

WORKERS OF THE WORLD  
UNITE!

# THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL



NO.  
9

PRICE  
6d.

Monthly Organ of the Executive Committee of  
**THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL**

THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

NO. 9

[NEW SERIES]

THERE  
c a n b e  
n o b e t t e r  
p r e p a r a t i o n  
f o r t h e s t u d y  
o f t h e

Report of the V Congress of the  
Communist International

than a thorough acquaintance  
w i t h t h e

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

along with the

Resolutions and Theses of  
the IV Congress : *price 1s.*

*(1s. 1½d. post free)*

Copies can still be  
obtained from

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

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

**WORKERS OF THE WORLD  
UNITE!**

# THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL



NO.

9

PRICE

6d.

Monthly Organ of the Executive Committee of  
**THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL**

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

Report of the V Congress of the  
Communist International

than a thorough acquaintance  
with the

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

along with the

Resolutions and Theses of  
the IV Congress : *price 1s.*

(1s. 1½d. post free)

Copies can still be  
obtained from

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

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

*Editorial Note*

Comrade R. P. Dutt writes to call attention to an error in Com. Martinov's article on p. 47 of No. 8 of the *Communist International*. Com. Martinov, quoting R. P. Dutt, writes "The remains of the 'Left-wing' of the Labour Party's conception must be wiped out." This is obviously a mis-translation. See R. P. Dutt's article p. 31 of the same issue. Speaking of our Party, Comrade Dutt writes, "The remains of the Left-wing of the Labour Party conception must be wiped out . . .," a totally different thing and not necessarily opposed to the development of a Left-wing in the Labour Party.  
J.T.M.



"Editorial Note" found  
inserted inside CI No 9 "New Series"

↑  
9 1/2  
inches  
↓

CI No 9 "New Series" page size

← 6 inches →

The  
**Communist  
International**

ORGAN OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE  
COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

Appears simultaneously in  
English, Russian, French  
and German

*Publishing Office :*

Leningrad, Smolny, 63. Tel. 1.19.

*Editor's Office :*

Leningrad, Smolny, Zinoviev's Cabinet

---

Published at 16 King Street, Covent Garden, London, W.C.2.



# THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

*Organ of the Executive Committee of the Communist  
International*

---

ENGLISH EDITION

NUMBER 9 NEW  
SERIES

---

## CONTENTS

How a Mass Communist Party will Come in Britain <i>J. T. Murphy</i> - - - - -	i.
New Imperialist Attack in the East <i>Karl Radek</i> -	17
The Future of the La Follette Movement - - -	27
Comrade Sommerling - - - - -	38
Comrade Jan Tomp - - - - -	40
How and Why they Lie about the Comintern - -	41
Communists' Hunger Strike in Egypt <i>Nefnil Ahmed</i>	44
Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government in the Countryside <i>A. Martinov</i> - - - - -	46
Against Mere Lip Service to the Dictatorship <i>N. Lenin</i>	65
Delimitation of National Boundaries in Soviet Central Asia <i>Feizulla Khodjaev</i> - - - - -	73
The U.S.S.R. and the National Question <i>M. Rafes</i> -	88





# How a Mass Communist Party will come in Britain

**I**N the last issue of the *Communist International*, there were two important contributions by Comrades R. P. Dutt and A. Martinov, dealing with the developments in the Labour Movement of Britain. Both articles are worthy of the closest possible study, especially by every member of the Communist Party of Great Britain. The conclusions of both writers cannot be ignored by our Party.

Each writer sets out to diagnose the situation after the fall of the Labour Government and to answer the questions, "What must the workers do about it?" and "What must the Communist Party do?" Whilst there is a general agreement as to the nature of the present situation, there is a profound difference between them on the last question. There is a complete divergence on the estimate of the future of the Labour Party and the question of the development of a left-wing within it and our attitude towards such phenomenon. It is necessary, therefore, to carry this discussion a stage further.

Comrade Dutt most lucidly sets forth the following observations :—

1. "The collapse of the MacDonald Labour Government brings the British working class face to face with the question of leadership in the sharpest form."

2. "The existence and collapse of the Labour Government were governed by capitalist strategy, of which it was a willing tool, and is, therefore, now incapable, because of its commitments, of putting forward anything but a sham opposition."

3. The workers are faced with unbridled reaction in the saddle, and "the Labour Party has just signally proved itself a broken instrument in the hands of the workers to protect their interests or lead their fight. For the workers to trust it now to look after them in the coming period of reaction and oppression, would be the height of open and self-confessed folly." What are the workers going to do about it?

4. The Labour Party is "faced with the following alternatives, either to develop further along the line of a 'constitutional' democratic party, and come increasingly in opposition to the workers, and openly surrender their leadership,

• to endeavour to maintain contact with the masses by adapting itself, putting forward 'left' leaders, adopting semi-revolutionary phrases, etc., all of which can immediately be brought to the test of action. In this way a process of differentiation begins, in which 'left' leaders come to the front, and are themselves subjected to the test of events, while the masses are compelled to search for the real leadership that will meet their needs."

5. "Such a leadership is and can only be the leadership of a mass Communist Party." This is the supreme signal of the present period both for the British Communist Party and for the British working class.

6. "The role of the C.P. must be made clear to the workers to be not simply the role of a propagandist force, within the Labour Party and the trade unions for the adoption of certain 'views.' The role of the C.P. is the role of the alternative leadership of the British working class, which the workers themselves must build up and realise to replace the failure and decomposition of the Labour Party. This is the fact which must be proclaimed on every side. . . ." If we fail to make this clear, we sink into a "left-wing" of the Labour Party—at the very moment when the Labour Party as such is separating itself from the working class, and the call is for just such an independent leadership as only the C.P. can provide. The absolute independence of the C.P. is the vital point for the future of the working class in Britain. The remains of the "left-wing of the Labour Party" conception must be wiped out, and the whole of our propaganda no less than the character of our participation in current struggles, must be directed to the supreme issue.

7. "The role of the Communist Party becomes of special importance in relation to the 'left' leaders, whose emergence to the front is the reflection of the movement away from the old leadership. . ." This left will now be brought to the test of events. In the period immediately in front, the concentration of the Party will need to be far more specifically directed to this left, its ideology and actions (Hicks, Purcell, Cook, Maxton, etc.), than to MacDonald and MacDonaldism.

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

Comrade Martinov then enters the lists with the following thesis.

1. The election results show that our party lost ground, having polled only 55,000 votes instead of 78,000, showing that our party has not discovered the right way to win the masses. The Party should have been more revolutionary.

2. Our Party must find a "way to the British proletariat in order to gain the hearing of the wide masses for our ideas—our Party should not only address itself directly to the masses, but it should also gain influence in those organisations which have a historic past and which embrace a large number of workers. Such organisations are on the one hand the trade unions, and on the other hand the Labour Party.

3. The success of the Minority movement in the trade unions marks the beginning of the fight for influence with the Labour Party. The only way to carry on this fight is to assist the process of differentiation which is going on in the Labour Party, and to help in the shaping of the left-wing, whose value will be measured by the extent of Communist influence that is brought to bear on it.

4. In this respect our Party is still following the line of least resistance. It is far easier to establish strong positions in the trade unions and to assist in the formation of a left-wing current in the trade unions than to help in the formation of the left-wing in the Labour Party.

5. If we must fight for the admission of our Party into the Labour Party, and against the exclusion of Communists from the latter, and to this all the British comrades agree, then we must draw the logical deductions. The Communists who are in the Labour Party should assist in strengthening the left-wing within the Labour Party. Within the Labour Party we should maintain a united front with the left-wing against the present leaders of the Labour Party, we should push this left-wing forward, criticise it for its half-heartedness and use it as a vehicle for the dissemination of our revolutionary ideas among the proletarian masses until we shall have succeeded in transforming our own Party into a mass Party, and eventually liquidating the Labour Party.

6. In the presentation of the immediate prospects of the British Labour movement, Comrade Palme Dutt skips a whole phase in its development. Should the British C.P. follow his suggestion and concentrate all its efforts in an attack upon the left-wing at this juncture, it would at once get out of touch with the masses, and instead of becoming a workers' mass party would become a sect. The bourgeoisie are afraid of the consolidation of the left-wing of the Labour Party, it is clear then that all our efforts must be concentrated upon it.

It is difficult to avoid feeling that there is here not only a conflict of views in relation to the development of the left-wing of the Labour Party, but a totally inadequate analysis of the process of change in the Labour Party and how the mass Communist Party is to be formed. Comrade Dutt denounces MacDonald, speaks of the decomposition of the

Labour Party, the growth of an unreliable left-wing, and simply says the alternative is—a mass Communist Party. Comrade Martinov says quite correctly that Comrade Dutt has skipped a whole historical phase in the life of the Labour Party. He says quite correctly too, that the Communist Party must help in the development of a left-wing in the Labour Party. But this our Party has been saying continuously. The problem yet to be faced is—how is this left-wing developing and by what means can the Communist Party become a mass Party.

#### On Measuring our Party Strength.

Comrade Martinov makes a big error in attempting to estimate the strength and influence of our Party by using the general election figures as a criterion. To compare the Party vote with the Labour Party vote, is almost valueless. Only two Party candidates, Comrade Stewart and Comrade Tom Mann ran on the clear Communist Party ticket. The others—Geddes, Saklatvala, Vaughan, Paul, Wall, Dunstan, were Communists running under local Labour Party auspices, in opposition to the Labour Party Executive's dictum and the London Conference decisions. The value of the votes cast is limited to a comparison only with the previous election results in the same constituency, and the number of fresh constituencies wherein a Communist appeared as a Labour candidate and the constituencies lost. When it is remembered that every fresh constituency for a Communist means that the candidate must secure a majority vote in the selection conference it is obvious that in general our party may be increasing its influence and grip on the Labour movement without in so short a period as eleven months securing a single new constituency. In all constituencies where Communists did not appear as candidates, all the votes of those who would support a Communist must perforce go to the Labour candidate. What then becomes of the comparison of the Labour vote with the Communists? As a matter of fact, more than one Liberal correspondent to the *Manchester Guardian* when discussing this phase of the political situation, estimated that if the electoral system was run on the same lines as in Germany, the Communists would poll 500,000 votes. But the electoral system is not the same, and the Communist Party enters the electoral struggle heavily handicapped from the beginning. It is only able to get into the electoral arena after the conquest of the local Labour organisations. Hitherto it was dependent more on personal influence than strength of Party. Hence it may be that at a time when we are losing votes we may be and are increasing our party strength. If the Communist Party pursued another course, *i.e.*, entered its candidates against the Labour candi-

dates, irrespective of the local Labour organisation, we should witness a split workers' vote against the Liberals and Tories, and it would thereby create a tremendous barrier of prejudice against it on the grounds that it was fighting the elected candidates of the trade unions and other workers' organisations to the advantage of the Liberal and Tory parties.

From the standpoint of "pure politics" this would be quite justifiable, *i.e.*, if we were only concerned with wanting to know who would vote Communist, who would vote Labour, Liberal, Conservative, etc. But with this kind of pure politics we are not concerned. We must be governed by our relation to the class forces that are struggling in the elections. The workers may be mistaken in electing Thomas and MacDonald as their candidates for the election, but the choice before the electors, of which the Communist voters are a part, have to choose, not Thomas' or MacDonald's politics versus Liberals or Tories, but whether they will vote for the elected representatives of the Labour organisations versus those of the capitalist parties. Our Party said, whilst unhesitatingly pointing out that MacDonaldism and Thomasism were enemies which the workers would have to fight, they must, at this stage, vote for the Labour candidates against the Liberal and Tory parties.

I am well aware that it is argued that we should select the notorious reactionaries of the Labour Party and fight them with candidates, too. But again, I must say that at this stage in the history of the Labour movement, it would be fatal to the progress of the Communist Party throughout the country. Such an action the Labour Party Executive has been seeking, is seeking and attempting to provoke as a means of proving to the workers that we are the splitters and disrupters of the Labour movement. The relative strength of our Party in relation to the Labour Party and the tasks we have set ourselves, prohibit such a luxury at present whatever the future may hold.

Hence any consideration of the votes cast for Communist candidates must be viewed from a totally different angle to that indicated by Comrade Martinov. The 55,000 vote is no measure of our influence if directly compared with the votes cast for Labour as a whole. They indicate only that in a number of centres our Party has so far won local positions from the right-wing of Labour to the extent of being able to come out as the spokesmen of the whole Labour movement in these localities. But this by no means shows the progress made in developing our influence in all the other centres where our candidates did not appear before the electors.

This also disposes of the further criticism of Comrade Martinov when he addresses our Party as if it had been inactive in relation to the permeation of the Labour Party. I believe he is quite right when he urges us to help in the development of a Left-wing, but he is quite wrong when he assumes that little has been done in this direction and we have now to begin our work in the Labour Party. Such an observation has no regard for the history of our Party. For although at successive stages we have fought for affiliation as a party, insisted upon our members joining the individual sections of the Labour Party, the majority of the members of our Party have been members of the Labour Party continuously by virtue of our trade union membership and payment of the political levy. Had it not been for this fact, we would have stood no chance of fighting the Labour Party leaders effectively with so small a membership as we have at present. The fact of the matter is that there has been no real mass leftward movement in the Labour Party which could be harnessed to challenge the present leadership of the Labour Party. Comrade Dutt sees the Labour Party from the newspapers as one reading from afar, and impatiently dismisses the Labour Party as finished and calls up the only hope—a mass Communist Party, forgetting entirely that the Labour Party is a mass movement of which *we are a part* in spite of the efforts to crush us as a Party. Comrade Martinov misses the same important fact in the situation when he criticises our Party and its work in the Labour Party as if it was not there, although he is quite correct in his anticipation of, and in his emphasis upon, the importance of the left-wing of the Labour Party.

### The Process of Differentiation.

But Comrade Dutt's error is greater and more dangerous for our Party. When he says "For the workers to trust it (the Labour Party) now to look after them in the coming period of reaction and oppression, would be the height of open and self-confessed folly," he places the workers in an entirely false position and approaches the problem from an entirely sectarian standpoint. He assumes that the workers are already conscious of the weaknesses of the Labour Party leadership, are conscious that it is leading them to disaster, or how could this trust be described as "the height of open and self-confessed folly?" The same sectarianism colours entirely his appreciation of the process of differentiation that has started in the Labour Party. Throughout he speaks as if we were not in the midst of it, as if we were a detached body watching the process from some neighbouring vantage ground, ready to step into the arena when the decomposition of the Labour Party leadership has gone far enough to permit

the groping masses to discover the Communist Party. He sees the leaders, their speeches and writings are in the papers, classifies them admirably, tells us to hammer first one, and then another, now the "left leaders" more than any other, but misses the actions of the masses while the process of differentiation is going on. This is not a Marxist line of approach to the problems before our Party or the working class of this country.

The actual situation reveals our Party right in the midst of this process, growing at the very foundations of the Labour Party. Were it not so, think you that the Labour Party Executive could not have rid the Labour Party of 5,000 members during the last four years? Think for a moment of a fight against the Fabian Society instead of the C.P. Let a difference arise between them and the Labour Party, and the Labour Party Executive could wipe it off the books in five minutes without shaking the Labour movement in the least. But the attempt to rid the Labour Party of the Communists has shaken it to its foundations, and given a tremendous impetus to the process of differentiation which everybody now sees before their eyes. Why the difference? Because we cannot speak of the decomposition of the Labour Party in the same way as we can speak of the decomposition of the Liberal Party at this stage. The Labour Party is not based upon a class that is losing power, but upon a class that is rising to power. To speak of the decomposition of the Labour Party is to speak of the decomposition of the trade unions which are its main support, and which are called upon by the very nature of the struggle which has given them birth to play an increasingly vigorous and militant role. The trade unions are certainly not decomposing. Nor let us be under any illusions concerning even the individual sections of the Labour Party. Those sections are increasing their strength week by week. Let us be quite clear, therefore, when we are talking and not confuse the leadership of the Labour Party with the masses of the Party. The masses may rid themselves of the MacDonald leadership, and those who carry the banner of Liberalism, but that does not mean the end of the Labour Party, but a stage in the differentiating process when the Labour Party is increasing in strength as the workers become more class conscious.

It is in the midst of this differentiating process that our Party, the Communist Party, grows from strength to strength. Comrade Martinov is wrong when he thinks our work has to be started. We have been in it all the time. Indeed, the very birth of our Party was an indication that the process of differentiation had already begun in the Labour Party. My complaint is not that the work has to be started, but



that our Party has done so much work within the Labour Party on the lines which justify Comrade Dutt's insistence upon the wiping out of the idea that we should aim at being merely a left-wing of the Labour Party, and a propagandist ginger group within the trade unions and the Labour Party. This is a weakness which must be eradicated, and one which the right-wing of the Labour Party is fast helping us to eradicate. Weakness as it may be, however, it has also been a source of strength and increased the difficulties of the Labour Party Executive in this expulsion policy. If our Party is to be criticised at all for its attitude to the left-wing elements in the Labour Party during the last twelve months, its most vulnerable point I think is the fact that we have devoted too much attention to the leaders who are designated "left" and too little to develop the leftward moving workers in the Labour Party. We have appealed to this one and that one. Talked with the Clyde group in Parliament, etc., wrote encouragingly about them, and so on, but done nothing to bring together those rank and file forces of the Labour Party which have supported the issues we have raised, passed our resolutions, participated in our campaigns. The columns of the *Workers' Weekly* will show numbers of local Labour Parties who supported us in our protests against the persecution of the Indian Communists, the forged letter campaign, the opposition to the Dawes Report, opposition to Communist expulsion from the Labour Party, etc. The area of influence is now indisputably wide, but it is left entirely in its local setting and has not formed collectively the basis on a national scale for an oppositional leadership in the Labour Party. It has been assumed too readily that the Parliamentary "left" leaders represent this development. But they do not in any organisational sense. They are only typical and symptomatic of it, and do not speak with the authority of this mass movement behind them. Consequently, they are the victims of the tactics of the right-wing who advance them or push them into the background according to the exigencies of the situation. To begin to concentrate our attention upon them as suggested by Comrade Dutt, and treat them as more dangerous and worse than MacDonald and Thomas would by no means help us to defeat MacDonald and Co., or to win the masses into our Party. Much as we must keep our Party clear of their weaknesses, they are not the centre of our attack or even the principal object of our concern. They are not our leading enemies, but the indicator of where friendship for our Party lies. Our concern is for the winning of the masses whose sentiments and aspirations these people are attempting to voice, and upon whom they depend for whatever position they hold in the Labour movement.

### Breaking the Workers from Liberalism.

In order to get this new development in proper perspective, let us review the main lines of the Labour Party's growth. It is only 25 years since the Labour Representation Committee was formed in order to give form to the idea of the independence of the Labour representation in Parliament. The L.R.C., consisting of seven trade unionists, two members of the I.L.P., two members of the S.D.F., and one of the Fabian Society, represented 375,931 trade unionists and socialists, among them being 13,000 members of the I.L.P., 9,000 S.D.F., and 861 of the Fabian Society. Membership was not open to individuals. From this moment the struggle begins for the ascendancy of some party programme. It was obvious that this form of alliance meant a degree of toleration between those who were immediately desirous of imposing the recognition of the class war and the trade unions which were little removed, if any, from Liberalism. Only the question of the independence of the Labour movement held them together.

It was not until 1917 that the Labour Party, which was only the L.R.C. enlarged, appointed a sub-committee to prepare a scheme of re-organisation and provide it with a programme and to make the first and most important constitutional break with its past.

The years between had been years of increasing revolutionary ferment. Great mass strikes had shaken the British Labour movement from end to end. The enormous growth of trade unionism during the war, the profound sharpening of class antagonisms laying bare the foundations of modern capitalism, awakened not only the workers to class consciousness, but set loose from their old moorings sections of the middle class who had previously anchored in the Liberal Party. Whilst the masses of the workers were being prepared to struggle for Socialism, as a class objective, the middle class elements, the salariat, and aristocracy of labour, saw in the rising movement their only hope simultaneous with these changes, the suffrage was extended to millions of women just awakening to political consciousness.

The Labour Party constitution was changed both in regard to aim and enrolment of members. The aim was defined as follows :—

“ 1. To secure for the producers by hand and by brain the full fruits of their industry, and the most equitable distribution thereof that may be possible, upon the basis of common ownership of the means of production and the best obtainable system of popular administration and content of each industry or service.

2. Generally to promote the political, social and economic emancipation of the people, and more particularly of those who depend directly upon their own exertions by hand or by brain for the means of life."

Organisationally, the gates of the Party were thrown open to the middle class intellectuals and those who could not join the trade unions, or subscribe to the Socialist parties.

The full significance of these changes in relation to the workers is not yet fully realised. It has not yet dawned upon the masses of the Labour Party that this historic change cut two ways. In widening the basis of membership, they certainly made way for many working class women to come in, but the price paid has been the increasing domination of middle class politics and politicians.

Mr. Sidney Webb describes the change as follows: "The formulation of a comprehensive social programme and of 'terms of peace,' based upon the principles for which the war had ostensibly been fought—principles which were certainly not carried in the Peace Treaty—transformed the Labour Party from a group representing the *class interests of the manual workers* into a *fully constituted political party of national scope, ready to take over the government of the country and to conduct both home and foreign affairs on definite principles.*"

Max Beer in his "History of British Socialism," describes the change thus: "For the reconstruction on socialist lines, the Labour Party stood in need of social economic knowledge. And there were men and women with that knowledge, middle class intellectuals, who had cut themselves adrift from their class and sought admission to the Labour Party, but whose straight gate did not allow them to enter freely, since the old constitution of the Labour Party had been made *mainly for manual workers*. To allow them to join the Labour Party and supply the necessary knowledge to the proper instrument of reconstruction, a re-organisation or new constitution of the Labour Party was necessary. The need was all the more imperative as the democratisation of the suffrage extended the basis of Party life to the limits of the nation."

There is, therefore, no disputing the claim that the change signified that the middle class intellectuals were taking ideological charge of the Labour movement and fastening itself upon the leadership. The change in aim proved that the working class movement had settled in its own ranks the question of adherence to capitalism. The second change indicates that the question of ways and means of settling its accounts with capitalism had not yet been

determined, and it was handicapping itself at the moment it was being called upon to face its greatest problems by handing over its leadership into the hands of the class which, however much they may idealistically subscribe to the aims of the Labour Party, fight every inch of the way against the class activity of the workers. This meant and could only mean that while the Labour Party, which in the main has its basis in the trade union movement, had broken with the aims of Liberalism, it had not yet shaken itself free from the methods of Liberalism.

The moment had not yet come for the settlement of accounts on this score. The truce with capitalism signed on the declaration of war had not yet been completely broken by mass action involving the whole apparatus of the trade unions. Ideologically, the break had come. The workers were preparing to fight. Hundreds of thousands of them had been involved in unofficial strikes. The Russian Revolution and the upheaval in Europe stirred the working class movement to its depths. Even the right-wing leaders with the exception of Mr. Sidney Webb, the middle class Fabian who understood the significance of the situation, participated in the Leeds Conference of Workers' Councils. Nevertheless, these experiences only in the main gave an impulse to the traditional lines of development—massing the workers in the trade unions and organising increasing Parliamentary representation. The clash that was bound to come found expression in the annual conference discussions of the Trade Union Congress and the Labour Party on the issue of Direct Action versus Parliamentary Action, and in the crystallisation of forces in the Socialist parties and the industrial workers of the trade unions which had been involved in unofficial strikes during the war and had felt the revolutionary shocks of Europe more keenly than the rest.

The pendulum swung to and fro on the question of direct action. The B.S.P. which had split on the war question and thrown out its national patriots, adopted the main tenets of the programme of the Russian C.P., but would not disaffiliate from the Labour Party on that account. The Shop Stewards and Workers' Committees responded to the Russian Revolution and saw in their own organisations foreshadowings of the Soviets. The I.L.P. developed revolutionary tendencies and was most active in the Leeds conference. The Socialist Labour Party, though not affiliated to the Labour Party as a Party, had the majority of its members in the Labour Party by virtue of their membership of the trade unions. This Party, which was De Leonist in its politics adapted its programme as a result of the influence of

the Russian Revolution and the experience of its members in the Shop Stewards' movements.

But the whole movement was advancing on an upward wave. The reaction from the war and revolution surged through every part of the Labour Party. The capitalist class made concessions all along the line.

This fact prevented the rapid crystallisation of the revolutionary forces because it now appeared that all were marching forward together. Consequently, when the Parliamentarians were reinforced by the middle class intellectuals, the development of the class conscious process was retarded under the glamour of successful bargaining and parliamentarianism. It is not until 1920 that the small forces named as revolutionary—the B.S.P., the S.L.P., Shop Stewards and Workers' Committees, a left-wing of the I.L.P. grouped together in a single party—the Communist Party. Then we were faced with the anomaly of a party whose membership was in the Labour Party being refused affiliation as a party. This crystallisation of working class elements into a revolutionary working class party first focussed clearly the fact that the burning question before the Labour Party was now a question not of objective, but of ways and means. The new middle class intellectuals reinforcing the parliamentarians sensed the situation at once and saw in the formation of the C.P. the focussing of the class war as a policy in juxtaposition to class collaboration and the subordination of the Labour Party to Parliamentary careerism.

Petty bourgeois through and through in their intellectual make-up, they approached the problem as doctrinaires without regard to the class foundations of the Labour Party or the fact that the British workers are essentially empiricists and not theoreticians. Thinking to be rid of this small group they succeeded in securing rejection of the affiliation of our Party and began the campaign for eliminating us as individuals forgetful of the fact that they were asking the workers to reject those who were accused of prosecuting their interests too vigorously and who were inseparable from their daily trade union struggle.

The record of this fight is the record first, of not simply an effort to prevent a new body entering the Labour Party from outside, but to prevent the crystallisation within its ranks of a definite working class policy. Second, of the fight against Liberalism as a method to achieve Socialism. The first twenty years of the Labour Party was the struggle of the workers to get free from the fetters of Liberalism in aim. That was a revolutionary achievement. The struggle of the Communists is to liberate the workers from the fetters of Liberalism in practice, a task which the old Socialist parties

could not undertake. Their Socialism was an ideal. Their practice—indistinguishable from Liberalism—is a far greater obstacle than the former. The first phase was carried through before the new invasion of middle class intelligentsia. The second task involving a struggle against all the traditional Liberal practices that have governed the affairs of the trade unions and Labour bureaucracy for generations, practices which the new invaders consciously use and endeavour to make sacrosanct as a means of stifling the direct mass activities of the workers, comes after the reinforcement of the middle class elements of the I.L.P. and Fabians.

From the moment the invasion began, the tactics they have pursued have been governed by the determination to subordinate the trade unions to the politics of the individual sections. The more the latter developed, the more the Labour Party leadership in the hands of middle class intelligentsia or trade union bureaucrats trained by them, attempted to make the Party into a homogeneous Social Democratic Party and less as a federation of trade unions and socialist parties. This was a comparatively easy task so long as the masses of the workers were not brought up against the inadequacy of the policy to meet their class demands. But immediately the situation changes, as it did change, on a wide scale after 1920, the question of ways and means of struggle becomes more than ever before the subject of heart searchings and no longer left for the leaders to explain away.

### Three Vital Periods.

There are three distinct periods since 1920 which have contributed tremendous experience to the masses. The first was the calamity of 1921. The failure of the Triple Alliance when only the newly-formed small C.P. stood by the miners, and the subsequent sweeping defeats administered to every section of the trade union movement, contributed to a vast disillusionment as to the courage, willingness, and capacity of the trade union leaders to face the implications of mass action. But this was not the only aspect of the situation. The workers themselves had not realised on so large a scale what were the implications of the situation. Few there were who realised that so great a challenge to the State as the movement of the united forces of the unions exhibited had in it all the potentialities of civil war.

The reaction to this situation and the defeats which followed was a profound sweep towards Parliamentaryism as the means to avoid calamity and to get something without fighting for it, culminating in the formation of the Labour Government in 1924.

But this swing of the pendulum was not so complete that

large masses of workers did not think over the experiences and become sceptical of the new lead by the same people towards Parliament. Nor did they forget that the Communists had fought with miners. Witness the complete failure of the Labour Party to carry through the Edinburgh resolution of 1922 which, although passed in conference were a total failure when applied in the districts apart from the question of affiliating the Communist Party to the Labour Party.

This latter question must be examined apart from the question of expelling the Communists, for it has an important bearing upon the situation again developing in the trade unions, and the struggle against the new offensive of British capitalism against the workers, mentioned by both Comrades Dutt and Martinov. Both cry loudly that 1921 must not be repeated, and say that the C.P. must take the lead in the crisis now developing before our eyes. All of which is good propaganda. But we must not lose our sense of reality in regard to the situation.

Why have not the miners voted for our Party in the Labour Party conferences, and yet strongly resist expulsion of Communists? For this most important reason, the role of a political party is the least understood of all questions in the working class movement of Britain. Parliamentarism and politics are regarded as synonymous terms by the vast majority of the Labour movement. The policy of revolutionary parliamentarism of the Communist Party is not understood, but treated as anti-parliamentarism by the reformists, while those who react against the reformists fall back upon the industrialist attitude to parliament characteristic of the De Leonists. When the reformists fail in Parliament the industrialists argue that our strength lies in the unions: thus, without parliamentary representation is backed up by industrial might there can be no victory—and they are not at all clear as to the form the victory must take.

This attitude of mind has a big historical background in the trade unions. For half a century and more they were taught to keep clear of politics—politics were for politicians, *i.e.*, Members of Parliament. It was strengthened in the ranks of those who revolted against the reformist parliamentarism by the agitation for industrial unionism conducted for many years on a wide scale long before the idea of a revolutionary party came before the workers. Again, the idea of a party calling a strike or taking charge of a strike was unthinkable, entirely outside the range of the experience of the workers of this country. Indeed, political strikes are few and far between, and when they have occurred, they

have only involved a limited number of workers. For example, the Sheffield strike of 1916 against the Government for calling up an engineer to military service, and the strike of the dockers against sending munitions to wage war on the Soviet Republic in 1919. Of course, we had the great threat of a general strike against the Government in 1920, and the will was there for a strike, but it also was in charge of the trade unions.

This lack of experience of political strikes, as well as the strong industrialist background I have indicated, to a considerable extent explains the slow growth of our Party, and why the growing resentment against the existing leadership has not yet come into our Party in spite of the undoubted extensive influence it wielded, and why it is that the attacks on Communists are resented and the significance of the role of a revolutionary Party is not understood. The same reason explains, I think, why the Shop Stewards and Workers' Committee movement contributed so little to the development of a revolutionary party, and why a working class educational movement like that of the National Labour Colleges can muster 20,000 students and so few of them are in our Party.

With these characteristic features of the British working class movement before us, it becomes easier to understand the forms through which the workers' resentment manifests itself before the concrete conditions exist which produce the mass Communist Party. Throughout the second period I have indicated, that of the general forward movement of the Labour Party culminating in the Labour Government, there was a growing revival of trade union activity leading to a series of clashes just at the moment the Labour Government is formed. Immediately the Government began to tackle the disputes, the class line became clearer to large numbers of the workers. From jubilation at the existence of the Labour Government, the movement became doubtful, apologetic, disappointed. The class war showed itself with the leaders of the Labour Party who formed the Government, on the wrong side in the name of democracy. Every week that passed is witness to the Communist Party increasing its criticism and exposing the class lines of the situation. The Party visibly grew and its influence grew enormously in the ranks of the Labour Party, especially on the trade union side. The I.L.P. had to accept responsibility for the policy of the Labour Party and steadily lost every vestige of its claim to be a Socialist party in its anxiety to defend the Labour Government, and explain its follies and its disappointing actions.



Again, the resentment of the workers manifests itself in the unions affiliated to the Labour Party, and in increasing numbers of local Labour Parties passing our resolutions, and not in a rush into the Communist Party, which itself was undergoing internal development, imposing a sterner discipline and breaking away from traditional ways of Socialist thinking; in short, becoming more Communist. The nearest approach to the Party is the rallying to the Minority Movement which again keeps close to the traditional industrialism of the unions.

The third period opens with the fall of the Labour Government, and the coming of the reactionary Conservative Government. The Labour Party leadership having fiercely attacked the Communist Party, sought to kick it out of the Labour Party, lock, stock and barrel, in order to bring in further reinforcements of the middle class, fails again in its efforts, and comes under fire because of its policy of capitalist continuity. The I.L.P. tries to sever its connection with this continuity, and finds it impossible. This is obviously due to the fact that they are conscious that an increasing volume of opinion in the working class elements of the Labour Party are finding that to reach a Socialist goal there has got to be a break with capitalism and not continuity. A wide support to the Communist agitation against the Dawes Report produces an effort to sidetrack by an apologetic acceptance. Maxton, Kirkwood, Lansbury, and Wheatley meet with increasing support. Lansbury breaks away from official leading-strings and starts a new paper with nearly 200,000 circulation.

The *Sunday Worker* appears more closely associated with the Communist Party than the Lansbury paper, and orders pour in for 250,000 copies for the second number. The attempted operation of the Communist exclusion resolutions is effective in only a few cases. In the main centres they are inoperable, especially in relation to the position of Communists as trade union delegates to the local Labour Parties.

What is this process? Can it be described as a process of decomposition of the Labour Party? Assuredly not. Rather is it a process of clarification, a battle between the working class forces of the Labour Party steadily crystallising a revolutionary working class policy into a Communist Party, against the domination of a middle class policy derived partly from the invaders and partly an historical remnant of Liberalism characteristic of modern trade unionism and the early history of the Labour Party. The working class

is awakening and the fierce discussions raging throughout the Labour Party are *not* the signs of decay, but the manifestation of life and vitality, a class thinking over the ways and means to reach the goal it has set before it. It is out of this process in the Labour Party and the trade unions which are the basic material of the Labour Party, that our Party, the majority of whose members are inseparable from the Labour Party by virtue of their union membership, will grow to a mass Communist Party.

### The Coming of the Mass Communist Party.

How?

By continuing our demand for affiliation to the Labour Party as an independent workers' Party concentrating within itself the interests of the working class and directing the workers against the bourgeois Liberal politics of the I.L.P., Fabians, and middle class politicians who have taken advantage of the opening of the gates of the Labour Party to individual membership to retard the development of the workers along their own independent lines. By keeping abreast of the changes now clearly manifest before our eyes in the Labour Party, as a mass movement grows, which is inevitably destined to be driven closer and closer to our Party. Our Party saw the change coming in the trade union struggles and has played its proper role in developing the Minority Movement. The Labour Party now manifests similar symptoms. Whereas last year we could only look to Maxton, Kirkwood, Hicks, Purcell, etc., as individuals with left tendencies, now we know that large numbers of workers in the Labour Party locals express themselves in support of the sentiments they express, and also know that the confusion in the minds of the comrades I have named and their colleagues prevents them harnessing these forces into an effective challenge to the existing leadership of the Labour Party. Four questions present themselves to our Party: (1) Shall we help these masses to effectively challenge the leadership which they resent? or, shall we vigorously attack the prominent leaders who are typical of the movement, drive them further from us in the hope of a direct appeal to the rank and file to join us proving successful? or, shall the Minority Movement attempt to harness these forces? or, shall we permit them to drift and be content to issue calls for campaigns, with local manifestation of support and prevent the national left-wing bloc taking shape in the Labour Party?

There appears to me only one course to take, and that is the first. If we vigorously attack the "left-wing leaders" we

attack the mass with a similar outlook and drive them away from the Party. This is the course which permits the right-wing of the Labour Party to use the left as a safety valve, expressing revolutionary words, but leaving the deeds to be governed by the right-wing. The third is impracticable at the present moment because it is too closely following trade union tradition to immediately switch into the task of rallying the local Labour Parties to a united political policy. To pursue the fourth policy is to diffuse influence without harnessing it for effective national action, without developing and bringing to the front the leadership necessary to challenge the MacDonaldis and Thomases.

The first policy is the only policy we can pursue with any hope of success, with any hope of developing into a mass Communist Party. The fears of many party comrades that such a policy is dangerous to us does not alter the fact that a mass Communist Party has to be created to conquer capitalism. If we cannot be bold enough to risk the dangers of winning the workers and workers' leaders who are near to us, who are being attacked by the capitalists and the reactionaries as Communists, how shall we win the workers who are farther away from us than these? How can we explain this phenomenon in the Labour movement other than as a historic process of the working class finding its way towards a clear working class policy of which the Communist Party is the embodiment? We should welcome this process as the guarantee of our Marxian conclusion that a mass Communist Party will be formed in Britain as in every other country where capitalism has to be conquered by the working class. The only way our Party of to-day can prove that it is the real beginning of a mass Communist Party is seen in the measure it understands this process and shows itself capable of handling it. The "left" forces are coming nearer to us and our task is not only to win them still nearer, but to set before them the fact that they can never carry through the revolutionary tasks for which they profess sympathy until they have joined with us in the making of a party equal to all that revolution will demand of it—a party formed not simply for parliamentary and propaganda purposes, but a party with its foundations in the factories, its units the factory groups, its purpose to lead in strikes, demonstrations, elections and in every phase of the political struggle, culminating in the seizure of power and the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is this latter kind of party we are striving for in the efforts we are making to transform our Party on to the factory group basis.

But the "left" movement in the Labour Party does not understand this yet. It has only got to the stage when it

feels itself in sympathy with much for what we stand. All the implications of this they do not yet appreciate. But there are many political questions upon which we can fight together whilst maintaining our own political valuation of them and frankly explaining to them where we think they are wrong. Upon these issues we can form a united front, not simply a platform front, but a national organised fighting front. For example, are there not many Labour Parties who will agree with us in fighting for a new Treaty with Soviet Russia, for the rights of trade unions and political organisation of the workers in the colonies and dependencies of the British Empire, for scrapping the Versailles Treaty and the Dawes Report, for international trade union unity, for the Parliamentary Labour Party to be subordinated to the Labour Party Executive, and not *vice versa*; for a Labour Government to be selected and controlled by the Labour Party, for Communist Party affiliation and equal rights of the Communists in the Labour Party and trade unions; for the nationalisation of banks, mines, railways, with workers' control; for a State and municipal housebuilding schemes by direct labour, etc,

I set these as examples of questions where there is a large volume of agreement which cuts straight across the policy of the present leaders in the Labour Party.

The Communist Party can unite with local Labour Parties to fight for these demands, without giving away one iota of its revolutionary political integrity. Indeed, it is under obligation to do so if it is a party of struggle against capitalism and not a sectarian society, and it must perforce help those who are seeking to find the best way of fighting, to come together on a national scale. The actual experience of struggling would carry the workers farther towards the Communist Party than all the propaganda appeals to join the Party separated from the tests of such experience. It is a move of this nature which the workers in the Labour Party need to-day more than at any time since its inception.

To suggest that such a movement provides an alternative to our Party and functions as a barrier between our Party and the workers, is to mistake through impatience the nature of the movement and to forget the kind of Party that must be created for revolution. This movement is a movement of masses not ready for the Communist Party, but getting ready through experiences which we must help it to understand as we travel with it. If it is suggested that out of it a new Communist Party will be formed on the sly, then

there is something remarkable about such a movement, and something radically wrong with our Party. Such reasoning will not meet the situation. Our Party is a section of the Communist International in its fifth year of party experience, containing, whatever its defects, the only Communists in this country, guided by the world's best revolutionary leaders who have taught us the kind of party that is required, and it is the kind of party which cannot be built in a night or on the sly. The left-wing of the Labour Party will have to face the problems we have already faced and solved, and we know there is no other answer. The attempt to solve them will sort them out, prove who is for the workers' revolution, who against. The one thing which our Party need not fear is that any left-wing movement can take the place of our Party or that the workers can escape the task of forging a mass Communist Party to win its victory over capitalism.

Our concern, therefore, must be to encourage every manifestation in the working class which will make it more politically conscious, help to organise and to clarify every effort of the workers to break free from the fetters of Liberalism and capitalist politics; strengthen and develop our Party in its independence and help the working class organisations, the trade unions, and Labour Party to shake themselves free of the control of bourgeois politicians. The Labour Party to-day has by no means finished its course. The working class is only at the beginnings of its revolutionary experience and education. The Labour Party will grow in numbers and strength as the working class in increasing numbers awaken to political consciousness. In the process, especially as the conditions of the workers become more difficult, the question of the ways and means of struggle will come increasingly to the fore until the bourgeois politics which dominate it to-day are cleansed from its ranks. This fight is already on. The attack on the Communist Party is the attack of the bourgeois politicians to prevent the crystallisation of working class politics (which are fundamentally revolutionary), in the Labour movement. They will split the Labour movement, disrupt it, use constitutions, smash constitutions to achieve their object. We on the contrary, fight against splits in the workers' organisations, and become the one Party fighting for united working class action against capitalism. It is through this process and by these means that the mass Communist Party grows from the foundations of the Labour organisations of this country.

J. T. MURPHY.

# New Imperialist Attack in the East

**I**N no place has the true meaning of the so-called democratic-pacifist era been so clearly revealed as in the East. And the most remarkable thing is that history had not long to wait for the revelation. Even before the fall of the MacDonald government it became clear that as far as the East was concerned, the so-called era of democratic pacifism (how ludicrous these words now sound!) simply meant that British and American capitalism had come to an agreement as to the measures to be taken with the aid of which the New York and London banks could create in the Far East the conditions for its enslavement to capitalism, and in the Near East for strengthening the imperialist policy of England. The support given by British and American capitalism to Wu-Pei-Fu in his struggle against Chan-Tso-Lin, which was simply an attempt to drive enfeebled Japan out of the positions she had gained in Northern China, the action taken by British and American capitalism against the government of Sun-Yat-Sen, the simultaneous efforts of the British in Persia to raise the feudal aristocracy of Arabistan against the central government which was endeavouring to create a national bureaucracy and army in Persia, those necessary foundations of a bourgeois state, the shameful policy of the government of MacDonald in Mesopotamia which tried terrorism to compel the Mesopotamian parliament to recognise the British protectorate, the policy of intrigue in Arabia, and, finally, the declarations made by Lord Parmoor and MacDonald in the British Parliament amounting in effect to a definite announcement that the Sudan would remain Egyptian, and Egypt would remain in the hands of England—all these facts make it now hopeless to pretend that the fall of MacDonald was necessary in order to clear the way for a fresh effort on the part of British imperialism in the East; of that there can be no question. The Conservative government is in a position to say calmly in reply to its Labour Party critics: "We are fighting for the same thing as you fought for, and if in the struggle we are obliged to use rather more severe measures than you employed, that is simply owing to the fact that the situation has become more acute, and not because of a change of policy."

The attack of British imperialism began in Egypt. In the weekly *Observer*, the English Conservative writer, Garvin, describes the murder of the British Commander-in-Chief, Lee Stack, as a bolt from the blue. That the murder was a bolt which will reverberate throughout the whole East, of that there cannot be the least doubt, but to assert that it was a bolt from the blue, is to assume one's readers have a very short memory. Since the conclusion of the war, the Egyptian question has been an abscess on the body of the British Empire. The question is not only that the abolition of Turkey's formal sovereignty of Egypt, as a result of the former's entry into the war, made it essential that the attitude of England to Egypt should be defined. When the British protectorate was declared, Egypt was not the Egypt of the time when England, exploiting the debts of the Khedive, endeavoured to seize the country of the Nile. The resistance which was then offered came from a very small section of the Egyptian people in the shape of her feeble army led by Arabi Pasha. Forty years have elapsed since then, during which period capitalism in Egypt has been developing. Capitalism endeavoured to prevent the development of industry in Egypt, so that she might remain the supplier of cotton to England. But the mere introduction of commodity economy, the mere growth of exploitation and the impoverishment of the masses and the mere development of a native bureaucracy led to the creation of a large staff of intellectuals, who are giving form to the nationalist feelings of the people, and of a sufficient, if politically still rather undefined, Egyptian national consciousness. That during the period of the war, the national movement, which received such a powerful stimulus from the Turkish revolution, should not diminish was guaranteed by the exploitation of hundreds of thousands of Egyptian peasants in the Labour Corps created by the British military command during the operations in the Sinai Peninsula. The toying with ideas of self-determination by the Entente increased the boldness of the resistance offered by the national movement, with the result that the promulgation of the Protectorate met with a furious outcry on the part of Egyptian public opinion.

The incidents which have occurred in Egypt during the period from 1919 to 1922 and since the outbreak of the general strikes of railwaymen and telegraph servants on the banks of the Nile—the students' demonstrations, the press and public agitation, the creation of secret societies and the formation of a parliamentary opposition—present a picture which is far from dear to the hearts of the imperialists. England was obliged to retreat before the attack of the

Egyptian nationalist movement. The constitution of 1922 is the evidence of that retreat. But the retreat was only a formal retreat. England recognised Egyptian independence, but deferred to some future date the settlement of the questions of the Suez and the Sudan, of the situation of foreigners and of Egypt's relations to foreign powers. As a precautionary measure for the future settlement of these questions, she left her army in Egypt. A nation consisting of 13,000,000 people was not in a position to impose its will by force upon British imperialism and British imperialism will never surrender its position in Egypt until it literally forces Egypt to her knees. England seized Egypt because of the Suez Canal, the important artery which serves the fragile organism of the British Empire. And England will never allow the Suez to pass from her hands until she is beaten. The loss of the Suez would mean the emancipation of India. Of course, England might be ready to agree on "internationalisation" of the Suez Canal which would cover her mastery of the canal under an international flag. But British imperialism will never consent to the real surrender of the Suez Canal into Egyptian hands.

But Egypt means something more than the Suez Canal. She also means—cotton.

A glance at the figures for the world production of cotton during the period 1911 to 1923 makes this clear.

*World Output of Cotton from 1911/12—1922/23.*

(In thousands of tons.)

Average for	Total	U.S.A.	East Indies	Egypt	Other Countries
1911/12—1913/14	5,336.6	3,431.3	900.9	327.6	676.8
1914/15—1916/17	5,207.2	3,140.0	889.3	247.3	920.6
1917/18—1919/20	4,252.5	2,626.7	760.9	231.9	633.0
1920/21	4,477.1	2,914.0	616.8	271.2	675.1
1921/22	3,831.9	1,897.2	1,010.9	210.4	713.4
1922/23	4,314.8	2,355.6	1,019.8	203.8	736.1

What do these figures show? They reveal first of all a reduction in the world output of cotton. Cotton is one of the most important essentials for the economic power of Britain. Britain still possesses more spindles than America, France and Germany together. The United States has 37,250,000 spindles, France 9,600,000, Germany 9,500,000, while Great Britain has 56,500,000 million spindles, *i.e.*, one-third of all the spindles in the world. Only 11-12 mil-



lion spindles are required to serve Britain's internal requirements and 44,000,000 are employed on supplying the world market; whereas, the United States exports only 5 per cent. of the output of its 37,000,000 spindles. Since England lives by foreign trade, and the textile industry is one of her chief branches of industry, the very fact of the reduction in the output of cotton is in itself a menace to England's welfare of first class magnitude. But simultaneous with reduction in the supply of cotton, the demand in America for American cotton is growing. In 1923 the export of cotton from the United States diminished by two-fifths in comparison with 1913. At the same time cotton prices are rising; while a pound of cotton cost 13 cents in 1913, in July, 1923, it cost 33 cents. The question of increasing her own supplies of cotton has become one of prime importance for England. As the result of special efforts the output of Indian cotton has been increased, and she is now doing everything possible to increase the production of cotton in Egypt. Cotton production in Egypt is undergoing a crisis owing to a series of economic and technical factors; the absence of natural fertilisation renders the employment of artificial fertilisers necessary, as well as the improvement of its technique of cultivation in general. The cotton crop from the Cantar fell during the period of 1895-1913 by 47 per cent.

The British Government found it necessary to enquire into the causes of the falling output, and a special commission which was appointed for the purpose came to the conclusion that the causes were to be sought in the impoverishment of the soil owing to the system of bi-annual change of crops, inadequate irrigation, insufficient manuring and the degeneration of seed owing to the insufficient exercise of care in its selection, and the prolonged action of disease. To translate these technical questions into social language, the increase of the production of cotton demands that the exploitation of the fellaheen should not be carried to its present length, and that the general level of fellaheen education should be raised. Colonial capitalism, which is a system of merciless exploitation, is unable to make this transition to a higher and more intensive form of exploitation, and is obliged to seek salvation by increasing the area of exploitation. British imperialism has, therefore, resolved to extend cotton cultivation into the south of Egypt, to transfer British capital to the sources of the Nile. In order to increase the output of cotton in the Sudan it is, first of all, necessary to proceed with the irrigation of that region. The area which extends from the Sinai Peninsula to the White Nile, the

so-called Valley of Ghezir, is capable of the production of many million pounds of cotton; for this all that is required is to construct a dam to hold back the Nile waters, and this step has been decided on by the Sudan syndicate which has taken the development of cotton cultivation in the Sudan into its hands. In the Ghezir Valley, there are about 800 acres of land suitable for cotton cultivation. The British Government is constructing a railway uniting the valley with the port of Sudan. The only hindrance was the resistance offered to the construction of a dam in the upper regions of the Nile, for that would constitute a menace to the already inadequate irrigation of Egypt.

Fearing the mood of the Egyptian population, the British Government has hitherto agreed to set a limit to the amount of land in the Ghezir Valley which should be subject to irrigation. The murder of the Egyptian Commander-in-Chief has now furnished the Conservative government with a pretext for overcoming the resistance to the transformation of the Sudan into a cotton colony. The colony is now entirely in the hands of the British. The Sudan, as we know, was conquered by Egyptian troops, led by Kitchener. The crushing of the revolt of the Madhis, the expenses of which were paid by the wretched Egyptian fellaheen, who himself, fed on bread, water and cotton-seed oil, was followed by the treaty between the governments of Egypt and England which set up the condominium over the Sudan. The Sudan was administered by an Egyptian bureaucracy. Only the very highest posts were in the hands of the British. The army which occupied the Sudan was an Egyptian army.

The first imposition made on the government of Egypt by British imperialism after the murder of Lee Stack, was the withdrawal of the Egyptian army and the complete transfer of the administration from Egyptian hands to British. The second point of the ultimatum was a declaration to the effect that England refuses to bind herself by any limitations regarding the extent of land in the Ghezir Valley liable to irrigation. In this manner, British imperialism created a new point for "further negotiations" with Egypt—the establishment of the condominium in Sudan; the direct subordination of the Sudan to England. British imperialism now menaces Egypt not only from the Mediterranean Sea and the Indian Ocean, but also from the South, holding over her the threat of the retention of the waters of the Nile, which would be equal to the passing of a sentence of death on everything living in Egypt. Railway and telegraph

strikes on the line to Khartoum to Cairo and demonstrations of students are of little avail against the guns and the tanks which the British satrap daily displays in the streets of the Egyptian towns. It is easily understood that in a country which has already been awakened, the masses of which are already in movement, imperialism cannot govern in such an open and brutal form without leading an open collision between the colonial revolution and the imperialist counter-revolution. In the article of Garvin we have already referred to, he warns the humane public, which has been terrified by these uprisings and demonstrations in Egypt, that during the three days which followed the murder of Lee Stack, England was in a position of grave danger, and it was only the demonstration of firmness and force which saved the situation. But one cannot "demonstrate firmness and force," every day without weakening their effect.

Egypt is far too feeble to be able alone and isolated to overcome British imperialism. But the soil of Egypt is volcanic, and the ground trembles under the feet of British imperialism. And England knows that with the first great complication which occurs to tie up her forces, she will be confronted with mass uprising in Egypt, and a revolutionary movement which will constitute a menace if not to the heart of British imperialism, at least to the finest of its connecting nerves.

Simultaneously with the events in Egypt, England suffered a series of defeats in other countries of the East. British policy in Arabia was an attempt to unite the Arab tribes with the aid of the Hashemite dynasty. Hussein in Mecca, Feisul in Bagdad, and Abdul in Trans-Jordania were to prevent the union of the Arab tribes, on the one hand, and on the other, to maintain the whole of Arabia in the hands of the British. Meanwhile, England was undermining French imperialism, which holds Syria. But this policy has failed. The Hashemite dynasty has proved itself too feeble for the part British imperialism expected it to play. In Mesopotamia, King Feisul is subject to the growing pressure of the local Arab population, which is hostile to British imperialism. He holds his power solely with the aid of British bayonets and is, therefore, in no position to assist England. Hussein has already been swept away by the pressure of the central Arabian tribes, the Vahabites. British imperialism is endeavouring to enrol these tribes into its service under the leadership of King Ibi-Soudom, but this will be a very short-lived combination. The Arab movement, to which even before the war, so careful an

observer as the well-known German Arabist, Professor Martin Hartman, attributed considerable importance, is now a far greater force than is usually believed in European circles. The Vahabite tribes are the most primitive, but militarily the strongest, and nationally and religiously the most active section of Arabia. Attempts to secure their support are not likely to lead to favourable results, and England, therefore, as we shall see later, is following the development of events with profound alarm.

The attempts to sever Arabistan and the oil of Southern Persia from the whole of Persia, and thereby to secure the simultaneous control of the oil both of Mosul and of Persia, has ended unsuccessfully. The national bourgeois movement of Persia, which has its parliamentary expression in the Medjlis and its military expression in the Persian army created by the soldiers of Riza Khan, have proved to be stronger than the agents of British imperialism in Persia, who, owing to the efforts of venal diplomatists, fail to observe the growing national strength of Persia, cared to admit.

This series of defeats confronted British imperialism with the general necessity of securing fresh guarantees for the consolidation of its mastery over the Near East. Wherein does the menace of that mastery consist? There are three factors: (1) the national movement among the Mussulman peoples; (2) the influence of the Russian Revolution upon these peoples; and (3) the competition of the imperialist powers among themselves. British policy with regard to the Mohammedan peoples has undergone a series of changes since the war. In 1919-20, England was conducting a wholesale attack upon the national movement in the Near East; she was conducting war on Turkey with the aid of Greek hirelings; she was endeavouring to suppress the national movement in Egypt by repressive measures and seeking support for herself in the Arab movement. She was endeavouring to bind Persia by a treaty which would make the British masters of the situation.

Simultaneously, she was attempting by means of intervention to crush the Russian revolution which was the hearth of colonial revolution. And, finally, she was conducting a systematic war against France, who had seized Syria in order to extend her influence in the East. In 1922 we see the attempt made to come to an agreement with the Mussulman movement, and to isolate it from Soviet Russia. England recognised the independence of Egypt after suffer-

ing defeat in Asia Minor; she endeavoured to reach agreement with Turkey and come to terms with Persia which had torn up the treaty of 1919. At the same time, Curzon presented his ultimatum to Soviet Russia. This policy has now been proved bankrupt. England has only aggravated her relations with Soviet Russia and with Egypt; in Egypt she is conducting a regime of savage terrorism; in Arabia and Southern Persia she is suffering defeat. In Turkey alone, which is enfeebled by a long financial boycott, where the urgent economic demands of the peasantry can no longer be deferred and where a profound social dis-integration is taking place, is British imperialism making slow progress and stands some chance of securing control of the oil of Mosul with the aid of financial bribes. In this truly difficult situation, British imperialism is endeavouring to secure the neutralisation of at least one source of its enfeeblement, namely, the competition on the part of other imperialist powers, and of France in particular. France herself is very much alarmed by the growth of the national movement in her Mohammedan colonies. One has only to read the book which has just appeared in Paris entitled "A Guide to Mosul Policy," by an author writing under the pseudonym of "African" to realise what importance France attributes to the growing national consciousness of the Mohammedan peoples. Describing the growth of the movement in Turkey, Persia, Afghanistan, Egypt, Morocco and Tunis, the author points out that in 1900 only 200 Mohammedan papers were being published throughout the world; in 1914 there were 1,000, and that number has now been doubled. Ten years ago, the author says, an intelligent Moroccan had not the slightest interest in the Mussulman movement, he merely maintained religious contact with Mecca. Nowadays, however, a Moroccan youth will not only read the growing press of Morocco; he will also read the newspapers of Tunis and Egypt, and displays the liveliest interest in all that is going on in the Mahommedan world. Herriot very soon after he came into office appointed a commission to go into the question of the extension of self-government in Tunis. When imperialists begin to talk of self-government it means that there are already forces at work fighting for freedom, and that the danger of the Mussulman movement is increasing the world over, menacing French imperialism also. The importance of the Mediterranean Sea was clearly demonstrated by the Spanish defeats in Western Morocco. British diplomacy is taking advantage of the moment by attempting to arrange a deal between England and France for mutual support against the Mussulman movement. It is

prepared to recognise France as the heir of Spain in Morocco, demanding of French imperialism in its turn that it should not extend its control to Tangiers which lies opposite to Gibraltar. Tangiers is to remain internationalised, but actually to be under the control of England. Both sides are to refrain from mutual conflicts. The French Government must not take advantage of British difficulties in Egypt. In Syria and Arabia, the British and French pro-consuls are to assist each other in the common struggle against the Mahomedan movement. Anglo-French competition in Turkey may be abandoned. The first news of the attempt to create an Anglo-French Entente in the Near East not only caused alarm in every centre of the Mussulman movement, but also brought forward another candidate for alliance in the shape of Italy. But Italy is demanding some reward for her participation in the alliance, that is, she is endeavouring to take advantage of the danger threatening British and French imperialism in order to strengthen her own positions.

In the Far East, the Anglo-American co-operation directed towards making Wu-Pei-Fu the head of a united China, the geographical position of which, lying as she does between the Hong-Kong and Yangtze-Kiang Rivers, makes her the object of constant pressure on the part of Anglo-American capitalism, has so far ended in utter failure. The Japanophile party, the An-Fuists, have returned to power. The An-Fuists represent the followers on a national scale of Chan-Tao-Lin, whose position in Manchuria makes him willy-nilly the representative of Japanese interests in China. The United States and England have not revealed themselves to defeat. Attempts to consolidate the forces of Wu-Pei-Fu in the territory he occupies, are being made, in other words, preparing for civil war in China. England, and in this case, America, are doing everything possible to bring in France, who hitherto has been manœuvring on the side of Japan against them. At the same time material and moral pressure is being brought to bear upon Japan. The 150 millions which Japan has borrowed this year are not enough to cover her demand for fresh capital caused not only by the earthquake, but also by her trade balance, and the general economic situation of the country. During the first half of 1924, Japan imported goods to the extent of 64 million yen more than she exported. Japan needs private credits in order to finance her imports. She is being forced to sell and pledge her industrial shares in America. America is making preparations for grand manœuvres which

are to take place in the beginning of 1925. The whole American fleet in the Pacific and Indian Oceans are to act in conjunction. It is to sail from San Francisco in February for the Hawaiian Islands in order to demonstrate to Japan the fighting power of American capital.

In 1925, world imperialism will attack on all fronts in the Near and Far East. But these imperialist attacks will only partly be the result of the consolidation of imperialism. One can speak of the increasing strength of imperialism only with respect to the United States. As far as England and France are concerned, the intensification of imperialist pressure is more the expression of enfeeblement, fear, and alarm for the future. Their attacks are more counter-attacks against the national movement which is growing throughout the whole East.

1925 will be a year of testing of strength, a year of great imperialist conflicts and revolutionary movements in the East.

KARL RADEK.



# Future of the La Follette Movement

**T**HE most interesting political problem of the United States to-day is the La Follette movement. Will it crystallise into a permanent party, or will it fall to pieces as has been the case with so many other "Third Party" movements in America? This question will determine not only the shaping of the political situation as a whole in the United States, but also the tempo of the development of the Workers' (Communist) Party into a mass Communist Party.

To reply to this question is a complicated undertaking and can be made only by analysing the character and the social composition of the La Follette movement.

## The Results of the Elections.

The La Follette Movement is a great mass movement. It received almost *five million* votes at the last elections: about one-sixth of the number of votes cast.

In spite of the fundamental differences in the social character of the two countries, *the recent elections in Great Britain and in the United States display an astounding similarity*. In both countries, the reactionary party of Big Business obtained an overwhelming victory: in Great Britain Baldwin, in America Coolidge. In both countries the second "historic" party suffered overwhelming defeat: in Great Britain the Liberals, in America the Democrats. In both countries a loss of seats, but at the same time a tremendous mass impetus to the "upstart" Third Party; five and one-half million votes for the Labour Party in Great Britain, and five million votes for the La Follette Party in America.

These three main points: the victory of reaction, the annihilation of the middle parties, and the mass rebellion of the dissatisfied working class and petty bourgeois elements against Big Capital, are the *new main factors* in the inter-



national situation succeeding the disappearance of the short-lived democratic pacifist era.

Examining the practical results we find that the La Follette Party, as has already been pointed out by the entire capitalist press in the United States, has attained nothing tangible. Out of 48 states, it gained a majority of votes, and thus the presidential electors, in only one state. Its great strategic plan collapsed. The final decision of the Presidential election was not thrown into Congress. The number of its seats in the Congress and in the Senate has decreased. No longer does it hold the balance of power in these parliamentary bodies. But beneath these superficial phenomena we must not forget the fundamental fact: *now, in 1924, and for the first time since 1912, an organized third party has arisen as a fighting factor against the great historical parties of capitalists, and all at once as a tremendous mass movement.* In the whole history of America, no other Third Party has so far been able to rally such huge masses as the La Follette Movement has been able to do on its very first appearance. The Greenback Party received one million votes in 1878, the People's Party one and a-half million in 1894, the Progressive Party of Roosevelt four million in 1912—as compared with also five million votes of the La Follette Party in 1924.

The mass impetus of the La Follette Movement has reduced the Democratic Party to a Party of the "solid South." In 17 states, beyond the Mississippi, the La Follette Party received 1,829,000 votes, and the Democratic Party only 857,000—346,000 less than in 1920. In the *farming areas* of the North-West, the La Follette Party became the second party: there it received not less than 33 per cent. of all the votes. It rallied the votes of the *masses of poor farmers*, and even of a section of the well-to-do farmers. The number of its votes is especially high in those states where the agrarian crisis is raging most acutely; in Minnesota it received 40 per cent., Montana 38 per cent., in North Dakota 38 per cent., and in South Dakota 40 per cent. of the total number of votes cast.

In the *industrial* States of the East and Middle West, the La Follette Party rallied part of the votes of the industrial working class, but, characteristically, only the votes of the *more radical* workers. In these states the La Follette Party received 10.2 per cent. of all the votes cast. In New

York State the La Follette Movement received 14 per cent. of the total votes, about 450,000; in Chicago 18 per cent.—332,000; and in Illinois 13.3 per cent.—333,000.

Only one section of the industrial workers followed the La Follette Party—the more radical, that section most affected by Socialist ideology, the most advanced in the class struggle. Broad sections of the industrial working class, and especially of the labour aristocracy, remained with the two old capitalist parties, and voted either the Republican or Democratic ticket. Lewis, the President of the powerful United Mine Workers' Union (500,000 members) was one of the principal agitators for Coolidge, also Hutcheson, the President of the Carpenters' Union (315,000 members), whereas Berry, President of the Typographical Union, concentrated all his efforts on behalf of the Democratic Party. The Trade Union movement of New York (700,000 members) deserted La Follette at the last moment, and declared in favour of Davis, the Democratic Party candidate.

The industrial working class of the United States split up into three great sections during these elections. Seven millions of the most proletarian section, not American citizens (foreign born, unskilled workers) are deprived of voting rights. The overwhelming majority of the enfranchised workers still followed the parties of Big Capital, but still a good million and a half tore themselves away from the capitalist parties and voted for La Follette. This million and a half of labour votes represent the membership of the radical trade unions, especially of the various unions of the needle trades (the majority of the members of which are Jewish) and that stratum of workers which formerly voted for the Socialist Party. But they represent a good many more and some figures show that very clearly. In New York the Socialist, Debs, received 203,000 votes in 1920, and La Follette 450,000 this year. In Pennsylvania, Debs secured 70,000, and La Follette 239,000. Illinois, Debs polled 74,000 and La Follette 336,000. *It is an extremely important sign of the radicalisation of the industrial working class that La Follette succeeded in snatching more proletarian votes from the old parties of Big Business, than any other Third Party in the political history of America.*

Our Party, the Workers' Party, has not yet succeeded in rallying large masses of workers in these elections. The Party has about 27,000 members, but the official count

ascribes only about 33,000 votes to it. The Party certainly obtained more votes, but some of these were simply stolen. The Central Executive Committee of the Party estimates the number of votes it received at 100,000.

The results of the La Follette movement can be estimated correctly only when we consider the difficult conditions which the Third Party had to contend with.

The La Follette Party had as yet *no definite organisation* for the elections; it was founded only a few months before the election at the convention of July 4, of the "Conference for Progressive Political Action." It had no *unified* party machine, and in many localities it was no Party at all. The entire official world concentrated its power against the La Follette movement. In many states it was not even recognised as a Party, and it was forbidden to run its candidates under its party name. Thus, for instance, the La Follette Party was compelled in California to conduct its election campaign under the guise of the Socialist Party. In many States it slipped into the shell of the existing Farmer-Labour Party. Wherever it was not a recognised party, it could not appoint responsible persons for the control of the election booths, and hence its votes were naturally stolen in great numbers. The votes stolen from the La Follette Party are estimated at hundreds of thousands, and even at a million.

The capitalists fought the La Follette movement with unprecedented fury. A propaganda unique even in America was conducted by means of thousands of speakers, millions and tens of millions of leaflets and pamphlets, the whole capitalist press, the radio and the kino. La Follette was represented as the enemy of bourgeois society, the destroyer of private property, and even as a Bolshevik. A confidential letter of the federated industries in Washington stated :

"In so far as the State's future progress and prosperity is concerned it would be a calamity if the La Follette crowd, with its Communistic principles, were to get control of either State or nation."

The Governor of California declared :

"Every Bolsheviki, every anarchist, every Socialist, will rally to the La Follette banner."

The conference of the powerful "American Bankers' Association" (the real congress of the United States), demanded :

"Aggressive policy against Socialism which has so far been spared the United States, and which is now threatening to flood the United States, as it has flooded Europe."

The Vice-President of the *Guaranty Trust Co.*, Sisson, declared : "Under these circumstances the bankers must concern themselves more with politics than heretofore."

The principal slogan of Big Business was :

"Coolidge or Chaos!"

And they identified La Follette with chaos. In vain the Socialist, Victor Berger, declared that "Far from being a revolutionary, La Follette is the man who stands between capitalism and chaos."

All the protestations of the Socialists who supported La Follette that they and La Follette were not revolutionaries were of no avail. Big Business branded La Follette as a Bolshevik, and proclaimed that the bourgeois social order was menaced. And it was able to mobilise millions of workers and petty bourgeois elements with this slogan against La Follette. The capitalists were genuinely frightened, and Elbert H. Gary, chairman of the United States Steel Corporation, the largest trust in the world, really expressed the deep feelings of the entire American capitalist class when he gave thanks for the election of Coolidge to "wise and merciful Providence, which guides the destiny of mankind."

The improvement in the economic situation, although it was not a vital one, also served the cause of finance capital and counteracted the La Follette movement. The rise in the prices of agricultural products eased the great crisis in American agriculture, even though only temporarily and superficially. The increased purchasing power of the farmer and the artificial large-scale manipulation of the big trusts, increased industrial production and reduced unemployment. Big Business openly threatened that if its candidate, Coolidge, were defeated, it would withdraw its capital from production, causing renewed depression and increased unemployment.

### The Social Character of the La Follette Movement.

The history of all third parties in the United States always repeats the same process: a great *economic crisis* arouses the masses of workers, farmers and petty bourgeoisie, and the party is born. Then *prosperity sets in*, the dissatisfaction of the masses subsides, and the party vanishes into thin air. This is the history of all third parties in America, with one exception, the Republican Party, which came into being as a third party. The explanation of this historical phenomena lies in the social character of all former third parties. They were always hodge-podge parties. They tried to represent the interests of several classes. They operated under a petty-bourgeois leadership, and their programme was always confused and backward, compared with the development of capitalism. Their stand was always a typically petty-bourgeois one—shilly-shally and undecided. In a word: the third parties were always the expression of the dissatisfaction and indignation of the petty bourgeois and toiling masses, but they were bound to come to grief through capitalism which was historically in the right. The fate of the republican Party constitutes the one exception. The explanation for this is that it was brought to life as the party of Big Capital and was compelled to conform its programme with the development of society on the basis of "free" wage labour as against the slave system of the large landowners of the South.

Will the La Follette Party also meet the fate of all these third parties in the United States?

Certainly! But not immediately. *The La Follette Party will first experience an upward trend. It will crystallise before it begins to disintegrate.*

The La Follette Party is a typical hodge-podge party. Its followers are drawn from three classes: industrial workers, farmers, and petty bourgeoisie. A great number of organisations and movement found an outlet in La Follette's Progressive Party. The principal component parts of this typical third party are as follows:

1. *The Conference for progressive political action.* This "conference" is a rather loose organisation, holds a convention annually and in the majority of the states and principal cities, has local organisations. Its convention of July

4, put up La Follette as a candidate. Out of the 650 delegates present, 300 represented the powerful railway brotherhood. Not less than 17 national organisations of the American Federation of Labour were represented. The Amalgamated Clothing Workers, independent of the American Federation of Labour, was also represented. Eight state federations and 46 city central bodies of the trade union movement sent their delegates to this convention; furthermore, many farmer organisations, especially representing the dissatisfied but not quite bankrupt farmers. In all representatives of not less than two million workers and farmers took part in the convention.

2. *The Socialist Party of America.* The Party of Debs and Hilquit is numerically an extremely weak organisation, but ideologically it still exercises a fairly strong influence. In the 1920 elections it received about a million votes. In these elections the Socialist Party did not put up a candidate of its own (this is the first time for years that Debs has not figured as a presidential candidate), but supported the candidature of La Follette.

3. *The Farmer-Labour Party Movement.* The war, the omnipotence of the Government, the great industrial crisis of 1920-1921, and the far-reaching crisis of American agriculture, have called forth a powerful movement of the real proletarian elements of the working class and the desperate bankrupt farmers for a Farmer-Labour Party. This genuine mass movement becomes more radical day by day, formed organisations everywhere, was in close contact with the Workers' (Communist) Party of America, and even accepted the leadership of Communists to a certain extent. This movement was still very young, its class-consciousness not yet fully mature, its organisations had not yet taken sufficient root, and thus it happened that when it was confronted at the elections with the dilemma whether to follow the Communists or to support La Follette's candidature, it went *en masse* over to La Follette. That was a severe blow for the whole movement, for an independent political party of the working class of America, and also for the leader of this movement, the Communist Party. The desertion of the Farmer-Labour Movement to the camp of La Follette isolated the Workers' Party. The only way this isolation might have been avoided was for the Workers' Party to bring this Farmer-Labour movement as an organised left-wing under its own leadership to a *critical support* of the La Follette movement, in order to split from the La Follette move-

ment at the first opportunity, when the pressure of the initial enthusiasm had begun to subside, when the illusions had already withered. As a matter of principle, these tactics were permissible. In practice, however, it would have been a mistake for, as the Executive of the Communist International correctly pointed out, the youthful, ideologically still undeveloped and inadequately trained Communist Party of America would not have been able to put up a sufficiently strong stand against the pressure of the La Follette Movement. In the election La Follette almost succeeded in absorbing this class movement of the workers and poor farmers, but this absorption is not permanent. In certain states (Washington, Montana, Colorado, South Dakota, Minnesota), the Farmer-Labour Parties voted for La Follette, whilst retaining their independence and without joining the La Follette *organisation*. In Minnesota criticism is already being raised against La Follette. In other places (North Dakota, Washington County, Pa.) the Farmer-Labour Parties did not desert to La Follette at all, but remained more or less the allies of the Communists.

4. *The American Federation of Labour.* The La Follette candidature was also officially endorsed by the Executive Committee of the American Trade Union League. The Gompers bureaucracy granted its support in spite of its own conviction and in spite of its own will, it actually wished to continue its old "non-partisan" policy, but was compelled to endorse La Follette formally under pressure of the masses in the trade unions. After the elections, however, the convention of the American Federation of Labour, declared its solemn return to the "non-partisan" policy pursued for the last two decades.

5. *The "La Follette for President" Committee.* The above-mentioned organisations are worker and farmer organisations, overwhelmingly under the leadership of labour elements. This committee, which put up La Follette as candidate with 200,000 signatures, was composed of La Follette's closest followers. In addition petty bourgeois and intellectuals, independent anti-trust merchants, small manufacturers, and provincial bankers, bankrupt as a result of the bankruptcy of the farmers, find their leader in La Follette.

6. *The Committee of 48.* This organisation represents no masses and consists of miniature mock generals, pacifist intellectuals of the type of the *Nation* and *New Republic*, and followers of the free professions.

7. A section of the German population of the United States also supported La Follette (the Steuben Society). The Germans have not yet forgotten the persecutions to which they were subjected during the world war by "hundred per cent." Americans, and are grateful to La Follette for opposing the war and the Peace of Versailles. La Follette was, however, only supported by the petty bourgeois elements among the Germans; the German bourgeoisie of America was among Coolidge's following in spite of war, persecution and Versailles.

*This analysis of the elements which supported La Follette clearly shows that the La Follette Party represents a movement of various classes. The overwhelming majority of its masses is composed of industrial workers and poor farmers, but large sections of city petty bourgeoisie and well-to-do farmers also rally round it. The leadership of the La Follette Party consists partly of professional politicians, who carried on radical politics within the old capitalist parties up to the last moment, representing the interests of the petty bourgeois sections, there, partly of anti-trust manufacturers and down-and-out bankers, and finally of trade union bureaucrats. No genuine representative of the industrial working class and of the poor farmer can be found among the leaders of the La Follette movement.*

In spite of its strongly proletarian colour, the La Follette Party is a typical hodge-podge party. As La Follette himself said: "It is recruited from all classes and from all parts of our country." The former Socialist and present trade union bureaucrat, Johnston, declared in his opening speech in the Conference for *Progressive Political Action*: "We may not know it, but we are all in the same boat—farmers, industrial workers, employees and professionals, as well as independent manufacturers, merchants and bankers. We are all in the same boat."

In accordance with its social composition, the *programme* of the La Follette Party is also a mixture of anti-trust antagonism, social policy and democratic demands.

### **Crystallisation and Disintegration of the La Follette Movement.**

*Neither in its social composition nor in its programme is the La Follette Party a class party of the industrial working class and poor farmers, not even in the limited sense*



in which the British Labour Party is. Nevertheless its appearance is of great revolutionary significance. The revolutionary importance of the La Follette movement consists in the fact that it *separates* the masses of the workers, farmers, and petty bourgeois, from the capitalists politically and that it organises politically the workers and farmers which until now belonged to the old parties of Big Business, into an *independent* organisation. Its counter-revolutionary effect is the result of its petty bourgeois character, in its half-way position, through which it holds back the workers from the genuine class policy of a real proletarian party.

*The La Follette movement is at present simultaneously undergoing a process of crystallisation and a process of disintegration.*

The effects of the serious economic depression in the United States still continue (unemployment). In spite of all optimistic capitalist prophecies, and despite of a temporary upward trend in production, there is a possibility that the U.S.A. will face in the near future a heavy economic crisis. The rise in the prices of agricultural products temporarily eased the agricultural crisis. But this improvement will not last long, and will not be able to check the political radicalisation of the farmers. *The economic basis for the crystallisation of the La Follette movement thus remains favourable.* When and how the La Follette movement will finally crystallise into a stable political party organisation cannot yet be determined. In any case, the fact remains, that the four "radical" senators, La Follette, Brockhart, Frazier and Ladd, were recently expelled from the Republican Party because they led the "Third Party Movement." La Follette himself solemnly declared that he has not yet relinquished the fight and that he has the intention to organise the Progressive Party. The American Federation of Labour, it is true, officially withdrew from the Third Party after the elections, but its support even in the elections was nothing but a paper resolution, enveloped in hypocritical phrases, with very few votes and hardly any money. The "Conference for Progressive Political Action" will meet in February and may be of decisive importance in determining the future of the La Follette Party.

The process of the splitting off of the workers, farmers, and petty bourgeois masses from the political parties of *Big Business* is unavoidable, and herein lies the possibility of the consolidation and the organisational development of the La Follette Party. But the increasing acuteness of the class.

struggle not only aggravates the antagonism between finance and petty bourgeois, but the antagonism between working class and petty bourgeois, between rich farmers, between proletarian elements and independent anti-trust manufacturers. This is, therefore, an ever-growing factor in the *disintegration* of the La Follette movement.

It is impossible to understand the La Follette movement, and with it, the whole political life of the United States, without a thorough comprehension of this *twofold nature* of the La Follette movement. The La Follette movement is an inevitable stage in the process of the revolutionisation of the American proletariat. We must reckon with its growth as well as with its decay.

The crystallisation and growth of the La Follette movement has temporarily isolated the Communist Party of America from the masses. The disintegration of the La Follette movement will create the favourable opportunity for the Workers' (Communist) Party of America. The chief political task of the American Communists now consists in breaking the proletarian and poor farmer elements, away from the La Follette movement and bringing them under the hegemony of the Communist Party. Our American comrades have definitely recognised this task, but they do not agree among themselves whether the separation of the proletarian elements is already now possible *directly* through the Communist Party, or whether it should be brought about through a Labour Party as a means of mobilising and organising the masses for a Communist mass Party.



# Comrade Sommerling

COMRADE Arnold Sommerling fell on December 5th in action against the white guard murderers in Esthonia. Comrade Sommerling was one of the most prominent workers in the Young Communist League of Esthonia, and an active worker in the Communist Party. He was 26 years old. He came of a family of petty artisans. After finishing the elementary school, he attended a commercial academy. In 1916, Comrade Sommerling was called to military service.

In May, 1920, he joined the semi-legal Union of Revolutionary Youth. From June, 1920 to January, 1921, he was the secretary of the Docker's Union in the port of Reval. Comrade Sommerling was one of the founders of the Esthonian League of Proletarian Youth, which at its first meeting on December 5th, 1920, joined the Y.C.I. At the same meeting he was elected to the Executive of the League, of which he was chairman until its dissolution by the authorities.

On April 15th, 1921, the League of Proletarian Youth was suppressed by the police, and the majority of the members of the Executive were arrested. Some of them, including Comrade Sommerling, managed to escape and live in concealment.

From his underground concealment he started to work on the creation of an illegal Y.C.L. Comrade Sommerling did not stay long in concealment, and on May 9th, 1921 he was arrested.

Comrade Sommerling figured among the principal defendants in the "115" trial in April, 1922, and was sentenced to 10 years penal servitude.

In the autumn of 1922, he was deported to U.S.S.R. in exchange for a white guard prisoner in Soviet Russia.

During the last revolt at Reval he was in the front ranks of the revolutionary workers fighting behind the barricades.

It had "become known" to the police that some of the rebels were in hiding in the vicinity of Reval. *An expedition in search of three revolutionaries was organised, composed of nearly a whole regiment of police armed with machine guns, hand grenades and rifles.*

Our brave comrades *resisted for nine hours, from 10 p.m. to 7 a.m.*

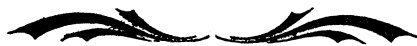
At last the police broke into the premises, where they found the *three dead bodies* of the revolutionaries, who had fought to their last breath. The bourgeoisie rejoiced. It had succeeded in killing the intrepid revolutionary Sommerling and his mates. The murderers will be rewarded. Their names will be engraved in letters of gold upon the marble tablets in the War Ministry of capitalist-ridden Esthonia.

But the names of the revolutionaries Sommerling and others will remain for ever engraved in the memory of the working class of Esthonia. These names were inscribed *by the warm blood of the fallen heroes and will serve as an example to every revolutionary worker in Esthonia.*

Damnation to the murderers!

Glory to the fallen heroes of the proletarian revolution!

*The revolt of the Esthonian working class has been crushed, but the cause of the working class still lives!*



# Jan Tomp

ON the night of the 14th to the 15th of November, the Communist Jan Tomp, was shot in Esthonia for "contempt" of the bourgeois Court. Comrade Tomp was 29 years old. After finishing the elementary school, he worked as an agricultural labourer. Some time afterwards he went to the city where he started as a labourer in the building trade. His revolutionary career began with the formation of an "independent" Esthonia. As chairman of the county committee of the Agriculture and Forest Labourers' Union, he at once became prominent as a spokesman of consistent and clear-cut class consciousness. In 1920, he was nominated by the trade unions at Fellin as their candidate for the County Council and for the *National Assembly*.

Soon after his election, Comrade Tomp was arrested. He was kept in prison until the end of 1922. From prison he went straight to Parliament, full of vigour, burning with zeal to fight for the workers' cause. He became entirely absorbed in his work. Those were the days when nearly all the active workers had been rendered *hors de combat*: some had been imprisoned, others had been driven underground. Tomp took the lead of the entire work, and became the virtual head of the entire labour movement in Esthonia.

New proceedings were instituted against him by the "democratic" authorities on the charge of his belonging to the Communist Party, of seditious propaganda and so on. In January of this year he was again arrested together with other members of the National Assembly, and on the second day after his arrest he was tried on the old charge and sentenced to 8 years penal servitude. On the "149" trial, Comrade Tomp figured again as the principal defendant. On being asked by the judge whether he pleaded guilty, Tomp replied: "Before the bar of bourgeois scoundrels I do not plead guilty." For these words Tomp was shot.

Comrade Tomp was a great organiser and he commanded tremendous influence among the workers. His sterling qualities brought him to the forefront of the movement at an amazingly rapid pace. He was the beloved and acknowledged leader of the working class in Esthonia.

The bourgeois kills the revolutionary leaders of the workers. But the cause of revolution still lives.

# How and Why They Lie About the Comintern

**T**HE spectre of the Comintern is stalking through the bourgeois and Social-Democratic press. And from Baldwin to Wells, from Benes to Branting and the columns of the Berlin *Vorwaerts*, there is the usual outburst of malice, calumny and lies. The holy crusade against the almighty Comintern! Some of the tales fabricated in the campaign would be fitting themes for a talented fantastic novel. Thus, for instance, the official British radio disseminated throughout the world the following ghastly news :

“Leaflet, Dec. 7th (by British Radio). The Communist International, whose aim was to revolutionise the whole world, has suddenly changed its strategy.

“In connection with the abortive attempt at kindling a revolutionary conflagration in Germany, in the autumn of last year, the chairman of the Executive Committee of the Comintern, Zinoviev, has undertaken an offensive against Britain in China, and redoubled the intensity of the anti-British propaganda carried on by him during the last five years in India, Egypt and Mesopotamia.

“A week ago an urgent telegram was dispatched by Zinoviev to Constantinople and other propagandist centres in the East, which ordered the best propagandists to weight the anchor and to sail immediately for France and the French colonies, in order to strike terror into the heart of the French Government and compel it to grant a loan to the Soviet Government.

“To-day Zinoviev dispatches an urgent telegram to Constantinople and other centres, ordering all the remaining agitators stationed in Central Asia and in the Far East, to betake themselves immediately to Austria, Croatia, and Yugo-Slavia, where revolution is imminent, and to unfold vigorous activity in those countries.

“The Foreign Section of G.P.U., which controls the activities of Comintern, Narkomindel, Narkomvnesh-torg and other institutions working abroad, has dispatched similar instructions.

“The Comintern has informed all its sections that the attempted assassination of Seipel, the railwaymen’s strike in Austria and the growing influence of Communists in the municipal council of Vienna had paved the way for revolution in Austria, and the best Bolshevik diplomat, Joffe, was appointed ambassador to Austria for the express purpose of taking direct lead of the revolutionary activities. The principal object in establishing a soviet regime in Austria is to remove thither the Comintern, and thus create more favourable geographical conditions for its further work.

“The Comintern telegram concludes with the hope of imminent revolution in Central Europe, and of the establishment of soviet rule this very winter.”

We all know the energy of Comrade Zinoviev, who is so over-burdened with work on behalf of the country and the Party. But even we did not suspect him of such feverish activity for the cause of world revolution. With one flourish of the hand, whole armies of Communist agitators are transplanted from Egypt to France, a revolt is kindled at Reval, a revolutionary movement is organised in the Balkan countries, and in the colonies, and all this—over the telegraph wires!

It is not difficult to guess why the chairman of the Executive Committee of the Communist International is just now developing such feverish activity. For this he has very weighty reasons, which he is anxious to conceal from the outside world. But in vain. The central organ of the Danish democratic party—*Sozialdemokraten*—thanks to its splendid and absolutely reliable sources of information, has unearthed the whole mystery. It transpires that the Soviet Government had given the Comintern to understand that the world revolution must break out on March 1st, 1925 A.D. (not later), or else the Comintern would be deprived of all subsidies on the part of the Soviet Government.

The world situation is described somewhat as follows: the expenses of the Communist agitators transplanted from Egypt to France (British Radio information) to organise an armed revolution, the transfer of 10,000,000 gold marks to Reval (Scandinavian press information), and a series of similar urgent expenditures, had caused a considerable drain on the cash resources of the Third International. It is for

this reason that Zinoviev is jumping out of his skin, in disregard of the friendly counsels of Tchicherine (c.f. *Vossische Zeitung*), at all costs to force the outbreak of the world revolution by March 1st. Add to this that the Red Army, led by Trotsky, who has the backing of Tchicherine and Krassin, is in open revolt against the G.C. of the R.C.P. (German Radio information), and that imposing demonstrations were held in the red capital, at which the TCHFKKA troops fired on the demonstrators (Havas agency dispatch) and it becomes clear why Zinoviev is anxious to accelerate the explosion of the world revolution before March 1st, 1925.

For the achievement of this aim, Comrade Zinoviev employs the following methods—(1) confiscation of Comrade Trotsky's book (leading article in *Vorwaerts*); (2) arrest and shooting of Comrade Trotsky (Rumanian press information; (3) removal of Comrade Trotsky from all posts held by him, and his banishment to the Caucasus. In this connection a startling split is imminent in the R.C.P., peasant riots break out here and there, which are suppressed in a sea of blood, and the surviving Mensheviks and S.R.'s are not banished into the deserts of Turkestan, but are martyred to death by the Bolshevik torturers on the way thither, before reaching their destination.

All this, however, does not satisfy the cravings of the Communist International. It dispatches thousands of agitators into all the colonies in the diplomatic mails (c.f. statement of Benes) and establishes its branch at Paris under the leadership of Krassin and under the title of "Political delegation of the Soviet Union" (speech by Millerand); it gains by bribery the support of Mr. Purcell, the chairman of the Amsterdam International, it adulterates his speech, it sells half of Russia to the Harriman Trust, and all this for the sole purpose of preparing the outbreak of the world revolution by March 1st, 1925.



# Communists' Hunger Strike in Egypt

**A** NUMBER of strikes took place at various shops and factories in the district and city of Alexandria in February-March, 1924, in which the strikers adopted a special method to compel the employers to give in their demands: having quit work, they did not quit the factory premises, and did not admit either blacklegs or representatives of the administration, with whom they would negotiate only through their leader, Comrade Antoine Maroune, a member of the C.C. of the Egyptian Communist Party, who enjoys great popularity among the workers.

The red spectre of Communism had scared the government just formed by Zaghlul Pasha, who had until recently been in exile. It decided to adopt severe measures against the Communists, and to show that the Nationalists were not less able to suppress the workers' discontent than the previous rulers who had been put in office by Great Britain.

By means of "fatherly" persuasion, backed by detachments of troops and police, the government liquidated the seizure of shops and factories, and started penalising the ringleaders, the Communists; all the members of the C.C. of the Egyptian Communist Party and of the headquarters of the General Confederation of Labour were arrested, the premises of the Party were put under seal, although they had hitherto worked quite openly, hundreds of homes of Communists and suspected sympathisers were raided, many foreigners identified with the labour movement were banished from Egypt, and so on.

The arrested Communists were remanded on the charge of undermining the foundations of the social-economic and political order in Egypt, and of attempting to violate the principle of private property. They were tried under the harsh laws passed by the previous government in September of last year, on the eve of the return of Zaghlul Pasha from his exile, laws which were chiefly aimed at his supporters.

The trial of our comrades took place early in October. The Government was so afraid of the spread of Communist contamination, that it even forbade the press to publish the speeches made at the trial, not only by the defendants and

their counsel, but also by the Crown prosecutor. The court passed the verdict that was ordered by the Government : four members of the C.C. of the Egyptian Communist Party, Comrades Antione Maroune, Hosni Al-Orabi, Safoin Abdul El-Fat, and Shahit Ibrahim, were sentenced to three years imprisonment and hard labour, and five other comrades to six months imprisonment.

The condemned members of the C.C. of the Egyptian Communist Party were put in the terrible Hadra prison at Alexandria and subjected to a regime usually applied to criminal prisoners. By means of this humiliation, the government hoped to curb the will-power of our comrades, and to compel them to abandon their convictions.

On the 5th of October, our imprisoned comrades declared a hunger-strike, demanding that they be treated as political prisoners, and not as thieves and robbers. But the administration had for three weeks remained deaf to their demands and to the numerous pleas made by their relatives. Equally unsuccessful were the pleas made both to Zaghlul Pasha, "father of the country," and to King Fuad himself. The administration justified its conduct on the plea that it had to act according to law, and the Egyptian law provided no particular regime for political prisoners.

Our comrades were reduced to a state of extreme emaciation, but they bore courageously all the pangs of hunger. At last, the government yielded : *after 23 days* of the hunger strike our comrades were transferred to another prison and permitted to wear their own clothes, read books and to have interviews with their relatives once a fortnight.

Honour and glory to the valiant fighters for Communism in Egypt. Ignominy and shame on their torturers.

The nationalists who persecuted the Communists did not suspect that very soon there was to be a change of government in Egypt, under the pressure of British Imperialism, which would throw into jail some of the prominent members of their own Party and compel them to ponder at their leisure over the difference between common criminals and political.

NEFNIL AHMED.

# Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government in the Countryside

## I.

**F**ROM the time of the sensational murder of Comrade Malinovsky in the village of Dimovka, assassinations of peasant correspondents to our newspapers have become extremely frequent. The number of peasant correspondents in Russia is increasing with great rapidity and has already exceeded the number of workers' correspondents. To-day they number not less than 60,000. This is quite an army. In our country the peasant correspondents are the pioneers of Socialist culture in the village. The countryside is still steeped in gloom; more than half of the rural population is still illiterate. The peasant correspondents conduct a campaign of exposure of arbitrary conduct on the part of officials, bribery, illicit distilling of spirits and against the growing arrogance of the kulak (village shark). This in itself is an indication of the number of loyal and devoted champions of the Soviet Government that exist to-day throughout the countryside. A further proof of this is the extremely powerful attraction which the Young Communist League has for the rural youth, the rapid growth of the number of peasant women delegates and the undoubted swing towards the Soviet Government on the part of the rural intelligentsia.

The frequent attacks upon peasant correspondents reveal the other side of the picture, they signalise the kulak offensive. Previously, in the period of the civil war, the kulaks lay low, but now they are becoming bolder and are beginning to fortify the positions they have won. The news from the village indicates the increasing activity of the kulak element. This was confirmed at the Conference of Secretaries of Village Party Nuclei which took place at the end of October. The plenum of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party held recently, also devoted serious attention to the question of work in the country in the present-day complex conditions prevailing in the country and outlined the new tasks, or more correctly new methods applicable to the present conditions, of carrying out the old fundamental tasks of the October Revolution, namely to con-

solidate the alliance of the proletariat and the peasantry under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The special feature of the present *kulak offensive* is that it is taking place *at the time of and as a result of the economic and cultural improvements in the villages.*

The following table shows how in the period between 1920-1922, the area under cultivation diminished and how after the famine year it rapidly began to increase.

*Area under Cultivation.*

Year	Area under cultivation in 1,000 dessiatins			per cent. of 1916
1916 ... ..	...	...	82.3	100
1920 ... ..	...	...	63.4	78
1921 ... ..	...	...	61.9	75
1922 ... ..	...	...	51.6	62
1923 ... ..	...	...	59.9	72

We see the sudden increase in the area under cultivation that took place in 1923. In 1924, the increase in the area under cultivation continued and attained 80 per cent. of the pre-war area. At the same time a process of intensification of cultivation takes place. The old routine three-field system which the peasantry obstinately retained right up to the revolution is beginning to be abandoned. According to, far from complete returns in 1923 alone, more than 2,000,000 dessiatins of land were converted from the three-field system of cultivation to the system of rotation of crops. The well-known agricultural expert, Zubrilin, says that if we had a sufficient quantity of clover seed we could in the course of the next few years convert one-fourth of the Russian countryside to the rotation of crop system. Parallel with the economic improvement in the villages there is also an improvement in the nutrition of the present population as is evidenced from the following table.

*Daily Quantity of Calories by each Adult according to Category of Peasant Population.*

Year	Landless	Little land	Medium	Much land
1921/1922 ...	2,598	2,925	3,110	3,218
1922/1923 ...	3,474	3,711	3,897	4,102
1923/1924 ...	3,725	3,891	4,069	4,258

The proportion of grain products consumed as compared with the rest of the family budget of pre-war times, according to the returns of 14 gubernias in which investigations were made as follows:—

1919/20	...	...	...	96 per cent.
1920/21	...	...	...	69 „
1921/22	...	...	...	52 „
1922/23	...	...	...	98 „
1923/24	...	...	...	105 „

Consequently, the nutrition of the peasantry is even now better than in pre-war times. The cultural requirements of the peasantry are increasing more rapidly still. On the 1st of November, 1923, the circulation of peasant newspapers amounted to 72,320; on the 1st of November, 1924, it had reached 1,317,000. *Krestanskaya Gazette* (The Peasants' newspaper), published in Moscow, in January, 1924, had a circulation of 60,000; in November, the circulation had increased to 575,000. These figures eloquently testify to the enormous benefits which the October Revolution has already brought to the peasantry.

We have considered and now consider that the raising of the cultural level of the villages is one of the postulates of our progress towards Socialism. In one of his last works "On Co-operation" Comrade Lenin wrote:

"It is impossible to secure complete co-operation without a cultural revolution. . . Thus cultural revolution would be sufficient now to convert our country into a completely Socialist country, but to bring about this cultural revolution is for us a task of incredible difficulty from the standpoint of culture (because we are illiterate) and from the material standpoint (because in order to be educated we must reach a certain stage of development of the material means of production, we must have a definite material basis)."

The rapid successes we are achieving on the economic and cultural fronts, successes which are evident not only to Russian Communists, but also to the proletariat of the whole world, in so far as they take the trouble to master the facts, is one of the greatest justifications of the October Revolution. Proof of this can be seen in the rapid change in the attitude of the British Trade Union Delegation towards the October Revolution when they saw with their own eyes and were convinced that the Russian proletariat was capable not only of revolutionary destruction, but also of the work of

construction. Nevertheless the economic and cultural revival of the country under the unfavourable conditions of NEP as our Party foresaw, brings with it fresh difficulties.

The economic improvement of the villages *in the first period* of the dictatorship of the proletariat, filled as it is with the survivals of capitalism, is not and cannot be even, particularly in an agrarian petty bourgeois country in which a Socialist and bourgeois democratic revolution had simultaneously taken place. *At first*, this is inevitably accompanied by the process of class differentiation becoming more intense in the country. The process of differentiation taking place at the present time differs essentially from the process of differentiation which took place prior to the revolution. Prior to the revolution and particularly during the war, it took the form of the Kulak elements concentrating in their hands an increasing quantity of the land, freehold and leasehold, grouping at one end of the village, while at the other end, the peasants were becoming proletarianised, some of them even throwing up their allotments of land and going into the town. In our days, the class differentiation in the villages does not and cannot take the form of increasing landownership at one end of the scale, and abandoning the land on the other. The October Revolution brought about a considerable movement for the *equal division of the land*. Counting large private estates alone, the peasants obtained 60,000,000 dessiatines of land which were divided equally among them, and since the beginning of the October Revolution, right up to the present day, there has been a continuous process of equalising landholdings among the peasantry, partly by means of our agrarian legislation which permits of the occupation of land only by those who cultivate it, and partly also as a result of the division of holdings among individual members of the family as a consequence of the break up of the patriarchal family.\*

The following figures indicate the categories of peasantry that existed in 1917/20.

*Percentage of Farms to the whole Number in  
22 Gubernias in the R.S.F.S.R.*

Year	No land	2 dess.	Owning up to			
			2-4	4-10	10-16	over 16
1917	10.6	30.4	30.1	25.2	3.0	0.7
1920	4.7	47.9	31.6	15.3	0.5	—

\* In pre-war times, 1911/1914, the number of peasant houses that were divided up, represented 1.7 per cent; in the period of the war, 1914/16, this figure diminished to 0.3 per cent. In the period of the war Communism, 1917/20, there was a great and sudden increase to 3.3 per cent., in 1920/23 the figure dropped to 2.3 per cent., which, however, is still higher than that of the pre-war period.

From this table it is clear that during the three years of the revolution, the two extremes, those having no land and those having a considerable amount of land, have diminished considerably. Simultaneously with the reduction in the number of the landless peasants in the R.S.F.S.R., there was also a reduction in the percentage of farms employing hired labour as the following table will show :

Year				Percentage of farms employing hired labour	Percentage of landless peasants
1917	...	...	...	2.3	15.9
1920	...	...	...	1.2	8.1
1922	...	...	...	1.2	6.7

This process of equalisation developed further. In 1922, the farms having up to 1 dessiatine of ploughed land per member of family, represented 51.8 per cent. of those having more than 1 dessiatine per capital—48.2 per cent. In 1923, the first group had increased to 54.6 per cent., and the second was reduced to 45.4 per cent. According to the data of 48 gubernias, in 1923, the percentage of landless peasants declined from 6.7 per cent. to 3.2 per cent.

The class differentiation in the countryside at the present time takes the form not of differentiation in landownership, but in the differentiation in farm property and agricultural knowledge. The war and the famine caused a considerable reduction in the number of cattle in Russia, particularly in working cattle, and this reduction was unequal in the various farms. The livestock in Russia is now being increased, but the revival also is equal. The distribution of working cattle in 40 gubernias in 1922/23 was as follows :

Category				1922	Percentage of farms 1923
Without working cattle	...	...	...	31.1	30.6
Possessing					
1 horse	...	...	...	50.0	54.6
2 horses	...	...	...	9.0	11.0

We thus see that there was an enormous number of farms having no horses or only one horse. At the same time there are farms in the country having three and four horses. In the Ukraine, the situation is still worse, there, according to statistics for 1923, on the average the peasants having no horses at all represent 50 per cent. and those having only one horse, 35 per cent. This creates conditions favourable for the rise of a new type of kulak *who acquires*

*wealth by hiring out livestock and farming instruments to the poor peasants.* In this way this class of peasant is able to accumulate capital which is facilitated by the fact that we have stabilised our currency. These conditions give rise to the following, viz. : in the sugar manufacturing districts of the Ukraine, 40 per cent. of the peasant farmers supply 75 per cent. of the sugar-beets for the sugar refineries; in the Steppes district, 40 per cent. of the peasantry own 94 per cent. of the surplus stocks of grain.

The Soviet Government cannot combat this new type of village exploiter who is arising as a consequence of the unequal distribution of livestock and farming implements, and of the uneven development of agricultural improvement by means of direct or indirect expropriation and confiscation for this would result in the destruction of the productive forces in the country and the commercial character of peasant farming; it would once again signify the degradation of agriculture to the level of mere production for immediate consumption. To apply such methods of combating this new type of kulak would be fatal for us, for the development of commerce is an essential premise for the establishment of connection between peasant farming and nationalised large industries by means of the exchange of commodities, for the development of co-operation and for the advancement of the countryside towards Socialism through co-operation. It was not without reason that Lenin, even in the period of war Communism in 1919, when speaking at the Eighth Congress of the Russian Communist Party, said: "With regard to the landlord and capitalist, our task consists in complete expropriation. But we will not permit any violence to be committed against the middle grade peasantry. Even with the rich peasants we will not be as severe as we are with the bourgeoisie. We do not say absolute expropriation of the rich peasant and kulak. That distinction is made in our programme, we say: the suppression of the resistance of the rich peasants, the suppression of his counter-revolutionary inclination, but that does not signify complete expropriation."

How can the Soviet Government *economically* combat the village exploiters? Only by one method. In every way to bring the benefits of agricultural progress to the middle grade and poor peasants to help them with agricultural credit, encourage co-operation among them, facilitate the development among them of collective forms of cultivation, to assist them to organise to resist the kulaks, etc. But this path, of course, is a very long one.



The rising kulak class of the new type understands this perfectly well, and, therefore, strives now, on the one hand to make the best of the opportunity to make profits, and on the other hand, to hamper the development of the farms of the poor peasants. In *taking advantage of the present situation*, this transitional but favourable situation for strengthening his position, the kulak is now energetically striving to seize political power in the village. During the period of civil war, he was scared and "laid low." Now, under NEP, he has emerged "from underground" and has become quite bold. Sometimes he succeeds in getting himself elected as chairman of the Rural Soviet or of the County Soviet, donning for this purpose the mantle of Party membership and managing to steal into the Communist Party. More frequently he secures the election of his placemen from among middle grade and even poor peasants who are economically dependent upon him. When this fails, he strives to corrupt and disintegrate the village authorities by bribes.

But the "enlightened" kulak of the new type strives for much wider aims which extend beyond the limits of his village. He knows that the peasantry in the mass has become more exacting. At the beginning of the October Revolution, the peasantry accepted the lead of the Bolsheviks because through them it obtained land and peace. In the period of the civil war, the masses of the peasantry consented to make enormous sacrifices in order to beat off the attacks of Denikin, Koltchak, Wrangel, and the Polish squires from the land they had gained. Now, however, when the position of the Soviet Republic has become consolidated when no direct danger threatens it from anywhere, the masses of the peasantry desire the Soviet Government to devote profound attention to its growing economic and cultural needs. The kulak sees this perfectly clearly and strives to take advantage of this temper of the masses of the peasantry in order to hound them against the Soviet Government and against the proletariat.

The kulak strives to take advantage of the favourable situation thus created to become master in the grain market, and to render it difficult for the Soviet Government to carry out manœuvres in this sphere necessary for the general economic development of the country of large scale industry in particular. Last year we experienced the crisis known as the "scissors" expressed in the extremely high prices of the products of industry, and the extremely low price of corn, crisis which deprived the peasantry of the possibility of purchasing manufactures. Thanks to the successful manœuvring of the Soviet Government, this crisis was soon

overcome, thus on the first of October, 1923, wholesale prices of agricultural products stood in relation to the wholesale prices of manufactures as 1 to 3.2 according to the index of the State Planning Commission; on the 1st of February, the relation was as 1 to 1.59. However, the Soviet Government could not permit the continuation of the increase in the price of grain for that would cause an excessive increase in money wages and thus defeat the currency reform. Consequently maximum corn prices were fixed, but which, nevertheless, were sufficiently high for the peasantry, and 100 per cent. higher than the prices prevailing the previous year. The kulaks, however, were not satisfied, taking advantage of the fact that the Soviet Government was purchasing large quantities of seed to supply the peasantry in the districts affected by the bad harvest, and that the Soviet Government this year did not hurry in the collection of the agricultural taxes, which, it should be added, are not excessively high this year, and also of the fact that owing to the intensification of agriculture, the wealthy peasant can now pay his taxes not only by selling corn, but also by the sale of auxiliary crops, they withheld their grain and endeavoured by every means to force up the price. This effort failed, but the attempt was obvious.

The kulaks strove in every way to drive a wedge between the mass of the peasantry and the proletariat. They endeavoured to make the peasants believe that the proletariat are "lazy" and work only eight hours, while the muzhik has to work from sunrise to sunset; that the workers enjoy all sorts of privileges, sanatoria, rest homes, etc.

When the agricultural exhibition was held in Moscow, and was visited by peasants from all parts of Russia, the workers showed these peasants under what insanitary conditions they work their eight hours, and how much more harmful to health these conditions were, than the conditions under which the peasants worked in the field, and the visiting peasants were compelled to admit that this was so. The kulaks, of course, keep silent about this aspect of the question. They also keep silent about the fact that the Soviet Government also opens for the peasant masses economic paths to participation in the dictatorship. Does not the Soviet Government exert all its efforts towards removing the distinction between peasant and proletarian by means of the mass development of co-operation and collective farming, and thus convert the peasant into as reliable an advocate of Socialism as the city worker is to-day? So far the peasantry have made relatively little progress in this direction; an internal struggle is going on among them. The proletariat

jealously guards its dictatorship, but it is employing it mainly for the purpose of guarding the masses of the peasantry against the economic and intellectual aggression of the kulaks. For the peasantry this policy is the only means of salvation, for the kulak, however, it is death. It is not astonishing, therefore, that this policy is not to the liking of the kulak.

The fact that the mass of the peasantry is becoming more exacting, of which the kulak is trying to take advantage, in itself should not be a cause of alarm. On the contrary, we can welcome it as a symptom of the passing of the ignorance and degradation of the peasantry, of the disappearance of the mental heritage of feudal times, which is incompatible with the onward march of the peasantry towards Socialism. The direction in which this increasing demand for greater things on the part of the poor peasantry and the peasant youth is carrying them in the environment of our Soviet Republic, can be seen from the recent evidence of the influx of peasants into the Young Communist League, and into the Russian Communist Party. If we had placed no limitations to this, the peasantry very soon would have flooded our Party. Although the Party, having placed obstacles in the way of the entry of peasants into the Party during the Lenin enrolment, has now again opened wide its doors to the peasants. It is clear, however, that we must prevent the Party from being flooded by the peasantry in order to prevent the foundations of the dictatorship of the proletariat from being shaken. However, we can find other means to give scope to the initiative of the peasantry, under present day conditions, when the process of the development of collective farming among the middle and poor peasantry, has not yet made sufficient progress. For this it is necessary that our Party become closely and organically linked up with the non-Party middle and poor peasant masses. So far we *have not achieved this* owing to the limited number and poor quality of our party nuclei in the villages. As will be seen from the following table the number of our nuclei in the villages and their membership, is not sufficiently large, although it is continuously increasing.

<i>Russian Communist Party in the Village.</i>					
Date	Number of Village Nuclei			Membership	
1919	...	...	...	1,774	22,500
1920	...	...	...	4,335	103,200
1922	...	...	...	14,100	119,600
1923	...	...	...	13,941	132,600
1924	...	...	...	13,500	173,500

The membership of the Young Communist League in the rural districts is larger than the membership of the Party, but it is not sufficiently large in comparison with the enormous mass of peasant youth. In 1924, we had 18,000 Young Communist League nuclei in rural districts with a membership of 280,000, also we had 3,000 detachments of pioneers (Communist Boy Scouts).

But, numbers are not so important as quality, and with regard to the improvement of the quality of the work in the rural districts, although much has been done, nevertheless much still remains to be done. In our village Party nuclei one still meets with survivals of the period of war Communism. Our comrades in the country are still too much inclined to command, to give orders, still strive too much to become the village "boss." Survivals of war Communism find their expression in the fact that our village nuclei in conducting their educational work—for example, in anti-religious propaganda—take no account of the mental and educational level of the peasantry (in this connection considerable improvements have been made recently).

At the present moment new and more controversial problems are confronting our rural nuclei; they must exercise far more powerful influence on the organisational economic processes which are now taking place in our countryside, and for this purpose our rural nuclei are not sufficiently trained. They still have too few local peasants well acquainted with the conditions of peasant farming among their members and sympathisers. As far back as 1919, Comrade Lenin warned our Party against bureaucratic methods of work among the peasantry. He said: "Do not dare to 'boss.' We must know not only how to teach the peasant, but to learn from him." Our Party for reasons that are understood has not sufficiently carried out this piece of advice. Until recently our Party had to fight on too many fronts. In addition to the survivals of war Communism, our rural nuclei suffer from other defects arising from the present "NEP" environment. Our comrades in the villages foundering in the petty bourgeois tide, insufficiently connected with the Party, find it far more difficult to resist the corrupting influence of NEP than do our comrades in the towns.

## II.

These are the difficulties that confront us in the country. What are the prospects of overcoming these difficulties? What are the prospects of freeing the middle and poor

peasant elements of the village from the influence of the rising kulak and of directing them along the path of Soviet Socialist construction?

Here, of course, economic factors are of decisive importance. Our influence upon the masses of the peasantry will increase in proportion as we are able to supply the villages and country generally with a sufficiency of commodities at low prices, i.e., in proportion as we are able to develop our State industry and increase the productivity of our labour. In this connection we may look boldly ahead. Last year, our position in the villages was insecure as a consequence of the fact that the high prices of our manufactures made them inaccessible to the peasantry, and for that reason we were unable to dispose of them. During the past year, however, the development of the productive forces of the country has enabled us to lower the prices of manufactures to such an extent that we are suffering now not from over-production, but on the contrary from the fact that we cannot supply the market sufficiently rapidly. The energetic campaign now being conducted by our Party to increase the productivity of labour, is evidence that in the future we shall achieve still further successes in the direction of cheapening commodities. Our Party is also energetically and successfully dealing with this situation of under-production and lack of commodities. In June, 1923, the gross output of our industries was valued at 102,000,000 roubles; last year it was valued at 125,000,000 roubles, an increase of 24 per cent.; in July, 1923, the output was valued at 83,000,000 roubles, the output for last July was valued at 122,500,000 roubles, an increase of 47 per cent.; in August, 1923, the output was valued at 95,000,000, the output of last August was valued at 133,000,000 an increase of 40 per cent.; the output for September, 1923, was valued at 110,000,000 roubles, that for the last September, at 155,000,000 roubles, an increase of 41 per cent. In September, 1924, the trade of the Moscow Goods Exchange increased by 75 per cent. as compared with August, and by 102 per cent. as compared with September, 1923. A similar rate of development of industry is anticipated in the future.

In his report to the Moscow Soviet, Comrade Kamenev stated: "What do we propose to do in the ensuing year, shrink or expand? I will say frankly, expand as fast as we can in all branches of industry. If in the textile industry in 1924 we turned out 890,000,000 metres of goods, we now propose to turn out 1,300,000,000 metres, i.e., we pro-

pose an increase of 46 per cent. in the woollen industry, we propose an increase of 23 per cent. an increase we have never had up till now. We are giving a fresh impetus to our textile industry in order to employ our cotton industry to its full capacity. We will not only use up the excellent cotton harvest in our own Soviet Union, but we shall purchase cotton from America to the value of 100,000,000 gold roubles." Stated in absolute figures the extent of our industry is not very large yet, but the rate of development is very rapid and what is more, is continuous.

The second means of influencing the peasant masses is credit at a low rate. At the present time we have at our disposal for the purposes of granting credits to agriculture 90,000,000 roubles. In granting credits, preference is given to poor peasants and especially to organised poor peasants. Later on we may expect increased participation of the well-to-do peasantry in agricultural credit. In Czarist times, in 1915, the private deposits in credit co-operatives were eight times greater than State deposits. At the present time exactly the opposite is the case.

The organisation of rapid assistance to the peasantry who are affected by the failure of the harvest, in the form of distribution of seed grain will have and already has had enormous effects. In his report of the work of the commission combating the effects of the bad harvest, Comrade Rykov said: "In June and July, the position in the bad harvest districts may be said to have been pannicky. The political situation at that time can be judged from the fact that the priests and the kulaks began to play an important part in the countryside effected by the bad harvest and boldly conducted propaganda to the effect that the Bolsheviks and the Soviet Government will render no aid and that the peasantry was doomed. This agitation was very successful, and the clergy began to play an important role. In a number of districts, the sectarian movement became greatly intensified. . . The supply of seeds to the peasants brought about a sudden change in their move. . . The influence of the kulaks was finally broken when the loans were received, and the supporters of the Soviet Government and the poor peasants triumphed . . . As a result of the aid rendered by these seed loans, the area of winter crops sown in the districts affected, increased from 10 per cent. to 15 per cent. . . ." How it is to be explained that the peasantry confronted by a whole year of privation and hunger sowed the seed they had obtained on loan and increased the area and the cultivations.

In my opinion this can be explained by the following two principal reasons: The first, the sudden change in the temper of the peasantry which veered round towards the Soviet Government, which created the firm conviction among the peasants that the Bolsheviks would help them in the future also. And secondly, the firm conviction of the peasantry that there will be a good harvest this year.

The third method of influencing the masses of the peasantry is the re-distribution of land. This is one of the burning questions in the country, and furthermore, the poorer solution of this question, depends on the possibility of putting peasant agriculture on a collective basis. At first, immediately after the introduction of the New Economic Policy, a very strong tendency was observed, particularly on the part of the individualist kulaks to take up farmsteads\* outside of the village, but this tendency has gradually declined. In 1922, in the R.S.F.S.R., 1,119,330 dessiatines of land were taken up as independent farmsteads; in 1923, the area taken up was 846,582 dessiatines; in 1924, the area was 776,264 dessiatines. At the present time the allocation of land for independent farmsteads is prohibited, and land dropping out of the jurisdiction of a rural commune is allocated only for farm settlements comprising a number of farms. In this connection, the Commissariat for Agriculture gives strict instructions to the effect that when a group of kulaks desire to form a farm settlement of this character, permission shall not be given until they, at their own expense, take with them a definite number of poor peasants in order to place the kulak in the minority. The distribution of land for farm settlements is conducted on lines that preserves communal landownership. . . . It is precisely the middle and poor peasants who are keenly interested in hastening the completion of this form of land distribution, for having their land at the present time scattered over between 15 to 20 different places, and having no horses with which to cultivate their land, they lose their economic independence and fall into the power of the kulaks. Thanks to the energetic efforts of the Soviet Government, considerable progress has been made in the establishment of farm settlements. In 1923, 9,179,000 dessiatines of lands came under the system of re-distribution; in 1924, the area was 23,162,000 dessiatines. The effect of speeding up the re-distribution of land upon the temper of the peasantry has

---

\* The peasants in the various villages were at times allotted land outside the Commune whilst remaining residents within the Commune; the rich peasants (kulaks) strive not only to secure land outside the village, but also residences and thus sever all connection with the Commune.

already become apparent. Formerly, at national congresses, of poor peasants in the Ukraine—a sensitive barometer of the temper of the peasantry—one heard nothing but reproaches against the Soviet Government for not helping the poor peasants sufficiently. The last All-Ukrainian Congress of poor peasants, held after a year's energetic work and land re-distribution, indicated a change in the temper of the Ukrainian peasantry in favour of the Soviet Government.

The fourth economic means for increasing the influence of the Soviet Government upon the masses of the peasantry, which, at the same time is a means towards consolidating and developing the Socialist elements in the country, is the development of co-operation under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Here, too, considerable successes may be recorded. According to the returns of the Centrosoyuz on the 1st of October, 1923, we had 16,105 Rural Consumers' Societies; on the 1st of January, 1924, we had 16,221, and on the 1st of May, 1924, we had 17,147. On the 1st of October, 1923, the number of rural shareholders of co-operative societies, was 2,297,000; on the 1st of April, 1924, this was increased to 3,122,037. During 1922/23, the total trade of the Rural Consumers' Societies amounted to 150,000,000 roubles. It is anticipated that for 1923/24, the trade will exceed 300,000,000 roubles. Rural co-operation as yet embraces only a small percentage of peasant farms, but it is undoubtedly growing.

Of more importance than consumers' co-operative societies are agricultural co-operatives (agricultural communes, artels, and co-operative societies), for these facilitate the co-operation and socialisation of agricultural *production itself* and in this considerable successes are to be recorded as shown by the following table.

Collective Farming :					
1918	1918	1919	1920	1921	1921
July	Oct.	Sept.	Jan.	Jan.	Sept.
400	912	6,186	6,250	12,784	15,080
Agricultural Co-operatives :				100 p.c.	96.2 p.c.
				0 p.c.	600
					3.8 p.c.
Total				12,784	15,680
Collective Farming :				100 p.c.	100 p.c.
1922	1922	1923	1923	1924	
Jan.	July	Jan.	Oct.	Jan.	
15,889	13,373	12,028	12,865	14,058	
85.0 p.c.	72.0 p.c.	48.0 p.c.	45.4 p.c.	44.6 p.c.	
Agricultural Co-operatives :					
Jan.	July	Jan.	Oct.	Jan.	
2,800	5,000	13,100	15,507	17,411	
15.0 p.c.	28.0 p.c.	52.0 p.c.	54.6 p.c.	55.4 p.c.	
18,689	18,373	25,128	28,372	31,469	
100 p.c.	100 p.c.	100 p.c.	100 p.c.	100 p.c.	



This table requires some explanation. First of all, it shows that the development of collective farming began in Russia from the very beginning of the October revolution in conjunction with war Communism. It reached its highest point in 1921, when as a result of the famine, the peasants were compelled to seek salvation in collective forms of cultivation. After that the number of collective farms gradually diminishes (particularly the number of communes) but at the end of 1923 the diminution ceases and increases commence. This time, evidently in connection with the improvements of agriculture in the country. Another tendency revealed by the table is that of agricultural co-operation which during the period of war Communism was merged with consumers' co-operation, and which was set up as an independent organisation only on the introduction of NEP. This form of co-operation is gradually assuming an increasingly more important role than that of collective farming. This is due to the fact that collective farming, particularly the higher forms of communes and artels combining all the functions of agricultural production, demands large outlays of capital which can be met only either by the rich peasantry or by the State (supplying the communes with stock from the former large private estates). Agricultural co-operatives on the other hand, combining as they do, only the simpler functions of agriculture, such as for example collective hiring or purchase of machinery, horses, etc.; bee-keeping co-operatives are accessible also to the poorer farmers. Consequently the relative growth of agricultural co-operation compared with that of communes and artels shows that co-operation is extending to increasingly wide masses of the middle and poor farmers.

The fact that collective farms are accessible only to the more well-to-do sections of the peasantry is indicated by the following figures dealing with the stage of collective farming in the R.S.F.S.R.

Date		Area in Dessiatines	Number of population
1922	...	687,759	966,238
1923	...	905,108	736,088
1924	...	1,606,600	637,054

From this table we see that while the total area of collective farms increased, the number of the population declines, *i.e.*, they unite the more well-to-do sections of the peasantry. This by no means indicates, however, that collective farming will not develop among the middle and poor peasantry in the future. It should be borne in mind that

collective farming (other than artificially introduced) is still in its first stage of development in Russia. Also it should be borne in mind that in pre-war times agricultural collectives, etc., at first mainly attracted the wealthy peasants and only later gradually began to attract the middle class peasantry.

As an illustration we quote the following table :

Category	Dynamics of Social Composition of Co-operative Credit Societies in the Ufa Gubernia						No. of members according to census 1911		
	MEMBERS OF JANUARY 1						p.c.	p.c. of total pop.	
	p.c. of total pop. 1911	p.c. 1906	p.c. of total pop. 1909	p.c. 1909	p.c. of total pop. 1911	p.c. of total pop. 1911			
No horses	15.3	2	0.13	3	0.20	4	0.26	5.4	0.34
1 horse	34.5	16	0.46	27	0.78	28	0.81	31.3	0.91
2 horses	25.6	29	0.13	32	1.25	32	1.25	33.8	1.20
3 horses	24.6	53	2.15	38	1.54	36	1.46	29.5	1.20
Total	100	100	—	100	—	100	—	100	—

Accordingly we may calculate that when the general level of cultivation of the middle type of farmer is raised in Russia, when the number of horses and cows owned by this class is increased, and when agricultural co-operation will embrace broad masses of the peasantry (already the poor and middle peasantry represent 97 per cent. of the total members.) This structure will be crowned by complex collective forms of production right up to agricultural communes.

The following table clearly illustrates the gradual increase of the proportion of middle and poor peasants in co-operative credit societies :—

	SAMARA GUBERNIA			PERM GUBERNIA		
	p.c. of co-ops.	p.c. of total pop.	p.c. of mems. to total pop.	p.c. of co-ops.	p.c. of total pop.	p.c. of mems. to total pop.
No horses	49.5	57.5	0.86	23.1	31.1	0.74
1 horse	36.7	31.1	1.18	73.4	62.1	1.18
2 horses	11.4	9.1	1.04	0.2	0.4	0.50

NOTE.—In explanation of the table we state the following: taking the first category, horseless, 49.5 per cent. of the members of the co-operative societies in the Samara Gubernia have no horses; 57.5 per cent. of the whole farming population have no horses. The number of horseless farmers belonging to co-operatives represent 0.86 per cent. of the total farming population, etc.—Tr.

Meanwhile collective farms are important for us only to the extent that they increase the agricultural outlook if only of a limited section of the peasantry.

Generally speaking, co-operation in agriculture is developing rapidly; of the 18,500,000 peasant farms in Russia, 10 per cent. have been co-operated, forming 25,000 co-operative societies, i.e., 14,000 primary co-operative units and 11,000 collective farms. The balance sheets of all the agricultural co-operative societies are very substantial, and on the

1st of January, 1924, represented 228,800,000 roubles, four times greater than the total balance sheets of the 1st of January, 1923 (56,500,000 roubles). The amounts of own resources of the agricultural co-operatives in 1924, was almost equal to the total balance sheet of 1923.

We see that the economics of our Republic are working for us. The direction of our economic development which is regulated by the State to a far greater degree than is the case in capitalist countries, is gradually laying a solid economic foundation for the Soviet Government in the countryside. But this process is a long one. The Soviet Government commenced business with capital at zero, whereas our enemies are numerous and endeavour to take advantage of every hitch in our work in order to overwhelm us. Even now the White Guard and particularly the Social-Democratic press eagerly clutches at every piece of news concerning the kulak drive in the villages, and on the basis of this picture glorious prospects for themselves. But they will miscalculate their chances as they have miscalculated them before. They fail to understand, or refuse to understand the peculiarities of our Party. While exhibiting iron rigidity in conducting its fundamental policy, defending it with the weapon of criticism, and if necessary by the criticism of weapons, our Party at the same time, is distinguished for its extreme flexibility in its tactics and great sensitiveness to the temper of the masses. At the same time it never consoles itself with illusions or lulls itself by self-deception. At the slightest symptom of any growing danger, it raises of itself the alarm long before its enemies utter a sound about it. In the present case immediately the murder of the peasant correspondent, Comrade Malinovsky, and all the circumstances of that case were made known, they were regarded as a danger signal indicating that the kulak was raising his head in the countryside. Our Party immediately set to work to mobilise its forces for the purpose of intensifying its work in the villages. Not waiting until the growing *economic* resources of our industry and the growth of the Socialist economic elements of our rural districts made it possible for us finally to overcome the kulak, our Party, as represented by the plenum of its Central Committee, drew up a series of *political* measures which would help us immediately to establish closer connections with the middle and poorer elements of the villages and thus break the oppressive power of the kulak. The decisions passed by the Plenum of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party may be summarised as follows :

It is necessary to change the *content of the work*, of our Party nuclei in the villages, it is necessary simultaneously with the question of the political training of its members and the politico-educational work among the masses of the peasantry, to devote greater attention to the question of the economic and cultural life in the villages, to the work of the rural Soviets, of the economic organs, the co-operatives, etc. It is necessary that the village nuclei devote greater attention to the county budget to agronomical aid, land re-distribution, land improvement, stock-breeding, the local courts, schools, reading centres, etc.

In order to keep better informed about the state of affairs in the villages and countryside, and of the new problems arising therein, it is necessary to establish at all Party organisations, committees to handle rural questions and to establish at all Party institutions committees for work in the villages. It is necessary to adapt the *membership* of our village nuclei to the new tasks. For this purpose we insist not only to transfer better trained Communists to the villages but principally to train Communists *from among the peasants themselves and strive to give political guidance to the growing forces of the progressive non-party peasant*.

It is necessary to direct the growth of the political activity of the peasantry generally, and of the poor peasants in particular, first of all towards *increasing the activity of the Soviets*. This is the central task. To increase the activity of the Soviets it is necessary—in view of the *introduction of a county budget*—to extend the powers and material possibilities of the work of the Soviets in the village and to improve the material conditions of the Volost administration.

It is necessary to increase the representation of the non-party peasants on the Central Executive Committee principally of peasants engaged in ploughing. The same measure to be applied to the Gubernia and Uyezd Soviets.

The growth of the Young Communist League organisations in the villages is to be regarded as a completely healthy symptom. Unlike the Party, the Young Communist League organisations must be widely opened not only to the labouring and poor peasant classes in the villages, but also to the better type and more class-conscious section of the middle classes, who must pass through the Young Communist League as a preparatory school for revolutionary social work, at the same time the Party organisations must devote

greater attention to the political guidance of the Young Communist League and select a larger number of the class-conscious and intellectually trained elements of the peasant youth into its ranks.

Around this programme the work of the Party has begun to seeth in the countryside, and promises similar success to that which was achieved by the Lenin enrolment among the city workers in increasing the activity of the Labour democracy.\*

The increase of the political activity of the peasantry is observed not only in Russia, but in capitalist countries. In the latter countries, however, it is due to the agrarian prices and the growing impoverishment of the peasantry, consequently there it is urging the *peasantry towards a revolutionary struggle against the bourgeois state*. In Russia the increasing political activity of the peasants has been roused by the relative improvement of the economic conditions of the country and consequently here this increased activity *may be directed towards strengthening the Soviet State*, if our Party reveals sufficient energy and sufficient flexibility in its tactics. The past history of our Party shows that it is capable of handling this task. We will give a small illustration of this. In his report to the All-Union Conference of Workers and Peasant Correspondents, on the 5th of December, Comrade Zinoviev related a characteristic fact. Quite recently he received a letter from a peasant correspondent in the Zhurikhin county in which the writer says: "In 1922 our best peasant correspondent, Yevlev, was murdered, that did not scare us, we are growing and becoming strong in the village like steel as it were . . . We will fortify the teachings of Lenin. We see and hear much that is bad of some of the blackguards who find their way into places of authority. In 1918, many crimes were committed in our county. But all this has now been outlived, our Zhurikhin County formerly was a terror to all responsible workers, numerous murders, etc., took place, many cases breaking down the authority of the Soviets occurred, but now we are out of the woods, we have got into the highroad. All the poor and middle peasants are with us, we have great confidence in them, and they in us. All are convinced that the workers' and peasants' government is the best kind of government for us, but that there are many wolves in sheep's clothing who are pretending to act in its name."

A. MARTINOV.

---

\* In certain places, as in the Tver Gubernia for example, 20 per cent. of the Gubernia budget has been allocated for county purposes as compared with 6 per cent. in previous years.

# Against Mere Lip-Service to the Dictatorship

(Draft of a Reply to the German Independent Socialists).

*As far as I remember*, this was written prior to the Second Congress of the Comintern. It was proposed to publish it in the name of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party. I think later it was decided *not* to publish it, and I think the letter was *not* sent off. The *content* of the letter was included in the principle resolutions of the Second Congress, including the famous 21 conditions. G. Zinoviev. 30/11/24.

HAVING received an *official* proposal from the Independents (German) concerning negotiation, we as a Party must now reply to them frankly, discarding that "diplomacy" which to a certain extent is obligatory for the Comm(unist) Int(ernational).\* We must reply in such a manner as to make the matter clear to the masses of the workers who sympathise with the dictatorship of the proletariat and the Soviet system, to the workers who, not only in Germany, but in France, and in England, and a number of other countries, are *deceived* (consciously or unconsciously, *i.e.*, by self-deception) by the leaders who, merely verbally subscribe to these slogans which are popular among the workers (dictatorship of the proletariat and Soviet Government), but who actually are working, agitating and conducting propaganda, etc., in the old way, not in the spirit of these slogans but in a spirit absolutely contrary to them.

The following is a rough draft of the theses of such a reply (from the Russian Communist Party to the German Independent S(ocial) D(emocratic) Party) :

(The order of the points made still has to be rearranged.)

1. The dictatorship of the proletariat signifies the ability, the preparedness and the determination to win over on to our side (on the side of the revolutionary vanguard of

---

\* Syllables in brackets were struck out in the original.

the proletariat) the whole mass of the toilers and the exploited by revolutionary measures, by means of the expropriation of the expropriators.

This is not included in the every-day agitation of the German Independents (in the *Freiheit* for example) nor in that of Longuet-ists.

2. Such agitation is particularly necessary among the rural proletariat and semi-proletariat, and also among the small peasantry (peasants not employing hired labour even in the most busy seasons, like harvest time, etc., peasants selling little or no grain).

To these sections of the population it is necessary day after day to explain in the most simple, popular and concrete fashion possible that the proletariat, when it captures political power will immediately improve their conditions at the expense of the expropriated landlords; will relieve them of the oppression of the landlords, will transfer to them as a whole the large private estates, will cancel their debts, etc., etc. The same for the urban non-proletarian or not completely proletarianised masses of the toilers.

Neither the Ger(man) Independents nor the Longuet-ists conduct such agitation.

3. The Soviet system is the dissipation of the bourgeois life which describes as the "freedom of the press" the freedom to bribe the press, the freedom of the rich capitalists to bribe newspapers, freedom for the capitalists to buy up hundreds of newspapers and by this means to manufacture what is called "Public opinion."

The Ger(man) Independent (by this we always mean the Longuet-ists and the British I.L.P.'ers, etc. etc.) do not realise this truth, do not carry it out, do not from day to day agitate for the abolition by revolutionary methods of the capitalist enslavement of the press which bourgeois democracy falsely describes as the freedom of the press.

By failing to conduct such agitation, the Independents merely pay lip service (lippenbekenntniss) to the Soviet Government, but actually they remain crushed down by bourgeois democratic prejudices. The main thing—the need for the expropriation of printing presses, printers' warehouses and stocks of paper, they cannot explain because they do not understand it themselves.

4. The same thing applies to the freedom of assembly (this remains a lie so long as the rich own the best halls or buy out pub(lic) halls) to "the armed *nation*," to freedom of conscience (freedom for the capitalists to buy and bribe complete ecclesiastical organisations in order to drug the masses with the opiate of religion) and to all the other bourgeois democratic liberties.

5. Dictatorship of the proletariat signifies the overthrow of the bourgeoisie by *one* class, the proletariat, or to be exact its revolutionary vanguard. To demand that this vanguard secure for itself *beforehand the majority of the people* by means of voting in bourgeois parliaments, in bourgeois Constituent Assemblies, etc., *i.e.*, by voting while the *system of wage slavery still exists*, while the exploiters are still in power, while private property in the means of production still prevails, to demand this or to propose it means actually a complete abandonment of the point of view of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the adoption of the point of view of bourgeois democracy.

This is exactly what the Ger(man) Independents and Fr(ench) Longuet-ists do. In repeating the phrases of the petty bourgeois democrats about the majority of the "people" (deceived by the bourgeoisie and crushed down by capital) these parties objectively, are still on the side of the bourgeoisie against the proletariat.

6. The dictatorship of the proletariat pre-supposes and signifies a clear realisation of the truth that the proletariat, as a consequence of its objective economic position, in every capitalist society, *correctly* expresses the interests of the *whole* mass of the toilers and the exploited, of all the semi-proletarians (*i.e.*, those who live partly by selling their labour power) of all the small peasantry, etc.

These sections of the population follow the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie (including the "Socialist" parties of the Second International) not because of their free choice (as petty bourgeois democracy imagines) but because they are deceived by the bourgeoisie of their respective countries, because they are oppressed by capital and because of the self-deception of the petty bourgeois leaders.

The proletariat will succeed in winning over these sections of the population (semi-proletarians and petty peasants) to its side, only *after* its victory, only after the conquest of political power, *i.e.*, after it has overthrown the bourgeoisie



and by this means has emancipated *all* the toilers from the oppression of capital and *proved* in fact with what benefits (the benefits of freedom from exploitation) the proletarian state provides them.

The Ger(man) Independents and Fr(ench) Longuet-ists fail to understand this idea, which represents the foundation and the essence of the idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat, they fail to imbue the masses with it and do not daily advocate it.

7. The dictatorship of the proletariat signifies the recognition of the necessity for the suppression by force of the resistance of the exploiters, it signifies preparedness, ability and determination to do so. In view of the fact that the bourgeoisie, even the most republican and democratic per ex(ample) in Germany, in Switzerland and in America, systematically resort to pogroms, lynching, murder, military force and terror in dealing with the Communists and, indeed, with all the revolutionary actions of the proletariat—under these conditions to repudiate violence, to repudiate terror, signifies becoming a weeping petty bourgeois means to sow reactionary petty bourgeois illusions about social peace; to speak concretely it means to flinch before the sabre slashing military officers.

For the most criminal and reactionary imperialist war of 1914/1918 trained and brought forward on the stage of politics in every country, even in the most democratic and republican countries, scores and tens of thousands of reactionary officers who practice terror in the interests of the bourgeoisie, in the interests of capital and against the proletariat.

Consequently, the attitude towards terror that is revealed in the parliamentary speeches, in the newspaper articles, and in the entire agitation and propaganda conducted by the Ger(man) Independents and the Fr(ench) Longuet-ists is nothing more nor less than the complete repudiation of the essence of the dictatorship of the proletariat, is actually a transition to the position of petty bourgeois democracy, is the *corruption* of the revolutionary consciousness of the workers.

8. The same thing applies to civil war. After the imperialist war, in the face of the fact that reactionary generals and officers are employing terror against the proletariat, in face of the fact that *fresh* imperialist wars *are already being*

*prepared* by the present-day politics of *all* the bourgeois states—being prepared not only consciously, but are arising out of objective necessity, out of their politics as a whole—under these conditions, in these circumstances, to shed tears over civil war against the exploiters, to condemn civil war, to fear it is, in actual fact, to become a reactionary.

It means to fear the victory of the workers—which may entail tens of thousands of casualties, and to make certain a new imperialist slaughter—which yesterday entailed and will entail to-morrow millions of casualties.

It means *to encourage* the really reactionary and violent schemes, plots and preparations of the bourgeois generals and bourgeois officers.

The sickly sweet, sentimental and petty bourgeois attitude of the Ger(man) Independents and Fr(en)ch Longuet-ists on the question of civil war, in actual practice, is reactionary. They close their eyes to the quests for a White Guard, to the fact that the bourgeoisie is already training and creating such a White Guard and they hypocritically, parasitically (cowardly) turn their backs on the work of setting up a Red Guard, a Red Army of the proletariat, capable of suppressing the resistance of the exploiters.

9. The dictatorship of the proletariat and Soviet Government signify a clear recognition of the necessity to *break*, to smash into atoms the bourgeois (even republican democratic) State apparatus, its courts, its civil and military bureaucracy, etc., etc.

The Ger(man) Independents and Fr(en)ch Longuet-ists neither realise this truth nor reveal it in their every-day agitation. Worse than that, they conduct *all* their agitation *in the very opposite spirit*.

10. Every revolution (as distinct from reform) in itself signifies a crisis and a very profound crisis both politically and economically. This is apart from the crisis created by the war.

The task of the revolutionary party of the proletariat is to explain to the workers and the peasants that they must have the courage boldly to meet this crisis and find in

revolutionary measures a *source of strength* to overcome it. Only by overcoming great crises with revolutionary enthusiasm, with revolutionary energy and with a revolutionary preparedness to make the greatest sacrifice, can the proletariat conquer the exploiters and finally free humanity from wars, from the oppression of capital and from wage slavery.

There is no other way out, for the reformist attitude towards capitalism gave rise yesterday (and will inevitably give rise to-morrow) to the imperialist massacre of millions of human beings to crises without end.

The Independents and Longuet-ists fail to understand this fundamental idea without which the dictatorship of the proletariat is but an empty phrase, and they do not bring it out and explain it to the masses in their agitation.

11. The Independents and Longuet-ists fail to imbue and develop in the masses the consciousness of the rottenness and futility of the reformism which, really predominated in the Second International (1889/1914) and was the cause of its destruction, they blunt the consciousness, they minimise the seriousness of the disease, they do not reveal it and expose it.

12. Although they have left the Second International and condemn it verbally (for example, Crispin's pamphlet) the Independents as a matter of fact, stretch out their hand to Friedrich Adler, to the member of the Austrian Party of the Noskes and Scheidemanns.

The Independents tolerate in their midst writers who completely deny all the fundamental conceptions of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

This divergence between word and deed characterises the whole policy of the *leaders* of the Independent Party in Germany and the Longuet-ists in France. It is precisely the leaders who share the prejudices of petty bourgeois democracy and of the upper stratum of the proletariat, corrupted by reformism, against the revolutionary sympathies of the *mass* of the workers who are attracted to the Soviet system.

13. The Independents and Longuet-ists fail to understand and do not explain to the masses that the excess profits obtained by the imperialists in the most developed countries permitted the latter to *bribe* the upper stratum of the proletariat, to throw them crumbs of excess profits (extracted

from the colonies and by the financial exploitation of weak countries) and to create a privileged section of skilled workers, etc.

Unless this evil is exposed, unless a fight is conducted not only against the trade union bureaucracy, but against all the features of the petty bourgeois craft character of the labour aristocracy, of the privileges of the upper stratum of the workers, unless the representatives of this spirit are ruthlessly driven out of the revolutionary parties, unless appeal is made to the *rank and file*, to the wider *masses*, to the real *majority* of the exploited, there can be no talk of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

14. The refusal, or the inability to break with the upper stratum of the workers infected with imperialism, is revealed in the Independents and Longuet-ists also by the fact that they conduct no agitation for the frank and unconditional support of *all* the revolts and revol(utionary) movements among *colonial* peoples.

Under these circumstances to condemn colonial policy and imperialism is mere hypocrisy or the vain sighting of a dull petty bourgeois.

15. The Independents and Longuet-ists conduct no agitation in the army (for joining the army for the *purpose* of preparing it for the transition to the side of the workers *against* the bourgeoisie). They do not set up any organisation for this purpose.

They do not reply to the violence of the bourgeoisie, to its ceaseless violation of the "law and order" (both during and after the imperialist war) by the systematic propaganda for *the establishment of underground organisation*.

Without combining legal work with underground work, legal organisations with underground organisations, there can be no talk of a really revolutionary party of the proletariat either in Germany, in Switzerland, in England, in France or in America.

16. All the propaganda, all the agitation, the whole organisation of the Independents and the Longuet-ists are more petty bourgeois democratic than revolutionary proletarian; are pacifists and not social revolutionary.

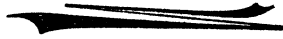
As a consequence, this "recognition" of the dictatorship of the proletariat and Soviet Government is mere lip service.

Summary : under these circumstances the Russian Communist Party considers that it would not be correct to unite with the Independents and Longuet-ists in one International, but thinks it better to *wait* until the revolutionary masses of French and German workers will *rectify* the weakness, the errors the prejudices and the inconsistencies of parties like the Independents and Longuet-ists.

In the opinion of the Russian Communist Party there is no place for such parties in the Comm(unist) International.

The Russian Communist Party, however, does not refuse to *confer* with all parties desiring to consult it and learn its opinions.

N. LENIN.



# Delimitation of National Boundaries in Soviet Central Asia

(Translation from the Uzbek.)

## Political Boundaries in Central Asia.

*The Disintegration of Nationalities in Central Asia.  
National Hatred.*

**T**HE division of Soviet Central Asia into independent national republics now being carried into effect, marks an event of great political, economic and cultural importance. The development of the economic and cultural life of the peoples of Central Asia within the existing political boundaries, is absolutely impossible, and one has only to study, even superficially, the national composition of any of the Middle Asiatic countries to be convinced of this. Each nationality has its own characteristic manner of life with its own national economic and cultural peculiarities.

The existing division of Central Asia into the republics of Turkestan, Bokhara and Khorezm, is an entirely artificial one, which splits up each of the nationalities occupying these republics into fragments. The existing boundaries are the result of the annexatory ambitions of hostile feudal lords (Emirs and Khans) who in their own interest exploited the disputes and collisions which took place between the nomadic and the settled peoples owing to economic differences (land and water).

Czarist Russia, after overcoming Turkestan, transformed the Khanates of Bokhara and Khiva into colonies, and in order to enslave them completely, strove to sow hatred, enmity and conflict between the various nationalities.

The October Revolution liberated the people of Turkestan. Shortly after the peoples of Bokhara and Khorezm also secured their freedom, and the Communist Party and the governments of the Central Asiatic Republic set themselves

the task of putting an end to national enmity and abolishing the last relics of this deplorable heritage of Czarism.

Until quite recently it was impossible to accomplish this complicated and difficult task owing to the ceaseless struggle which was being carried on against dashnaks and the agents of imperialism. Only now have we succeeded in working out a plan for the territorial division of Central Asia according to nationality which will serve us in the radical solution of the problem.

*New Boundaries Correspond with National Economic Needs.*

The organisation of national republics according to geographical peculiarities and customs offers the peoples of Central Asia tremendous possibilities for future political development.

After the delimitation of boundaries has been completed, the newly-organised republics will consist of areas in which peoples are united according to uniformity of economic conditions and of manners and customs.

By this method of division the economic forms of the various republics will be most clearly brought out and the relations between the various elements of national economy will be clearly defined; this will facilitate the establishment of a definite system and sequence in the economic life of the Central Asiatic people as a whole, thereby providing a sure foundation for intensive development in the future.

*For the Toilers of Central Asia.*

The establishment of the Uzbek Republic, the autonomous Tadji Republic, the Turkomen and Kirghiz Republics, and the autonomous region of Kara-Kirghiz, correctly and according to historical requirements, solves the problem of national territorial distribution. The toiling masses of Central Asia, fully conscious of the necessity for the measures taken, have firmly and confidently proceeded to create the various new republics.

The idea of creating the independent Socialist Republic of Uzbek as an organic part of the U.S.S.R. met with the full support of the toiling population of Bokhara; not only the organised peasants (dekhans) and workers of the city, but even the populations of small and out-of-the-way villages have perfectly well understood the importance of the measures

taken, and responded by numerous resolutions of approval. The desires expressed by the toilers of Bokhara have now been fulfilled by the Bokhara Central Committee. In order that the masses may be able to understand the tremendous importance and benefit to be derived from these measures, it is necessary that the Party and Soviet organisations, and especially the comrades who were present at the recent session of the Bokhara Central Executive Committee, should devote themselves to popularising the schemes of national territorial divisions among the population.

Let us proceed to a detailed review of this question.

### **Why the Delimitation of National Boundaries is Necessary.**

#### *The Cause of the Enslavement of the Toilers.*

At all times the causes permitting the enslavement of the peoples of Central Asia and others have been the same, viz., ignorance and isolation from world culture. It was due to these causes that our people even in the 20th century were made to bear the heavy yoke of Asiatic feudalism.

Ignorant and deprived of all rights, they were not allowed to enjoy the fruits of their arduous toil; they were never able to satisfy their hunger, and while creating riches for their oppressors, were themselves obliged to live a life of wretchedness and deprivation.

At the head of a handful of national oppressors stood the tyrant Emir possessing unlimited power; the people were his slaves in the real sense of the word; over them the Emir possessed full mastery of life and property.

#### *The Tyrants' Quarrel.*

Some sixty or seventy years before it came into the power of the Russian Empire, Central Asia broke up into three Khanates—Bokhara, Khorezm and Fergana, representing the remnant of the wide dominion of Timur. The struggles for supremacy and for the crown between the Emir rulers and the hostility between the nomadic and the settled peoples arising out of disputes over land and water, were the economic and political causes which increasingly aggravated the relations between the Central Asiatic States, leading them into ceaseless warfare, enfeebling their international and external power, and profoundly disturbing the basis of national well-being. National conflicts were aggravated by prejudice. In order to overcome these enmities, in order once and for



all to abolish the economic causes of hostility between the nomadic and settled peoples, and in order in every way to facilitate the cultural progress of the peoples of Central Asia and their economic well-being, the nations, which have only just emerged from the epoch of feudalism, are now proceeding to give effect to their national rights and are organising themselves into separate national republics. Only the fanatic Turkites will refuse to admit that age-long hostility and disorder will thereby be abolished. The ideas of the Turkites with which we must deal, are devoid of all justification.

### **Pan-Turkism.**

#### *The Pan-Turk Idea.*

The idea of the Pan-Turks amounts to this, that in Central Asia there is one natural tribal division of peoples into two main sections—the Turks and the Tadjis. From this premise the Pan-Turks arrive at the belief that all the Turkish races, whether Uzbek, Kirghiz, Kaisaks, or Turkomen can be united into a single whole in spite of the differences of economic life and national customs.

This is, of course, a profound and dangerous error which even a superficial acquaintance with a history of Central Asia and with the existing fundamentally different conditions and needs of the various Turkish races renders at once apparent.

#### *Our View of Pan-Turkism.*

We assert that when proceeding to unite peoples, we must be guided entirely by similarity of customs and manner of life and identity of economic needs, and not by racial origin. We ask the advocates of Pan-Turkism, who assert that the Turkish race represents one single whole, to point out a single instance in history when, moved by consideration of the identity of their origin, the Turkish race and states lived together in peace and harmony in spite of conflicting economic interests. History in fact, demonstrates the contrary. Timur and Bayazad, both Turks, were always enemies. Timur conducted a brutal warfare against the other Turkish Khanate, took its ruler captive, harried it with fire and sword, and subjected it. It is obvious that Timur and Bayazad were not moved by considerations of racial similarity; their ambitions were directed against each other; each strove to overcome the other and compel the vanquished to cover the expenses and increase the riches of the victor, in spite of identity of race. It is also obvious that the cause of

wars was not the desire for national unity, but motives of policy and economic advantage. Osman, Chinghiz, Timur and their like, all apparently strove to maintain and strengthen Turkism, but a dispassionate investigation of historical facts and the relations between the Turkish races, fails to reveal the unity of the Turkish peoples. And to-day still we find differences existing between the various Turkish races even occupying one territory. In brief, the assertion that peoples can be united into a nation on the principle of racial identity, or that the race is the nation, is entirely devoid of foundation.

#### *How Nations Develop.*

Tribes of one and the same people living in different places, under differing geographical and climatic conditions, will inevitably develop different manners of life and peculiarities to the given locality and the given forms of labour.

No nation acquires peculiar national characteristics in the first period of its existence. The formation of the nation does not depend upon racial or religious identity, but results from the economic and other forms of human cohabitation and characteristic of various epochs. Consequently, Turkism was condemned to failure from the very start by history, and by the very nature of things. Indeed it is a fantastic theory which does not correspond with the real demands of life; it is not a principle which governs the conduct of the Central Asiatic peoples.

The methods of life which develop in any epoch depend upon the character of the forms of labour and the conditions of human society; the idea of a nation is, therefore, determined by history, its language, its economic conditions, and the unity of its territory. The cultural demands of a nation increase from day to day; its language becomes perfected and reflects its characteristic psychological peculiarities; the methods of labour also improve, the cultural level rises, and the nation gradually proceeds to the final stage of its development.

#### *The Interests of the Toilers Above All.*

The Turkish tribes and peoples to-day differ from each other very widely, not only in their manner of life, but also in language, which is the key of the whole matter; they finally differ in their outlook and in the stage of their cultural development. Now that in the teaching of Lenin,

Marxism has reached its maximum of clarity, and when the aims and measures taken by the Soviet Government are based entirely upon considerations of the interests of the toilers, and of historical consistency, the idea of Turkism, not only from the point of view of the Communists, but also from the point of view of plain common sense, must be regarded as an unhealthy idea enveloped in empty and useless utopian phrases. It is impossible forcibly to unite peoples whose manner of life differs profoundly; it is impossible to establish peace among backward nations with differing psychologies, without satisfying the vital requirements which resulted therefrom.

If the boundaries between peoples are wrongly and unnaturally defined, their life becomes abnormal. This constant abnormality reflects unhealthily upon the national well-being, hampers national development, and becomes one of the main causes of national enmity and hostility.

### **The International Importance of the National Question.**

#### *The Imperialists Cannot Solve the National Problem.*

Other countries besides ours are faced with the national problem. But not everywhere can it be solved so easily and with such advantage to the toiling class. It is of no use expecting a solution of the national problem from the imperialist powers who maintain many millions of the toilers of the East in a state of slavery and artificial national hostility. Our solution of the problem became possible only after the October victory of the working class led by the Communist Party. This is recognised by the toilers and by the oppressed peoples of the whole world, and all from the sons of the East languishing under the yoke of England, France and America, to the African negroes, are occupied with the question of their own emancipation and are following our solution of the national problem with the greatest attention.

#### *An Example for the Oppressed Nationalities.*

The peoples of Central Asia emancipated by the revolution, have before the eyes of all the oppressed nations of the world proceeded to the independent decision of their fate. The peoples of Turkestan for seven years have been engaged in constructing their own manner of life, and endeavouring to improve and protect it by their own efforts. For four years now the peoples of Bokhara and Khorezm are living and governing their country without the Emirs and their officials.

Having driven out the Emirs and their followers, the peoples of Central Asia set up their organs of administration upon the soviet principle, and proceeded to reconstruct the shattered towns and disorganised agriculture; they have now made great advances towards the improvement of their economic situation. Our labours have met with success. In spite of the banished Khans and the supporters of the Czar, the peoples of South Asia are building up a new life by their independent efforts and are taking all necessary measures for the preservation and consolidation of their conquests. Today, the peoples of South Asia are abolishing the last relics of Emirism and Czarism—the old false devisions and boundaries, and on the principle of the self-determination of nations, are setting up new national republics. Is this not a great example for the oppressed nations beyond the frontiers of the Soviet Republics?

### **The Communist Party and the National Question.**

#### *Our Slogans.*

Our Party has taken all the factors into account, and from its very formation has regarded the national question as one of its fundamental tasks, taking the view that one of the chief pre-requisites for world-wide social revolution is a correct attitude towards and a correct solution of the national problem. Our solution of the problem is based upon the following principles:

(1) National self-determination: every nation has the right of independent existence.

(2) Complete freedom for national minorities the protection of their national economic rights, and the organisation of the nations into a powerful union of toilers.

(3) The complete removal of national antagonisms, and the taking of radical measures to guarantee peace and free labour.

#### *What Lenin Taught Us.*

Even before the revolution, Lenin in his book entitled "The National Question in the Imperialist Epoch," wrote:

"Victorious Socialism must not only introduce the complete equality of nations, but also afford oppressed nations the right of self-determination, *i.e.*, of free political existence. Socialist parties, who do not make it clear in all their activities now, during the revolution

and after their victory, that they will emancipate the enslaved nations and will establish relations with them on the basis of free union—free union is a hollow phrase without the right of separation—are guilty of a betrayal of Socialism.”

After the October Revolution these words of Lenin were put into practice. Many Socialist parties of the West, as Lenin foresaw, betrayed the workers and the social revolution by their treatment of the national question. The Russian Communist Party, however, having fought the national chauvinist policy of the Czarist government and the Kerensky Government, always and everywhere in the decision of political economic, and social questions, defended the interests of the toiling class as a toiling class, independent of nationality.

*What our Party has Done for the Oppressed Nationalities.*

Our Party has not divided peoples according to colour, religion or nationality. It did, in fact, apply the principle of self-determination to the extent of separation to all the nationalities emancipated from the yoke of the Russian imperialists; and in 1917, when Czarist government received its fatal blow, when in October the working class drove out the government of the capitalists, and power passed into the hands of the workers, from that moment our Party begun to put its slogans into practice. In securing the national rights for the Tartars, the Kirghiz, the Armenians and other peoples, the Russian Communist Party was a guiding star. On the ruins of the Czarist system, our Party organised a workers' government, basing itself upon the free and equal federation of the national republics. The Party made it one of its immediate tasks to overcome the remnants of national hostility and thereby guaranteed the permanence of the Union. In our Soviet state to-day, the relics of the former forces of counter-revolution have almost disappeared; economic life is being restored, and behind the Party and the Third International stand millions of toilers of the most varied nationalities. The revolutionary movement was not confined to Soviet Russia; it passed to the oppressed nations of the East. The invincible revolution of the toilers of Soviet Russia has pointed out the path of self-determination to the nations of the whole world; the Soviet Union has been a living example to the peoples and nations as to how to live and how to build up the new life.

Lenin and the Communist Party always urged upon the workers the necessity of fighting to better the lot of the oppressed nationalities. When the Czarist government and the capitalist powers sowed enmity among the nations by means of religious and other forms of provocation, the Communist Party defended the interests and the rights of the oppressed, exposed the baneful activities of the enemies of the workers and instilled into the toilers a spirit of opposition to the capitalist world. It taught the small nationalities that their emancipation from imperialism depended directly upon their emancipation from the beys, Emirs, and the officials, and that for their own interest the small nationalities in their struggle against imperialism should make common cause with the toilers of the whole world in a united struggle against the bourgeois order. The Communist Party, as the vanguard of the working class, always occupied a unique position in regard to the national question, and always asserted that the small oppressed nations do not represent a uniform national class force; the backward nations were themselves divided into classes—the bourgeoisie and the poor.

#### *What Our Party Demands.*

On the question of the emancipation of nationalities, our Party places no conditions: but in relation both to the small and large nationalities it regards it as its duty to accomplish:

1. The separation of the toiling masses of the emancipated nations from their oppressors—the beys, and the transfer of power to the toilers themselves; and
2. The education of the toilers in the spirit of internationalism.

And we, Uzbeks and Uzbek Communists, now emancipated from the yoke of the Emirs and the beys and from the violence of the Czars, must pay serious attention to these tasks and never forget our national and revolutionary obligations. We must energetically oppose all who dare to interfere with the rights of the nations; otherwise the national problem will not be solved as we want it to be solved, and as it should be solved; we shall not achieve our aim and shall fail because our approach to the problem was incorrect. We are now on the eve of the solution of questions which could not be solved for centuries, and which only now, under the experienced leadership of the Communist Party, can be solved painlessly. We must remember the past and reflect carefully on the present, and solve all problems which arise according to concrete conditions and concrete facts. In the solution of

these problems we must study the future and find a path leading to a new, a cultured, a full, and free life.

### What the October Revolution Gave Us.

#### *Results of the Policy of Russian Imperialists.*

The aggravation of relations between the Central Asiatic Khanates resulted in the impoverishment of the population on the one hand, and on the other facilitated the invasions by other races and the foreign imperialists.

The British capitalists, in conjunction with Czarist Russia, endeavoured to seize possession of our country and to transform her into a colony. The Russian imperialists feeling themselves impotent in face of the European states, turned their attention to the East. The result of the policy of Russian imperialists was the occupation of Bokhara by Russian troops 65 years ago. The government, and together with it the fate of the peoples of Bokhara was handed over to an Emir bought by Russian capitalism.

After the defeat of Transcaspia, Tashkent and Semerechia passed into the hands of Czarist Russia, and Bokhara became a semi-colony of Russia, although officially it was known as an independent khanate. 1

If we examine the history of our country we will find that during the Middle Ages she boasted of many learned men and writers. To her there flocked from all parts of the world people thirsting for knowledge and enlightenment; Bokhara was a centre of culture with thousands of students. Internal warfare re-acted disastrously upon the development of the country and finally brought her into a position of subjection, with the result that the number of illiterates among the population at present has attained the appalling proportion of 99 per cent. All cultural and educational organisations disappeared; unilluminated darkness has descended upon the former centres of culture of Bokhara. It was impossible to end such a state of affairs during the period of Czarism, since according to the laws which then prevailed, the people were not only deprived of the right of deciding their own fate but even of interfering in affairs of state; they were slaves before their despotic government. Could a people which languished under the yoke of its enemies hope for a cultural revival?

#### *The Excesses of the Emir and His Retainers.*

Beyond the gates of the chief town ruled the governor of the Czar, who decided all affairs according to his arbitrary will. The government of the Emir possessed revenues amounting

to several million roubles, and the whole of these colossal funds were dissipated in the orgies of the Emir and his retainers. Huge gifts were made to the Czar and his generals in the form of cash. Thanks to these gifts, the Emir enjoyed the support of the authority and power of Czarist Russia in enslaving the Turkomen, Tadjis and other nationalities inhabiting our country, whom he then exploited mercilessly. Not one of us, even to-day, has forgotten the shameful and degrading plight of our country. Turkestan and Khorezm suffered from a similar fate, and although between them and Bokhara differences existed, they did not refer to questions of law, but to the imperialist policy and the methods of oppressing the nation. After what has been said, it will be asked where were the strivings of our peoples towards Turkey and how were they expressed; or was Turkism itself one of the chief causes of our cultural backwardness?

#### *Stages in our Victory.*

Would it be unjust to consider the overthrow of the Emir in Bokhara and the transfer of the rule of Nicholas in Russia to the workers as the foundation of the edifice of our emancipation, and a landmark in our independence? This cannot be denied, and our peasants and proletariat know it. The delimitation of national boundaries is the second stage in the victory of the toilers and the strengthening of the Soviet power. Only the delimitation of national boundaries will secure a firm government of the workers and remove the causes of national and religious antagonism, the last weapon in the hands of the priesthood and the other survivals of the Emirate. Only the measures which are now being carried out under the leadership of our Party will help us successfully to complete the struggle against ignorance, inertia and prejudice.

#### *Our Allies.*

We are not alone in the fight. With the growth of imperialism and capitalism, the world proletariat is also growing and strengthening itself. The workers are rising up against oppression and injustice; in defending their own conquered freedom they are overcoming national intolerance and national antagonism, since until the existing religious and other differences are utterly destroyed it is impossible to imagine the peoples living together in peace. To this we Communist Uzbeks in the East must strive to attain.

In our country the world war ended in social revolution. The Russian workers, led by the Communist Party created



separate national republics where formerly an open policy of Russification had been carried on, and thereby showed that they had undertaken a correct and revolutionary solution of the national question. These republics, led by the Communist Party, and constituting a single union of Soviet Socialist Republics, are stronger than ever before. The attempts of the European imperialists to destroy the workers' and peasants' government, and to enslave the workers anew, wreck themselves upon the formidable cliffs of the internal power of the Union of Soviet Republics and the will of the world proletariat. The world proletariat does not desire and, in its own interest, cannot permit our destruction; by their protests and by other more active measures they are compelling the imperialist bandits to desist from their policy of intervention. Thus, our unity with the proletariat of the world, based upon common interests, is the best token of the future unity of the nationalities of the world.

#### *The Defeat of the Russian Colonisers.*

We are fighting with the revolutionary proletariat of the world under one flag, and under this flag we shall defeat the colonisers. The October Revolution drove the colonisers out of Turkestan and gave power into the hands of the population. When the peoples of Fergana and Turkestan were fighting the Russian nationalists and colonisers, the Central Asiatic Communists assisted the native population, and even went further than the native population in attempting to free these districts from hostile elements. Towards the end of 1919, the population of Khiva rebelled and drove out their Khans and their retainers. The population of Khorezm emancipated itself and organised a revolutionary government which was recognised by the R.S.F.S.R. on Sept. 2nd, 1920.

The Communist Party and the revolutionary Young Bokhara Party overthrew the Emir. The workers and peasants of Bokhara wrenched the power from the hands of the oppressors and set up their own Soviet Republic. The work of emancipating the nations of Bokhara is now proceeding upon right lines. The policy is to destroy the artificially created superiority of one nation over another, and to create healthy inter-national relationships. This was the policy advocated by the Communist Party, and the policy which is being firmly and undeviatingly pursued by the Soviet Government. There can be no other path towards national emancipation. The peoples of Turkestan, Bokhara, and Khorezm have learned this from the October Revolution. Their national consciousness has become

strengthened; the way has been cleared for the introduction of real national reforms in the place of miserable patchings and palliatives.

### The Practical Solution of the National Question.

#### *Re-fashioning the Map of Central Asia.*

The complete solution of the national question in Central Asia is rather belated. After the October Revolution the question of the limitation of boundaries was not immediately decided upon, and conflicts over land and water and other national differences continued. There were certain collisions, during which blood was spilt, and as the result of which several tribes emigrated to Afghanistan. The Communist Parties of Bokhara, Khorezm and Turkestan decided to undertake a reconstruction of their national life and to remodel the map of Central Asia on the principle of real self-determination.

On this subject our Party and trade union organisations and the non-party masses express the opinion that the limitation of national boundaries in Central Asia should aim at creating autonomous regions of Uzbek and Turkoman Republics and Tadji and Kara-Kirghiz. Bokhara is populated by four chief nationalities: the Uzbeks, the Tadjis, the Turkomen and the Khara-Kirghiz. The other nationalities and tribes are insignificant in number. The question now facing us is not only one of creating national republics, but also of granting wide national rights and privileges to the smaller nationalities inhabiting these republics. The toiling masses of Bokhara have expressed their opinion on this question, and it may be regarded as being already settled.

#### *National Enmity will Disappear.*

By settling the question of national territorial division politically, we shall put an end to all conflicts over land and water in Bokhara, Samarkand, Tashkent and Horezim, and create the foundation for the economic revival of these countries. For many years the Uzbeks, the Turkomen and the other nationalities inhabiting regions which were not clearly defined—have been living in a state of constant hostility; they were confined to unnatural boundaries set up with the purpose of the oppression of one nation by another. The economic and social differences in the lives of the nations were ignored when the former boundaries were set up: the guiding principle was the satisfaction of the whims and caprices and the swelling of the revenues of the Emir and his

retainers. In accordance with the principle of imperialist, "divide and conquer," the Uzbeks and Tadjis were forced to live within the same boundaries in enmity with semi-nomadic Turkomen and nomadic Kirghiz. These savage ambitions were known to all, but were concealed under a veil of fine words.

The Soviet Government is proceeding to define boundaries in accordance with the agreement and express desire of the peoples inhabiting Central Asia. As a result of the new territorial distribution carried out in accordance with economic, social and ethnographic conditions, every nation will now create its own state.

### *No Other Solution.*

In the first years of the revolution, all our energies were devoted towards the suppression of counter-revolution. In spite of tremendous obstacles we issued victorious from the internal strife. The time has now come to carry into effect the obligations assumed by the October Revolution. Our resources will not be devoted to satisfying the whims of Emirs and the depravities of courtesans, upon which millions were formerly dissipated, but will be employed in satisfying the cultural needs of the country, in assisting her development and strengthening the power of the Red Army. The landowners with their petty ideology have been destroyed. Having settled other problems, we must now proceed to satisfy the current demands of life. A glance at the new map of Central Asia will convince us that there is no other way of improving our economic situation. On this map you will no longer find the Tadjis of Samarakand isolated from the Tadjis of Eastern Bokhara. Everybody knows that we drink the waters of the river Sarzeraphshana and use them for irrigating our fields, and only when the Uzbeks of Bokhara and Samarakand unite, will there be no cause for conflicts over the question of water. The question of water, the fundamental problem of Central Asia, will solve itself. What will happen if we destroy our former artificial boundaries? Will it be a bad thing for the two and a half million Uzbeks of Bokhara to unite with the Uzbeks of Turkestan and set up an Uzbek Socialist Soviet Republic with a population of seven million? The result will be that the old errors and misdeeds will disappear and we shall become real masters in a clearly and correctly defined country, the national republics of which will be full members in the powerful union of Socialist Soviet Republics.

*A New Era in the East.*

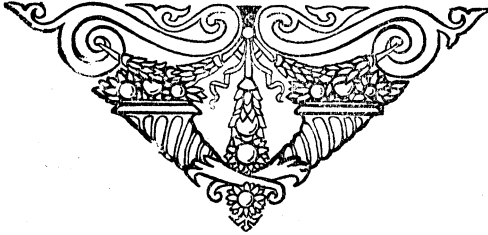
This event will be of tremendous historic importance. A new era is beginning in the East. The new national republics, voluntarily supporting each other with forces united will carry the cause of the emancipation and the renaissance of the peoples of the East to a successful conclusion.

The creation of Soviet Republics on the basis of self-determination will like a magnet attract the other oppressed nations into the Soviet family.

The East is turning over the most important page in its history.

FEIZULLA KHODJAEV

(Chairman of the Council of Nazir of the Soviet Socialist Republic of Bokhara.)



# U.S.S.R. and the National Question

*(On the Occasion of the Seventh Anniversary of the October Revolution)*

**T**HE October Revolution imbibed from its leader, Comrade Lenin, a great loathing for all oppression, including national oppression. One of its tasks was : to give the world a real sample of a revolutionary solution of the national question on the basis of the brotherly solidarity of the emancipated workers and peasants. This work is not yet quite accomplished, but we are justified in saying that the main problem has been solved.

## I. The Period of Civil War.

The ruling nationality under the Czarist regime was the Great Russian. This nationality from which the ruling bureaucracy was recruited, constituted only 43.3 per cent. of the total population of the country.

Great Russians occupied the central part of the Empire. In the South, West, North and East, there were peoples who were subject to national oppression. Moreover, some of them had been forcibly included in the Czarist Empire, such as Ukrainians, White Russians, Poles, Jews, Tartars, Bashkirs, Karalians, Finns, Germans, Uzvecks, Turkomans, Tadzniks, Armenians, Georgians, Tcherkess, Lesghis, Chubash, Votiaks, Burats, Kalmiks, and many others—in all about one hundred nationalities. In order to maintain its domination over these peoples and in order to give privileges to the ruling Great Russian bureaucracy, Czarism pursued a policy of forcible Russification towards these nationalities, and at the same time did its utmost to cause enmity among them. The mass of the Great Russians was contaminated with the same haughtiness and contempt for the "stranger" as the Czarist bureaucracy. The workers and peasants of the oppressed peoples were filled with hatred and distrust to Great Russians as a whole, instead of with the legitimate hatred to Great Russian land-owner capitalists, and to the autocratic bureaucracy.

National oppression was one of the mainstays of the Czarist regime, just as for instance the domination of British capitalism over the colonies of the British Empire is the mainstay of its power in the country. Hence the Bolshevik regarded the fight for independence of the oppressed peoples as one of the means for the destruction of Czarist despotism. Already the first Congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party (the progenitor of the Russian Communist Party) recognised "the right to national self-determination." This meant that the Bolsheviks did not respect the frontiers established by Czarism by means of annexation, and also that the Bolsheviks would support the oppressed nationalities' fight for their independence. But at the same time "the Bolsheviks" never tired of urging the workers of all the oppressed nationalities of Czarist Russia to unite in the fight against common enemies: Czarism and capitalism. "The Bolsheviks" urged the establishment of one revolutionary proletarian party to unite the workers of all nationalities.

The October Revolution, by destroying the foundation of bourgeois domination, put an end to the very possibility of national oppression, which is, of course, one of the forms of bourgeois exploitation.

The following principles were proclaimed in the decree of the Soviet of People's Commissars of November 9th :

1. Equality and sovereignty of the peoples of Russia.
2. Their right to self-determination, including separation and establishment of an independent State.
3. Abolition of all and sundry national and national-religious privileges and limitations.
4. Free development of national minorities and ethnographical groups inhabiting Russian territory.

At the time of the October Revolution part of the former Russian Empire (Poland, Lithuania and Latvia) was occupied by German troops. German generals "self-determined" Poland. In the *Ukraine*, the urban and rural bourgeoisie and the kulaks of whom the Central Rada was composed, aimed at complete separation from Soviet Russia where proletarian dictatorship had been established. They proclaimed the independence of the Ukraine, but subsequently German and Austrian generals, who were invited by the Central Rada, "self-determined" the Ukraine, too. They put Hetman Skoropadsky at the head of affairs and used all the

wealth of the Ukraine for the re-vitalisation of Austria and Germany, which were exhausted by the war. Here independence became occupation.

When at the end of 1918 revolution broke out in Germany, and the German and Austrian armies which occupied the Ukraine, Poland, Lithuania, Latvia and Esthonia disintegrated, civil war for the conquest of power broke out in all these countries. Wherever the proletariat, together with the poor peasantry was victorious, it established a new national soviet state and entered immediately into close relations with the first Soviet Republic—the R.S.F.S.R. This is how the Latvian, Ukrainian, Lithuanian-White-Russian Soviet Republics came into being. Each of these soviet republics would have been beaten separately by strong enemies—therefore, the establishment of the Union of Soviet Republics was an absolute necessity.

In Poland, Finland and Latvia, victory in the civil war remained with the landowners, kulaks and the bourgeoisie.

In the Caucasus, Georgian mensheviks, Armenian "Dashmaks" (capitalist-democratic Party) and Tartar "Mussavatists" (feudal-capitalist party, the latter element predominating) severed from Russia because of their hatred of the Soviet Power, and established independent States: Georgia, Azerbeidjan and Armenia. They received support at first from German and subsequently from British capitalists who wanted to get possession of the Baku oil and the mineral wealth of the Southern Caucasus. The subsequent victory of the working class in these States strengthened their independence and welded them together into one, Trans-Caucasian Federation. At the same time the necessity for joint struggle against world capitalism and for joint efforts in building up of a Socialist order prompted the workers of Georgia, Armenia and Azerbeidjan to unite with the first and the strongest of all the Soviet republics—the R.S.F.S.R.

## II. Independence and Unity.

In 1920, civil war came to an end. The Soviet Republic made peace with Finland, Latvia, Esthonia and Lithuania, and was *the first* to recognise their independence. In the beginning of 1921 peace was also signed with Poland in Riga on the strength of which, part of White Russia and of the Ukraine was added to Poland. At this juncture the energy of the organs of the Soviet power was concentrated on in-

ternal work—the consolidation and development of the emancipated peoples of the former Czarist empire which had formed themselves into a Soviet Federation. Already the programme of the Russian Communist Party adopted in 1919 at its Eighth Congress (§9) contained distinct directions and instructions for the solution of the national question within the Soviet Federation.

It was stated in the programme: “a prominent place must be given to the policy of bringing together the proletarians and semi-proletarians of various nationalities for the joint revolutionary struggle for the overthrow of the landowners and the bourgeoisie . . . As a transition phase on the road to complete unity, the Party advocates the federative amalgamation of States organised on the Soviet basis . . .

“In any case the proletariat of the former oppressed nations must pay special consideration to the relics of national sentiment and must show great circumspection in the treatment of the workers of these formerly oppressed nationalities. It is this policy alone which will make it possible to create conditions conducive to the establishment of durable voluntary unity between the various national elements of the international proletariat, as shown by the successful experiment of amalgamating a number of national Soviet republics with Soviet Russia as the centre.”

The Tenth Congress of the R.C.P., which met in the beginning of 1921, immediately after the conclusion of civil war, summed up and put into a more concrete form the fundamental principles of our national policy:

“. . . an isolated existence of separate Soviet republics is unstable and not durable in view of the fact that their existence is endangered by the designs of the capitalist States. The common interests of the Soviet Republics, the re-establishment of the productive forces destroyed by the war, as well as the absolute necessity for the grain producing Soviet Republics to help non-grain producing republics, peremptorily demand the establishment of a Union of Soviet Republics as the only salvation from imperialist slavery and national oppression. The national Soviet Republics, having shaken off the yoke of “their own” and of “the foreign” bourgeoisie can safeguard their existence and get the best of the united forces of imperialism, provided they establish a close State union. Otherwise they cannot be victorious . . .



But the Federation cannot be durable and the results of Federation cannot be real unless it possesses the mutual confidence and the consent of all the countries forming part of it.

This voluntary character of the Federation must be also maintained in future, for only a federation on these lines can become a transition phase towards the higher unity of the workers of the world within one big world amalgamation, the necessity of which is becoming more and more imperative."

The foundation of national and international Soviet construction consists in independent and autonomous Soviet Republics amalgamated on the federative basis. The complete forms of federative amalgamation underwent changes during the last seven years, and changes are still taking place, for instance in Central Asia. But *the basic thing* existed from the very beginning and was dictated by the real interests of the workers.

The Soviet Republics are free from petty bourgeois narrow-mindedness, and give free play for the growing tendency towards centralisation, towards amalgamation of revolutionary forces and economic wealth. Five branches of Soviet work were at the wish of all the workers concentrated from the beginning in the hands of the united federation. They were: (1) the armed forces, (2) the international policy of the Soviet power (diplomacy), (3) foreign trade, (4) industry, transport post and telegraph, and (5) finance.

As to the first three branches, no doubt whatever could be entertained. Even the bourgeoisie was compelled during the years of the world war to have recourse to centralisation of military command. One of the reasons for the Entente victory over the German coalition was the fact that it was able to overcome the independence of French, British, American and Belgian military forces, and to form them into a united front which could be brought into action at the order of one supreme military command. This is all the more necessary for the proletariat and its Red Army.

Moreover, the interests of the Federated Soviet Republics are such that they can be safely left in the hands of their federation in the face of world capitalism. And as for foreign policy, Soviet red diplomacy can only be successful, monopoly of foreign trade can only be maintained and victorious on this front, if the Soviet Republics are able to oppose world capitalism by which they are surrounded not separately, but as one united state organisation.

Industrial amalgamation is a more complicated affair. This question has been solved in the following manner : some enterprises have been left under the administration of local Soviets, and hence of the separate Soviet Republics, while others which were of federative importance, are under the administration of the Supreme Council of National Economy. At the same time common economic activities are determined by the organs of the Union, and are obligatory for all Soviet Republics. Railways, the post and telegraph services, are amalgamated in the Peoples' Commissariats of the Union.

The reason for this is obvious. The nationalised industries are the most important centres of proletarian dictatorship which must meet the joint attack of both the home and foreign bourgeoisie. The proper administration of the oil industry in the Baku district or of the coal industry in the Donetz Basin or the development and preservation of railway communication—all this could not be dealt with alone by the republic containing the oil fields, mines or railway lines. Moreover, these enterprises are not for the benefit of one district, but for the working population of the entire Federation. This necessitates a *uniform* policy and one common master over all the wealth which the proletariat has taken over from the bourgeoisie. The same applies to finance which is the mainstay of the work of the Federation on the economic field. It would be a petty bourgeois reactionary relapse if different money systems were set up within the Federation. This would mean that we would not have our chervonetz, and such a breach in our front would form a loophole for the enemy.

The harmonious relations between the Federation and the various republics which form part of it, which is here described, has not come into being all at once. It crystallised only in the seventh year of the Soviet Power, taking the form of "the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics." The Union is composed of two Federations : (1) the R.S.F.S.R., and (2) the Trans-Caucasian, Soviet Federative Socialist Republic (consisting of three republics : the Georgian, Armenian and Azerbaidjan Republics) and separate national republics, (3) the White Russian Republic, and (4) the Ukrainian Republic. The R.S.F.S.R. itself consists of eleven republics and ten autonomous regions.

The constitution of the "Union" adopted July 6th, 1923, defined very clearly the organisation and construction of the joint congresses of the Central Executive Committee and the Soviet of People's Commissars of the Union, while the session

of the Central Executive Committee held in October endorsed the regulations concerning every one of the united People's Commissariats. To promote a still greater *rapprochement* between the peoples, a Nationalities' Soviet has been attached to the Central Executive Committee of the Union, consisting of representatives of all national republics and regions. But this is not all, more re-organisation is taking place at present in the republics of Central Asia.

Until recently proletarian revolution in Central Asia in its fullest development reached the gates of Bokhara and Khorezm. In these countries the power of Emir and Khan was overthrown, but the republics which sprang up as a result of this revolution were not placed on a Socialist basis, which demands that voting power should be restricted to the working class element, but merely assumed the form of *national* republics friendly to us.

The Turkestan Soviet Republic had among its population many nationalities: Uzbeks, Khirgizs, Tadjis, Turkomen, etc. These same nationalities form also part of the population of Bokhara and Khorezm. These peoples collected in one republic could not exercise the right of self-determination and establish autonomous administration suitable to each of them. National frictions took place.

At present united republics are in the course of formation—the *Turkoman Republic* (Turkmanistan) and the Uzbek Republic (Uzbecestan), Samarkand being the capital, and two autonomous republics: the *Tadjik Republic*, which will form part of the Uzbek Republic, and the *Kara Khirgiz Republic*, which will form part of the R.S.F.S.R. This re-organisation aims at bringing Party and Soviet organisations nearer to the lower strata of the emancipated Eastern peoples, and at building up governmental power on the principle of national self-determination. This re-organisation will be of an enormous international significance: Eastern peoples living beyond the cordon of Soviet Republics will be able to realise the true nature of the liberation policy of the Soviet Government, which is alien to any form of imperialism and is taking up boldly and wholeheartedly the task of bringing about the national regeneration of the Eastern peoples who not so long ago were the object of Czarist exploitation.

Hitherto we have dealt with nationalities concentrated in one single territory. But this alone does not solve the national question. In the towns we frequently meet tens of thousands of citizens of a different nationality from the popu-

lation of the respective district. Thus Tartars do not live in the Tartar or Crimean Republics, but are scattered throughout cities far remote from these republics. The same applies to Letts, Poles and Jews. To satisfy the cultural needs of such national minorities, special national minorities' departments are being formed in the people's Education Commissariat, as well as in the gubernia People's Education Department.

### III. After the Twelfth Congress.

The Twelfth Congress of our Party, which was held in April, 1923, having summed up the Party and Soviet work performed during two years of peaceful construction under conditions created by the New Economic Policy, turned its attention again to the national question, and confirmed the existence of a number of abnormal and injurious phenomena.

The congress dealt in one of its resolutions with a number of perils which are a relic of the old social order with its nationalist oppression.

1. Relics of autocratic Russian chauvinism rooted in our state institutions and demonstrated in a superciliously, contemptuous and heartless bureaucratic attitude on the part of Russian Soviet officials towards the needs and requirements of the national republics.

2. The danger of dis-union between town and countryside in the national republics, arising from the fact that the Great Russian element which predominates in the towns, creates the Soviet apparatus which cannot satisfy and be within the reach of peasant Ukrainians, White Russians, Tartars and Bashkirs.

3. The economic backwardness of the national republics and their lack of factories and workshops where the proletariat of the native population of the said republics could concentrate.

4. The existence of national frictions between the peoples forming part of the population of one and the same republic, such frictions being encouraged by national chauvinism (Georgian, Tartar and Uzbek).

5. The low level of cultural educational work in the republics resulting from the insufficient grants made for this purpose by the Centre.

The greatest danger is in disunion between the prole-

tariat and the peasantry. The majority of the factory and workshop proletariat is concentrated in the great Russian gubernias. The White Russian Ukrainian Tartar and Bashkir peoples who were oppressed by Czarism are mostly composed of peasants. By establishing close contact between the great Russian proletariat and the peasantry of all the peoples of the Union, we would abolish the very possibility of national frictions within the Soviet Union. If this is to be achieved, the Soviet apparatus must be brought nearer to the peasantry, the cultural level of the latter must be raised and their distrust which was fostered by years of national persecution, must be overcome.

The Twelfth Party Congress proposed a number of measures to this effect. We enumerate the most important of them :

(1) The Republics must be given comprehensive financial and also budget rights, in order to enable them to show their own initiative in State, administrative, cultural and economic activities.

(2) The organs of the national republics and regions must be pre-eminently composed of local people, knowing the language, the habits and customs of the peoples in question.

(3) Special legislation must be introduced, guaranteeing the use of the native language in national regions.

(4) An impetus must be given to educational work in the Red Army, in the direction of instilling into other Red Army men ideas of brotherhood and solidarity between all the people of our Union. Practical measures must be taken in connection with the organisation of national army units, to guarantee that everything is done for the adequate defence of the republic.

A great deal has already been done by Soviet and Party organisations in the direction of carrying out the decisions of the Congress during the eighteen months which have elapsed since the Twelfth Congress of the Party. The transition from Russian to the native languages in the Soviet apparatus demands serious preliminary work in connection with the formation of a big cadre of Soviet and Party workers drawn from the native populations, or at least from circles familiar to the various venaculars.

The opening of new specialised schools for this purpose will give an impetus to work on this field. Workers of Soviet institutions must learn local languages within a certain limit of time. In the Transcaucasian Federation, a decree *re* languages has been promulgated.

The growth of the national press, which has been noticeable during the last twelve months, and which had the full support of the Central Committee of the Party is very significant. In the national republics the countryside can only be reached through the national press. Now this is fully recognised, and matters are moving in the right direction.

Much has also been done with respect to the Red Army.

In the national regions (in the Tartar, Turkestan and Trans-Caucasian Republics) the Red Army unit is for the masses the only organ which, as far as they are concerned, embodies the central power of the union. During the revolution, close contact has been established between the peoples of the Union and their Red Army. This contact must be made even closer than before, it must be fostered by every possible means. With relation to this the existence within the Red Army of national units quartered in their own republics, would be of the greatest importance. Long ago steps were taken in this direction. In the Caucasus there have been already for several years separate Georgian, Armenian and Tartar units, each one of them quartered in its respective republic.

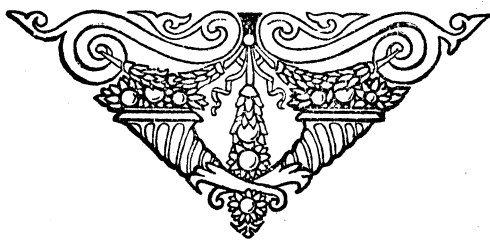
At present, this question has been raised in all the national republics, but the main difficulty lies in the lack of a well-trained national staff of officers. To remedy this evil national military schools, with a normal programme are being opened. Three years hence these schools will be able to turn out thousands of officers able to take command of Ukrainian, Tartar, Bashkir, Armenian, Georgian, Uzbeg and Turkomen Red Army units.

Another important phenomenon which deserves mention, is the strong desire of the working class and peasant youth of the peoples of the East to enter the ranks of the Red Army. Under the old regime, these elements never did any military service and mutinied when the Czar made an attempt in 1916 to force these peoples into the ranks of the Czarist army. We refer to the Uzbeks, Kirghizs, Turkomens and Tagzhiks, of Turkestan and Bokhara. At present we have a Bokhara Red Army constituted on the same basis as the Red Army of

the entire union. Schools have been organised in Tashkent on a voluntary basis, and hundreds of revolutionary young workers and peasants, more than half of them non-party, have flocked to these schools.

A new Red Army is being formed in the East of the Eastern peoples who, hitherto served as a imperialist weapon for the suppression of the revolutionary movement in Europe, and for purposes of annexation (the Black African troops used for the occupation of the Ruhr). This phenomenon is of historical world importance and is a sign that the Soviet Revolution has achieved enormous successes among the masses in the East.

We have already pointed out those measures of the Soviet Government concerning the solution of the national question which are of a special nature. But the chief method to liquidate all the relics of the old times is the extension of Soviet and Party work and consolidation of the Soviet Power among the non-Russian peoples of our Union. Every success in agriculture, in the handicrafts and big industries in the national republics and regions, every step towards the raising of the cultural level of the working population of the national republics, every party meeting, every school and newspaper, and finally the presence of the workers and peasants of the non-Russian peoples in the ranks of the Russian Communist Party and of the Russian Young Communist League—all this combined consolidates the workers' power among these peoples and gets new recruits for the proletarian revolution. With the growth of Soviet power grows and develops the Union of Peoples in the Soviet Republic.



# Communist Party of Great Britain

(PUBLICATIONS DEPARTMENT)

## A SHORT COURSE OF ECONOMIC SCIENCE

By A. BOGDANOFF.

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

---

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

*Communist Review, May, 1923.*

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

---

PAPER COVER - 3s. 3d. *post free.*  
CLOTH EDITION - 5s. 4d. *post free.*

---

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



Centropress  
Limited, T.U.



Number 168  
Camberwell  
Road, S.E.5

Communist Party of Great Britain

(PUBLICATIONS DEPARTMENT)

# A SHORT COURSE OF ECONOMIC SCIENCE

By A. BOGDANOFF.

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

---

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

*Communist Review, May, 1923.*

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

---

PAPER COVER - 3s. 3d. *post free.*  
CLOTH EDITION - 5s. 4d. *post free.*

---

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

Centropress  
Limited, T.U.



Number 168  
Camberwell  
Road, S.E.5