to obtain the utmost advancement of Socialist consciousness"—to be understood? It is not a mere accident that it is precisely the socio-political significance of the trade unions that is most weakly dealt with in Auerbach's book. It was quite easy to formulate the Marxian theory of wages as the basis of trade union policy. It could be found ready-made by Marx himself, or could be drawn from his economic theories. But a socio-political valuation of the trade unions in the Marxian sense is not so simple to find on the surface. Marx has never written on this question in a connected form.

The Marxian system, although established in the 'fifties of last century, has remained unassailable to this day. It is an outline of the fundamental laws of the development of capitalist economy, and has remained so. On the other hand, the rôle of the trade unions is closely bound up with the trend of historical development, and is more readily subject to repeated change, reflecting the changing state of the class struggle. The Marxian theory of wages represents something fixed and rigid, relatively little influenced by practice. On the one hand, it indicates the limits of the industrial struggle under the capitalist system; on the other, it points out to the masses of the proletariat that it is essential and possible to achieve success. These two ideas would be quite clear to the workers at an early stage of the development of the class struggle. In our epoch, however—the last stage of capitalist development—we have not so much to deal with simple Marxian fundamental principles, and application of general theories, as with the specific tasks of the trade unions from the Marxian standpoint.

In order to bring out clearly that which was Marxian, Auerbach is here compelled to point out that the trade union policy advocated by both the parties and the trade unions was a direct abandonment of the revolutionary class struggle, and that the parties and the trade unions have converted the struggle for reform, in a given historical period, into a struggle for reforms as an end in itself. Auerbach is quite right when he criticises the pure Marx-Philologists, although he does not do so sufficiently from the standpoint

of historical-evolution. He errs, however, when he believes that one can only mechanically construct a consistent statement of Marx on trade unions from his various scattered references to it. We mean a statement in which each expression, taken together with the moment which gave rise to it, would make clear why Marx lays emphasis on one particular point at one moment and on another point at another moment.

Auerbach's book lacks a clear indication of the rôle of the trade unions, not only in the first stage of history, but also in the last stage of the struggle for emancipation, particularly in the moment of the strugle for the dictatorship of the proletariat and the transition period from dictatorship to Socialist economy. He might have provided this in the second historical part of his work. He himself refers to the uncommonly instructive work written in the 'seventies by Hillman, who with remarkable clearness and consistency in the Marxian sense, formulated the tasks of the trade unions. In this book it is stated: "While on the one hand the trade unions represent the destructive element in moribund capitalist society, on the other hand they represent cells out of which the new society will be formed. They will become the pillars of support of the economic structure of society, by imbuing the workers with esprit-de-corps, subordination of the individual to the decision of the whole, and the whole to the administration. Subsequently, from a means of educating the workers they will be the institutions through which production will be carried on. Who, after the capture of political power, should take over the disorganised industries? Perhaps the political authority with its staff of officials? Nothing would be more fatal even if the greatest geniuses were at its head. Only the preparatory work and the co-operation of the trade unions can overcome these difficulties. They know what are the needs of the various factories for raw materials, means of production and labour. On the basis of collected statistics they will be able to establish precisely the condition of production and consumption, they will draft regulations and see to their being carried out. If power is captured only by means of a violent revolution, if only a section of the people will recognise the authority of the new government, and another will arm for a forcible counter-revolution, will not the small groups of class-conscious, politically organised warriors occupying the most important administrative posts, keeping down the dissatisfaction in the Army by political propaganda and encouragement, and keeping the movement clear from undesirable elements, be claiming too much if they aspire also to set the economic muddle right?" In truth, prophetic words. We think that Auerbach should have developed his position much more sharply, approximately, on these lines. He cannot throw light on the past, except on the basis of experience. In order that Marxian views of the proletarian dictatorship during the transitional period may be made quite clear to us, Auerbach must indicate to us the form of the gradual construction of Socialism, and, from the Marxian standpoint, must point out the place of the trade unions. It is not sufficient to show how the industrial struggle, as a struggle for palliatives within the framework of capitalist society, finally either runs to seed, or becomes transformed into a political struggle. If we merely had to regard the struggle for Socialism as a purely mechanical, simultaneous act of violence, the matter would be quite

simple. But the proletariat does not achieve power, nor is Socialism built up, at one blow; it is necessary to go through a long period of construction, during which it is necessary to retain the the legacy of capitalism, gradually changing it into Socialism. In this the trade unions have a colossal task to perform, and in this light must we judge them.

A trade union is not only a school for Socialism from the standpoint of developing social consciousness, but also from the standpoint of social production. In the unions the workers must strive to master the technical secrets of production, in order that they may from proletarian-producers become Socialist-producers.

Auerbach ably describes the development of the German trade union movement, and brings out its most important moments. After a tortuous development, the German industrial movement in the 'nineties achieved a state which Auerbach, on page 108, describes as follows:—

"Thus the German Labour movement during the course of a century finally arrived at a consciousness of the essential problems of the trade union question. A development from the repudiation of trade unionism to the recognition of its necessity; from being a sub-department of the Party to being a reservoir of the working class; from the 'iron law of wages' to the Marxian theory of wages; from the principle of the repudiation of politics to the recognition of its significance for emancipation of the workers—these mark the path of theoretical clarification and at the same time they are a mirror and expression of the changes in the conditions of production in Germany."

The second phase, from 1895 to 1914, is described in the following manner (page 122):—

"The history of the German trade union movement from 1895 to 1914 is the history of the transformation of trade unions fighting the class struggle in the Marxian sense, consciously acting as organs of the revolutionary labour movement, into craft unions which, while embracing the mass of the workers and desiring to improve their conditions, betray a tendency (apart from the customary watchwords which for various reasons they cannot abandon) which is hardly to be distinguished from that of the social reformist organisations."

According to Auerbach, 1913 saw the final triumph of opportunist trade union thought over Marxism. The Party was conquered by the trade unions. At the Jena Congress in 1913, the long struggle between reformism and revolutionary Marxism came to an end with the complete victory of reformism. He does not clearly show, however, why this happened and must have happened in that way. If Auerbach had examined this struggle between reformism and revolutionary Marxism in the Party and in the trade unions more closely, he must have come to the conclusion that, long before the victory of revisionism had become formally recognised, it was in actual practice, not only in the trade unions, but also in the Party. All the victories of Marxism over revisionism in the realm of theory were fruitless, as long as these theories were not applied in practice; and in spite of these victories in theory the revisionists were everywhere masters of the field of practice. While the revisionists were actively engaged in carrying out their tactics, the Marxists limited themselves to theoretical arguments

which were impotent to affect anything, because the will to act was totalling lacking. Only by a very few Marxists was theorising regarded as a serious basis for practice. The more acute the crisis, the clearer it became that it was necessary, either in the revolutionary or revisionist sense, *to act*, and not to theorise. The fact was revealed that the process of adaptation to the bourgeois State and to bourgeois society had gone on so far that there was no immediate question as to the possibility of the success of Marxian influence. The labour movement was thoroughly permeated with revisionism, long before the latter was clearly expressed in theory. The history of the watchword of the mass strike in the German Party is a classical example of this. As long as the Russian Revolution of 1905 was effective, the Party dared not renounce this watchword, although it did not for a single moment dream of actually applying it. In this there was no distinction between the Party and the trade unions. When, however, the 1905 revolution was suppressed, the leaders breathed again, and even used the " Russian example " for their own purposes. The danger that this crazy, semi-Asiatic invention might destroy such excellent organisations as the German trade unions, with such enormous funds, was once and for all avoided. Long before the imperialist world war, during the International Congress at Basel, old Bebel got up at a meeting of the International Bureau and with extraordinary energy protested against Rosa Luxemburg's proposal for a mass strike as a means for forestalling mobolisation in the event of a declaration of war. This marked the sad and tragic end of a whole epoch.

It is a pity Auerbach closes his story with the year 1913. He is mistaken when he says that there was no use in dealing with the war and post-war period because it presents nothing new in principle. What do abstract, theoretical conclusions matter as compared with concrete political achievements? The description of the actual rôle of the German trade unions during the war has an extraordinary propagandist value, and it would be highly desirable, in a future edition, for Auerbach to deal with this period.

Apart from the defects indicated, the book is thoroughly to be recommended.

NEW LITERATURE

THE LABOUR MOVEMENT, POLITICS AND LABOUR LEGISLATION.

Karl Korsch, Arbeitsrecht für Betriebsräte.—Z. Leder, Das Zukünftige Arbeitsrecht in Deutschland von Standpunkt des Kommunismus. A. Lozovsky, Frankreich und die französiche Arbeiterbewegung in der Gegenwart. J. Walcher, Wohin steuern die freien Gewerkschaften? G. Acquila, Die italienische sozialistische Partei. S. Markovic, Der Kommunismus in Jugo Slavien. Z. Foster, The Bankruptcy of the American Labour Movement. Z. Leder, L'Offensive due Capital et l'unité due Front Prolétarian. T. T. Loaf, der Kampf der Kohlenarbeiter in der Vereinigten Staaten von Nordamerika. Danieruk, Zag Zebiowska Kasa Chorych.

I.

From the first moment of its existence the Communist International directed its attention to the Trade Union Movement. The second Congress of the C.I. declared that the capture of the Trade Unions was a condition precedent to our gaining the majority of the working class on our side. This declaration led, in 1920-21, to the establishment of the Red Labour Union International. In order to imbue the Trade Union Movement with the revolutionary spirit, however, it is necessary to have considerable literature. The above comprehensive list of books on revolutionary trade unionism shows that on the threshold of the fifth year of the existence of the Communist International and of the third year of the Red Trade Union International, we have made a good beginning in this direction. Much has already been done, but much more remains to be done. We will proceed, however, to discuss the most important of the new publications on this subject published during the last six months.

In his book *Arbeitsrecht für Betriebsräte* (*Viva-Verlag Berlin*, pp. 196 + 36) Comrade Korsch deals with labour legislation. In conjunction with this book, which is very important for the study of the problems of labour, I should like to mention my own twenty-page pamphlet brought out by the same publishers. These two publications are supplementary one to the other; Comrade Korsch's book gives a positive, analytical and critical description of the labour legislation, and is at the same time a synthesis of all the details of factory legislation in the light of the Factory Councils Act (in Germany) while my pamphlet is a polemic in concise form on the purely reformist conception of the future labour legislation which Professor Sinzheimer, on behalf of the German General Federation of Trade Unions, expounded to the delegates of the Liepzig Trade Union Congress. I will not repeat here the objections which I raised against some details contained in Comrade Korsch's book which I have already dealt with elsewhere (*Kommunistischer Gewerschafter* of 16/12/1922, and *Internationale Presskorrespondenz* of 25/11/1922, No. 225), for the simple reason that it is a question of mere detail. On the other hand, I want to emphasise the fact that the whole tendency of the book, seen in the light of the development of labour legislation from the period of slavery to the period of industrial democracy, resolves itself into what Comrade Radek said on behalf of the Executive of the C.I. at the Second

world Congress on the subject of factory councils: "The endeavour to establish out of the factory councils a systematic organisation capable of smoothing the path for the transition to Socialism is based on an illusion. . . . . It is impossible to build up under the iron heel of capitalism and martial law an organisation capable of serving as the apparatus of the future Socialist economic order." Owing to this tendency and his description of the development of labour legislation, Comrade Korsch's work will very effectively counteract the reformist misrepresentations of the factory council's movement, which are being spread systematically throughout the German labour movement by the *Striemerei* and poisoning the minds of the workers.

I have already mentioned that my pamphlet against Sinzheimer must be discussed in conjunction with Comrade Korsch's book. Comrade Korsch reviewed my pamphlet and the Sinzheimer report in the *Internationale Presskorrespondenz* of 28/12/1922, No. 224, in which he said that it is not sufficient to oppose Sinzheimer's opportunist-reformist transition programme, merely by a general revolutionary programme and that it is essential to elaborate a concrete "labour constitution" transition programme of revolutionary Marxism. In principle I am in complete agreement with Comrade Korsch, but in order to emphasise the difference between our viewpoints and that of Sinzheimer and the S.P.D., I thought and still think it necessary to dis-associate ourselves from it in a polemical pamphlet. To every worker with a Marxist training it must be quite clear that our conception of the programme of the social revolution does not imply that at a certain moment we will plunge ourselves into the fray, and proceed to pull down all the existing institutions and only after having done that to proceed to constructive work. Such workers know that we must mobilise the working masses for important demands (by no means "transition demands"!) which are either impossible of realisation within the framework of the existing social order or which can only be realised by the bourgeoisie practically *abdicating* (if only partially) and transferring the power to us. In my opinion such a dissection of every radical programme would be to the common good of general Marxian teaching.

II.

The other mentioned works: by Walcher (Viva-Verlag publication pp. 55), Lozovsky (published by the R.L.I.U., pp. 140), Aquila (published by the C.I., pp. 46), Markovic (e benda pp. 87), Foster (published by the Trade Union Educational League, Chicago, pp. 52), are important contributions to the literature on the trade union movement in the respective countries.

Each one of these books naturally has a significance of its own for the working class movement.

Walcher's books must be read in conjunction with his pamphlet *Eine Abrechnung*, *A Settling of Accounts*, in a speech by Walcher at the German Trade Union Congress (Viva-Verlag, comprising volume XVI of the small pamphlets by the Trade Union Department of the K.P.D.) and containing the most important decisions carried at the Congress, with a special appreciation of the activities of the Communist fraction. This book is written in a vivid and interesting style: it is not only of considerable agitational value, but is also an important illustration of a whole period (1919—

1922) of the development of the German Trade Union Movement after the war. It is, of course, only a *snapshot* which makes us regret all the more that we do not yet possess a more connected description of this period from the pen of one of our comrades, considering that this period is one of the most important periods of the international labour movement.

Unlike Walcher's book, Lozovsky's pamphlet gives an exhaustive description of the French Labour Movement, dealing with the *milieu* as well as with the objective conditions of the tendencies and forms of the general labour movement. This pamphlet is a worthy beginning for a series of pamphlets on the labour and trade union movement in the most important countries, which the R.L.U.I. resolved to publish after its Second Congress. There is only one thing which I should like to mention about Comrade Lozovsky's description of the French movement. I think he goes too far in his assertion (p. 56) that apart from the religious element, the programme of action, the attitude to questions of social legislation, and the practical forms and methods of the struggle of the Catholic Trade Unions are identical with those of the leaders of the Reformist Confederation of Labour. "Neither the former nor the latter (he goes on to say) go beyond the framework of the existing capitalist order and to both this order is something eternal and indestructible." I do not think that this statement does justice to the trade union movement. From a technical viewpoint, I am of the opinion that if the slogan of "counter-revolutionary masses" is not always applicable to the bourgeoisie, the same may be said in almost every case with relation to our own class.

Aquila's pamphlet on the Italian Socialist Party (which has also been published in French) describes in some chapters, events which are also of the greatest importance for the development of the Trade Union Movement in Italy. Until we receive a comprehensive pamphlet on Fascism and the Trade Union Movement in Italy, this pamphlet will be very useful also on our field. I could say a great deal about Fascism, but the subject is much too wide for the scope of this article.

Comrade Markovic's pamphlet on Communism in Yougo-Slavia, contains in addition to a general description, some information about the trade union movement. Unfortunately, there is not enough of it. This is all the more surprising, as according to the author's own statement (which corresponds with the information from other sources) the Yougo-Slavian Trade Unions had made such great strides forward by the end of 1920 that at their Unity Congresses they were almost unanimously in favour of the Red Trade Union International. According to the statement of the Yougo-Slavian contributor to the "Year book for Agriculture, Politics and the Labour Movement," there were in 1920 about 37,000 national, clerical and social-patriotic workers organised in trade unions, as compared with 265,000 Communists (whereas during the elections in November, 1920, the Communist Party received only 200,000 votes). It is said that during the period of terror 17 per cent. of Communist Trade Unionists remained with the "Independent" trade unions, while about 6 per cent. went over to the social-patriotic trade unions. Such a state of affairs deserved a better treatment by Comrade Markovic. This defect in his pamphlet is all the more regrettable as our chief international platform the *Internationale Presskorres-*

pondenz is very sparing in its information about the Yougo-Slavian Labour Movement.

Comrade Foster's pamphlet, is an attempt to give an analytical description of the situation in the American Labour Movement, with a view to conducting the movement in future in accordance with our views. Unfortunately, the politico-agitational element predominates to such an extent in this pamphlet that the author describes the development of the movement in an historically wrong perspective and fails to show the causes of the " bankruptcy " of the movement. In my opinion, when dealing with the peculiar development and backwardness of the American trade union movement, one cannot deny the importance of such factors as mass immigration of foreign workers, abundance of free land during many decades, the relatively good conditions of the working class aristocracy and the exceptionally favourable condition of the industries or to see the only cause for it in " dual unionism." This one-sided viewpoint, which for agitational reasons is perhaps explicable, depreciates the value of the book to a considerable extent.

III.

In connection with the economic and political struggle we must mention the following publications: the pamphlet of the present writer in French on the " Capitalist Offensive and the Capitalist United Front " (L'Humanité p. 80), Comrade Loaf's work on the American Miners' Strike (published by the C.I., Berlin, p. 67) and the pamphlet of Comrade Danieluk on Sick Insurance in Zaglembic (Dombrowa Coal Basin, published by the Metal Workers' Union in Dombrowa, in Polish, p. 32).

The pamphlet on the Capitalist Offensive is in the nature of a supplement to the former German edition of the same pamphlet in which not only the descriptive part, but also the motives of the offensive and the necessity for a united front are dealt with more thoroughly and exhaustively. The pamphlet has also appeared as a supplement to the Czech organ of the revolutionary Trade Unions *Rude Odborar*.

Comrade Danieluk's Polish pamphlet is a valuable contribution to the literature on the struggles of the Polish Communist workers for self-determination and for the right to create themselves the social-political organs of which they stand in need. It should be also mentioned that a French edition has also appeared recently in Poland, of the old pamphlet by Comrades Brand and Walecki, *Communism* (published by L'Humanité, with a preface by A. Dunois, p. 110). The pamphlet also contains a chapter on Trade Unions (pp. 39-80).

Z. LEDER.

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