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THE COMMUNIST REVIEW

Editor: THOS. BELL

THE EDITORIAL VIEW

SINCE the Armistice of 1918 the capitalist politicians have associated the month of November with the problem of world peace. What with Flanders poppies, sermons from the pulpit, and speeches from the politicians, no pains have been spared—and this has taken place each November since 1918—to perpetuate whatever illusions the masses entertained of the “peace” that was to come when men laid down their arms. Thanks to unemployment and reduced pensions many of these illusions of patriotic Britishers have been shed. But much Communist propaganda has yet to be put in.

It would be a fatal mistake to ignore the ability of our British bourgeois in the part of propaganda. There is a subtlety and artlessness in his art, so to speak, that is baffling to those who don't take the trouble to look beneath the surface. He always appears to be muddling along, yet on close examination one can always detect a design in his apparent lack of method that shows an intuitive grasp of essentials. The dole, for instance, and paper schemes of relief works designed to stave off the menace of unemployment—and curiously enough always on the approach of winter. In his propaganda efforts even the most sacred human feelings and emotions are not safe. We have only to recall, for instance, the telegram of Lloyd George to New Zealand and Australia, the home of the Anzacs, upon the threatened outbreak of war with Turkey, at Chanak, and the suggestion that the tombs of the dead were about to be desecrated.

But perhaps the most outrageous manifestation of this kind of propaganda is on Armistice Day in November. The stone or Cenotaph in Whitehall is represented as one of those simple natural tributes to sacrifices made not for the selfish gains of an imperial class, but for purely abstract patriotic motives. On the other hand, in every village or town in the British Isles, however remote, there is contained a replica of this stone or a monument of some kind to the men who were deceived and misled into making the supreme sacrifice during 1914-18. Around those monuments each year

solemn prayers are offered up and hypocritical exhortation made to the designing genius who presides over the destinies of the British Empire, to consummate the sacrifices made for a world peace—at least for the British Empire. Yet far from reaching peace, even as the canting humbugs who will organise these ceremonies this year are standing in silence or delivering their political diatribes, the British Empire is steadily drifting into that state of ruin and chaos which has already overtaken Central Europe.

* * * * *

And what of the promised peace? Side by side with all the welter of starvation and misery that afflicts the working masses and agricultural workers of Europe, militarism and open violence is more rampant to-day than in 1913. And here is the proof which we cull from the eminently respectable and conservative "Observer" of October 14th.

"Before the war," says Mr. Garvin, "the number of men under arms was round about 3,700,000. To-day the corresponding strength is over 4,000,000. And this does not include the 700,000 effectives allowed the Central Powers. Actually the increased number of men under arms, compared with 1913, is reckoned at 1,300,000. And even this," says Mr. Garvin, "is not the whole story. Machine guns, tanks, bombing planes, and poison gas, has increased the killing strength two-fold that of 1913."

That League of Nations of which our statesmen boasted so much as **THE** instrument to avoid war, has indeed proven a broken reed, at least for those who look at it as the buttress against international strife. Powerless and impotent to deal with international differences as in the case of Upper Silesia, Memel, the Ruhr, and Corfu, it has become a mere cloak for scheming militarists, would-be pacifists or faint-hearted labour leaders. More and more it is assuming the character of another **HOLY ALLIANCE** such as arose out of the Great Napoleonic War. The compactness of this **HOLY ALLIANCE** is seen in the deliberate refusal to include Germany and Russia which, with the United States of America still outside, includes more than half the white population of the world.

* * * * *

And when we look at the economic situation throughout the world the picture is equally appalling. For five years there has been on an average in Great Britain alone a solid army of 2,000,000 unemployed, each one hoping against hope, like Micawber, that something will turn up. But it is becoming increasingly apparent to even the most conservative workers that there is not the slightest chance of anything turning up for a long time, particularly in the shipbuilding and the big industrial centres.

Apart from the over-capitalisation that has taken place in the important staple industries of the country—a subject more fully dealt with elsewhere in this issue—the paralysis of Germany, and in the markets of the world as a whole, thanks to the clash of vested interests and the criminal Treaty of Versailles, offers neither hope nor scope for production. The Baldwin Government again with characteristic British naiveté, pretends to have at last struck the right lines. “Not doles,” says Sir Allan Smith, “but work at accustomed occupations is the thing.” The Government spokesmen take up the cry, and immediately the powerful Press broadcasts the glad tidings. This promise to put in hand emergency work such as the construction of bridges and extension of railways is quite in keeping with the highest traditions of capitalist politics in Britain. For one thing, it has completely knocked the feet from the Labour Party leaders, as witness the haste of Messrs. Henderson and Clynes to explain that the Government has in reality stolen Labour’s programme. Well! well! when will our Labour leaders learn? Or must we still say with Frederick Engels, who, during the ’eighties, noted that the working class movement in England was afflicted with the ideology of its bourgeoisie, and that it contained elements corrupted by the bourgeoisie or more or less paid by it to act as leaders.

* * * *

Surely it is as clear as a pikestaff to-day that the crux of the problem of unemployment is in the private ownership and control of the factories, workshops and all the means of production. Production is not regulated for social needs; it is organised for private profit, and when profit cannot be made the machinery stops. That is why we are faced with this huge army of unemployed, and the consequent misery in this country for large masses of the working class.

Of course, it will be said our gifted Labour leaders know all this. We can imagine our I.L.P. friends especially insisting. Have they not moved a resolution in the House of Commons demanding nationalisation of the industries? Yes, but a resolution in the House of Commons is one thing; to be willing to exercise every effort and subordinate as secondary everything else to securing the desired goal, is another. We want from the Labour Party more than resolutions. We want a determined and vigorous fighting policy against the capitalist Government, and that not merely on unemployment, but on every question and all the time. Mr. Clynes, for instance, on examining the Government’s programme, says that he doubts “the possibilities in the same.” He says he “wants results”! But what kind of results does Mr. Clynes seriously expect? We cannot believe he is simple enough to imagine that even a modification, not to say permanent removal, of unemployment

from the operation of the Government's policy impossible. Mr. Clynes knows very well that hundreds of thousands of workers are being even now deceived by these specious paper schemes of Baldwin, without waiting till the close of winter for the rude awakening store for them. Mr. Baldwin, Sir Allan Smith, and his bourgeois supporters are going to get the results they want. We may be sure of that. And that is peace and tranquillity over the winter months. If—and it is a big if—the unemployed organisation let them.

* * * *

We have never subscribed to the belief that Henderson, Thomas or Clynes represent in reality the earnest desires and aspirations of the masses. We are proving it, for example, in our demand for C.P. affiliation to the Labour Party. And if that is so, on the general question of working class unity, how much more so may we expect it on such a living question as unemployment—a matter of primary and vital concern to the mass of workers belonging to the Trade Union Congress? We are glad to see that the Communist Party is not alone in this view and welcome the decided growing opinion now manifesting itself within the ranks of the Labour Party to repudiate Messrs. Henderson and Clynes when they utter in the name of the workers, ideas distinctly bourgeois. So far as the Ministry of Labour's statements are concerned, we hope the unemployed workers will neither be tricked by the Government paper plans nor cajoled by the fine speeches of the Labour Party leaders, but will directly place the responsibility on the Government and all its supporters for the plight to-day of the 2,000,000 out-of-works and their dependents.

Never was the situation more favourable to the Labour Party for a bold and vigorous onslaught on British capitalism. Faced with impending bankruptcy at home, no hope or prospects of getting the huge industrial plants running again, the coming of the Premiers of the Colonies to the Empire Economic Conference, has not improved matters. In reality, this Conference has but vindicated the repeated warnings of the Communist Party, that to rely upon the Empire for a way out of the present misery and unemployment was madness. We now have it from the accredited spokesmen that the colonies are in as bad a way as the "home land." They cannot absorb the industrial unemployed of Great Britain for the very simple reason that they have an unemployed army of their own. The prospects of the small working farmer are equally nil. What does this mean? It means that we have passed the stage when Australia, New Zealand and Canada can be reckoned as customers for manufactured goods. In other words, they are no longer a means of employment for the British worker. The colonies have grown up; they are now competitors instead of customers: their representatives come to London to talk to Baldwin, not to crave

for favours or to receive instructions. They put down their own terms and are able to insist upon them. In short, capitalism is now as rampant in Wellington, Sydney, Brisbane, and Montreal as in London or Manchester, and the class struggle as keen.

Nor can we talk about the Empire as a self-sufficing economic unit. The British Empire is bound up with international capitalism and cannot escape from it. That is the real significance of the Empire Conference. When, therefore, Thomas, Clynes, and Bramley boast about being proud of OUR Empire; at the very moment when this "precious" institution is in difficulties, the workers of Great Britain, in the colonies, and the oppressed peoples in the dependencies, will say, "Thank you, gentlemen, for nothing." They will remember Amritsar, Moplah, the Bloody Smuts in South Africa, the Land Sharks and Emigration swindlers of the more "enlightened" colonies, and say, "Your Empire, Messrs. Thomas, Clynes, and Bramley, is as rotten as your politics; take it away, it stinks"! But let the working class of this country be not deceived. Wrapped up in this love of Empire is the old cancer of national defence. In effect our worthy Labour leaders are once more committing the British working class, as well as the workers in the colonies, to future war. They are pawning the lives of the present young generation of workers for pelf and place, knowing in their heart of hearts that there is no hope within the Empire for the millions at present standing at the doors of the Labour Exchanges.

* * * *

Baldwin and his pals understand only too well the reason why grass is growing in the shipyards and the machinery rusting away, and it is not strange that they are getting alarmed at the rot setting in. Compelled to acknowledge the disease, they talk of subsidising bankrupt firms and pretend to the workers that they are creating employment. But they are doomed to failure. The history of the past six years shows capitalism to be in a state of collapse. Staggering and tottering to its timely end, it seeks by every artificial device to balance itself. For a period here and there it succeeds, but a permanent recovery and stabilisation is impossible. Two roads are therefore before the working class of this country. Either chaos and ruin as in Germany and Central Europe, or peace and security and permanent stabilisation as in the Workers' Republic of Soviet Russia. In making this choice we must decide either to continue with the national hatred, division, insecurity and misery, symbolised in the British Empire and throughout capitalism, or be prepared to strike the road of Internationalism and line up with the millions of working masses and agricultural workers within the Empire and outside it, now gathering together under the banner of the Communist International for the final struggle.

The Empire Conference and the Workers

WHATEVER else the Imperial Conference may reveal during its further sessions it has already confirmed the Communist diagnosis of the conditions of the British Empire. Mr. J. H. Thomas may declare, "We love our Empire as well as those who proclaim it every day," or Mr. Clynes may eloquently affirm that "We on the Labour side want as fervently as any class to see the British Empire well developed." These fervent sentiments and hopes are as futile as the new labels recently devised for the Empire. The bluff is called and it makes no difference whether we talk of a Commonwealth of Nations or a miniature League of Nations. The plain facts are the Empire is entangled in the collapsing fabric of capitalist civilisation and cannot escape.

Whether we take Mr. Baldwin's survey of the international situation or Lord Curzon's three-hour story of his blunderings in foreign politics, either individually or together we get the same result—a spectacle of political hopelessness.

Mr. Baldwin's survey, for instance, recorded the British financial and naval surrender to America, and as he has to admit, the funding of the debt to the U.S.A. has placed a burden of £30,000,000 per annum on Britain and doubled the total debt to the U.S.A. On the other hand, consider what happened at Washington on the discussion of the limitation of armaments.

This historic conference relegated Britain's supremacy of the seas into the background. In the departments of Imperial struggle wherein she was weakest, Britain secured actually nothing. She declared her willingness to limit submarines, armies, and aircraft. On not one of these accounts was there a concession from her opponents. In submarines she became only equal to America, whose greater building potentialities are obvious to the merest tyro. In aircraft she falls hopelessly behind France, the latter with 1,500 aeroplanes against Britain's 529.

The natural corollary of this diplomatic defeat is to emphasise that other countries must pay their debts to Britain, and look round for instruments to effect this aim and to neutralise the growing opposition. Such, indeed, is the substance of the conference deliberations. It explains the plea for the League of Nations and the pitiful endeavours to strengthen the bonds of Empire. It explains Sir P.

Lloyd Greame on the development of Empire preference, and his striking note which roused to attention all the contradictory elements within and without the Empire. Anxious at all costs to hold the Empire together, concession has followed concession to the colonies, but, singularly enough, and it is worth noting, nothing to India.

THE FUTILITY OF EMPIRE BLOC

But surely the proposal of an Empire bloc within the League of Nations is the final touch of imbecility, if world peace is seriously contemplated. For rivalry in submarines, aircraft and armies is certain to follow an intensification of the tariff war between the leading rivals for the world market. Not that the tariff war is intended as an aggressive stroke. It was rather an act of political despair added to speeches of despair. We have only to note how the Press of the country, almost with one accord, deplored the vacuity of Mr. Baldwin's speech and wished the South African "big noise" could assume the reins as Empire leader. Despair undoubtedly lies behind all this bluster and peroration. And we might ask, what boots it that the "resources of the Empire are boundless," when the very development of these forces is pulling the Empire asunder?

The conference is historically belated. It is striving to be progressive with instruments that are useless to infuse into an artificial structure an organised unity which life, geography and economics forbid. Had the Empire even been the deliberately planned creation of imperialists instead of a growth with no plan, its present form and content would still doom it to destruction. Certainly by no stretch of the imagination can we conceive it as a geographical or economic unit. Five minutes consideration of the elementary facts of geography will make clear Britain's eccentric geographical position and demonstrate that only the accident of historical development could give it that pre-eminent position it has held for a few short years. So long as America remained an undiscovered or an undeveloped continent, Britain could hold a historical key position. But once America became a power, Britain's days as a dominating factor in world traffic and influence were bound to be numbered. Let the facts speak for themselves.

THE EMPIRE IN WORLD ECONOMY

From Britain to Sydney, Australia, is 12,000 miles. From San Francisco, 6,470 miles and 8,500 miles from New York. From Britain to New Zealand, via Panama, it is 10,217 miles. From New York, 8,560 miles. From San Francisco to China it is 6,340 miles. From Britain to China 11,000 miles.

The U.S.A. is the geographical pivot between the great oceans of the world fronting Europe on the East, and Asia on the West. Nor is there alternative satisfaction in financial or economic comparison. The dollar is pre-eminent in the world of finance, and eating

into the vitals of Britain's preserves. The Canadian position is notorious. In a few short years the financial relations of Britain and America in Canada have been completely reversed. Whereas British securities in Canada amount to 155,000,000 dollars, American securities amount to 550,000,000 dollars. In economic reserves and development America is now far ahead of Britain with an added tremendous advantage. It is at the centre of a geographical and economic unit, steadily absorbing a great chunk of the British Empire and situated favourably in relation to all the trade routes of the world.

On the contrary Britain is torn by development and even its preferences antagonise its elements. The preferences, for instance, welcomed by Australia, Canada, and South Africa, as grist to the mill indicating their importance to others as well as themselves are resented and undesired by India. Indeed, India, in its development, sets up its own tariff barriers against Britain, paralysing the cotton trade of Lancashire, the jute industry of Dundee and threatening the steel industry with a tariff of 33 per cent. Add to these facts the collapse of European economy and the parlous position of the Empire and Britain as its ruler is clear.

It is this situation which relegates to the realm of the unreal all attempts to see in the present Imperial Conference a progressive development towards the economic and political unity of the Empire. The conference is an attempt at salvage amidst ruin, a clutching at a broken reed in the flood tide of disaster.

Nothing could drive this home more forcibly than the report on emigration and the speech of Mr. Bruce of Australia. According to Mr. Bruce, after eighteen months' effort only 31,832 emigrants had been "settled," although the plan was designed to fix 50,000 per annum. Mr. Bruce wanted to help. In fact he and his Government had a great scheme. If the Empire rendered them assistance, in five years' time they could fix up some 60,000 settlers. And if the British Government did not come by some agreement to help to make markets for Australian goods, then they would have to look elsewhere. Meanwhile, the number of unemployed grows towards the 2,000,000 and Britain is faced with the fact that 500,000 young people enter the labour market each year and thus add to the problems of economy.

LABOUR AND THE EMPIRE

At no part of the conference is labour discussed in any other aspect than that of the unemployed and their fitness for Empire development. It is of interest and importance, therefore, at once to turn to the Labour movement to examine its outlook and its relations to the problems of Empire. Without wasting further time and space on the slobberings of Messrs. Thomas, Clynes, Tillet and

Bramley at the Empire Exhibition, let us get to grips with the leaders of these leaders.

It is evident from the preceding observations that the breakdown of European economy, the intensification of competition with the after-the-war rivals, and the persistence of unemployment on a large scale, will involve tariff preferences, struggles for cheap labour and new emigration schemes for Empire development, whilst the formation of an Empire bloc will intensify the imperialist rivalries leading to war. At the same time it is well to note the policy of the British government in securing this unity. To the colonies, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa—tariff concessions and preferential aids. To Ireland, Egypt, Mesopotamia, India, it has acted differently. It has struggled to place the most reactionary Governments in power in the name of self-determination and supported them by air and military force.

What, then, have Messrs. Webb, Thomas, Snowden, Clynes, MacDonald, and Co. to say to this situation? First, the Empire is a fact. On this all are agreed. It is a fact which we cannot dispute. Second, this fact involves the Labour movement in responsibilities. Again we are agreed. But what kind of responsibilities and to whom? Are we to perpetuate the Empire or to destroy it? Are we to liberate the workers held in subjection by the imperialists or to promulgate the claptrap of the apologists of imperialism and thereby continue the exploitation of the workers of the Dependencies and initiate them into the benefits (?) of "democracy" and "self-government"?

The present policy of the Labour leaders, the Fabians and the I.L.P. is undoubtedly in support of the latter. It is claimed that it would be fatal to liberate the countries which make up the Empire from the control of the central Government in Britain, for that would leave them victims to other imperialists. This is the essence of the argument advanced by Mr. Snowden, while Mr. Webb, in the "Empire Review" for October, dots the i's and crosses the t's of this policy. Having forgotten all that he has said about the decay of civilisation, Webb, by sheer force of habit, propounds the policy of the national minimum. He says:—

"This is, historically, perhaps the most important political invention of Labour and Socialist thought. . . . To prescribe a minimum standard of civilised life, below which no individual can be suffered to fall; and to ensure that every person does in fact obtain at least the minimum is, as the economists to-day verbally admit, the very basis of social order. . . . Even the thorny problem of 'colour' may probably be most successfully grappled with on this line. Prescribe and elaborate the national minimum, exclusively on grounds of social hygiene, irrespective of colour or race; and allow immigration and employment irrespective of race or colour, only on conditions ensuring the attainment of this minimum. What will then be excluded will be not 'colour' but every form of 'sweating.'"

These are important contributions which are exceedingly plausible to the average worker and man in the street which cannot be

met by the generalisation that "the alternative to Empire is the International of Soviet Republics for the world organisation of production."

IF THE WORKERS COME TO POWER

Nothing is to be gained by closing our eyes to the fact that there is a long way to travel from the first Soviet Republic to the world federation of Republics. And certainly the world federation is not the next step.

We have not yet got the German revolution, not to speak of the European revolution, or the British revolution, whilst the capacity of America to hold out against the revolution is enormous. It may take decades and at least years crowded with pressing problems of revolution progressively demanding answers step by step before we get a world federation of Socialist Republics. To face the immediate problems with the generalisation of world revolution is sheer negation, as dangerous as unfruitful. It leaves the workers victims to the plausible, and transforms revolutionaries into windbags.

What, then, is the Communist answer to the questions arising out of the existence of the Empire? If the workers come to power in this country what ought they to do? The answer is clear and definite. Repudiate the bonds of Empire and liberate the exploited masses and join in the fight to crush their enemies by helping to form workers' and peasants' Governments in the liberated countries. But the imperialists would attack? Then join in the defensive fight and use the situation to spread the revolution in the camp of the attackers. To hold aloof in the class war in the name of "self-determination" may be good pacifism. In our opinion, it is rank cowardice and certainly not the way to win victory for the workers.

But it may be asserted that by the act of liberation from the Empire it may not follow that the workers' and peasants' Government would come to power. Very well, the workers' Government of Britain would have to use its economic, political and agitational power to ripen the conditions to secure such a consummation whilst being prepared to defend the liberated nation from the attacks of external forces. And here we are faced with the proposals of Mr. Webb which present more awkward questions to Mr. Webb than they do to us.

For example, it follows from the policy I have indicated that we must help the workers of these countries to struggle with us, and support their immediate demands for advancement against our class enemies. To fight for an equal standard for black and white is the obvious safeguard for both. Does Mr. Webb mean this when he talks of proscribing a national minimum irrespective of colour or race? If so, is he prepared to face the consequences? If not, he is

landed once again into the camp of the imperialist exploiters. For example, the Indian Industrial Commission in Bombay in 1918 reported that the wages of cotton mill operatives ranged from 15s. 10d. to £3 2s. 7d. per month. The wages in the Calcutta jute mills were from 12s. to £2 per month, and the average wages of the workers in Bengal coalfields was 19s. per month. The hours of labour for men are 13 per day; for women and children 11 per day.

Is Mr. Webb (and the same query applies to all the Labour custodians of Empire) prepared to fight for the Indian workers to be brought to the same level as the British workers? If so, how? By waiting until they have the vote in the Indian constitution in the sweet by and by? Or by strikes? If the latter then the workers will be brought up against the State which will involve tremendous agitation here and probably conflict there. Can the Indian workers rely upon Mr. Webb and his friends to defend them in their hour of trial? It is inconceivable for the "gradualist" philosopher to answer in the affirmative. But if not he assuredly becomes a party to the instrument of imperial class exploitation that is bringing collapse to industry here because of its inability to compete on even terms. Witness the cotton and jute industries to-day.

It would be easy to illustrate still further the predicament of Mr. Webb and his subordinates by dealing with the question of coloured labour, social hygiene, etc. But we are convinced that the points already dealt with suffice to show the impracticability of our Labourist Empire defenders. The Communist alternative which can be put to that of the Imperial Conference and their under-studies of the Labour Party and I.L.P. briefly stated is as follows:—

(1) Support every measure to organise the workers of the countries within the Empire, that will enable them to struggle for improvements as a means to developing their forces to secure self-government by the seizure of power.

(2) To conduct strenuous agitation in this country in support of these workers and peasants with a view to exposing the ramifications and implications of imperialism and uniting the workers of this country with the exploited workers throughout the Empire.

(3) To aid by every possible means, whether in the colonies or here, in securing the liberation of these countries from the control of the Empire and assist in their struggle against all the imperialists.

These are the tasks which provide the workers in the Empire with their answer to the Imperial Conference and the special obligations which history places upon the working class in Great Britain in the revolutionary struggle against international imperialism.

J. T. MURPHY.

NIKOLAI LENIN

A Brief Biographical Sketch of a Great Leader

ON April 10 (old style), 53 years ago, in the year 1870 to be exact, was born in the province of Simbirsk, Vladimir Ilyitch Oulianov (Lenin). His father, Llia Nikolaevitch Oulianov, came from poor parents and humble origin in Astrakhan. A director of primary schools in the province of Simbirsk, Lenin's father at the close of his life had the satisfaction of seeing his beloved district possess 434 schools founded by himself with 20,000 pupils. Honest, laborious and anxious to see peace and harmony amongst the common people, the Lenin family taught the children to love the people, i.e., the workers and peasants and all the oppressed and disinherited. In concert with his brothers, who attended the same school, Lenin was always a good scholar.

In those days the peasants were enslaved to the big landlords and often struck or revolted against the feudal tyranny of these aristocrats. Needless to say, strikes were ruthlessly suppressed by the reigning Czar Alexander III., and the peasants or others who took their part were either thrust into prison or sent into exile. In the vendetta against the peasantry for the death of the Czar Alexander II., Lenin's brother, Alexander Ilyitch, fell into the hands of the spies of the Czar and was hanged in the year 1887.

This calamity had a profound influence upon the young Vladimir. He began to think on the freedom of the people, not only from the Czars, but from all their oppressors, and with thoughts of deep concern for the future welfare of the people, he entered the University of Kazan to continue his studies.

FIRST EXILE

In his first year, 1887, the young rebel was excluded from the University for participating in a students' revolt. Exiled to the village of Kolouchkino, in the province of Kazan, his studies were interrupted and it was not before 1891 that he was able to pass his examinations. In 1893 he lived in Samara and this same year he settled in St. Petersburg, where, in 1894, he founded "The Workers' Central Club."

About this period there began revolutionary movements everywhere throughout the Empire. The masses were awakening from the stupor imposed on them by the oppression of Czarism. Secret societies were founded by the workers in concert with the rising Social Democrats to destroy the Czarism, the landowners and capitalist and restore the land and capital to the peasants and workers.

Of all the societies founded at this time the strongest was that of "Union of Struggle for the Liberation of the Working Class."

The founders were Lenin and his comrades, Starkov, Krjya-novsky, Vaniev, Silvine. Lenin was the foremost militant leader. Working secretly, the spies of the police were very active against the workers and Social-Democrats, and discovered Lenin and his comrades. They were all arrested and sentenced to many years' imprisonment and deported to Siberia. This was in 1895. Lenin himself was sent to Lena. While in exile he continued his studies and wrote some books in which he explained to the workers the road they must travel to win freedom.



V. I. OULIANOV (LENIN)

For Lenin, two types of enemies confronted the working class. First, was the open, frank opponents of all the working-class aspirations; the other type was the bourgeois intellectuals of the Liberal-Cadet Party or the Socialist Revolutionary—the subsequent Whites and counter-revolutionaries. These latter were the most dangerous enemies of the people, since, while they mouthed a distorted view of Marxism, they completely failed to appreciate the trend of events. In his books, “The Programme of the Social-Democrats of Russia,” “The Development of Capitalism in Russia,” etc., Lenin has exposed the falsity of the doctrines of these would-be friends of the people.

The errors of the savants were similar to our respectable trade union leaders in this country, who do not combat the Czars or engage in any political struggle. “Be content with higher wages, less hours, better houses, etc.” They did not see that the Czar, with his police and army, was bound to assist the capitalists and landlords and suppress the workers' struggle by violence if necessary, i.e., to force the workers to accept less wages, longer hours, worse housing conditions, etc.

Lenin contended that to ameliorate the conditions of the working-class there must be a struggle all the time against the capitalists and landowners, against the Czar and the police. There were those who later formed the S.R.'s who said the peasants were the strongest force in Russia and that the workers would never be numerous

enough to dethrone the Czar. Lenin fought this idea and wrote books to prove how false it was to neglect the large and increasing numbers of the working class in the struggle of the peasantry.

Deported to Siberia in 1897, he subsequently escaped and in 1900 we find him abroad collaborating with the remarkable Plechanoff (in some respects the master of Lenin), with Véra Zasoulitch, Léo Deutch, Potrésóf, Martov and Axelrod. In this year (1900) the first number of "The Spark" appeared and became a beacon light for the Russian working class. Not only, it was declared, was the time approaching when the workers and peasants would come to final grips with the Czar, the big landlords and the capitalists, but towards that end an appeal was made for a single organisation uniting all the conscious workers into a Social-Democratic Labour Party. In this connection it was necessary to call a conference where the programme and plan of common action could be worked out.

This was the celebrated congress of 1903 at which the Social-Democratic Labour Party was formed that gave birth at a later stage to the Bolshevik (Communist) Party in 1905.

BOLSHEVIKS AND MENSHEVIKS

The story of this schism and division is now well known. The war with Japan created a revolutionary situation which still further widened the breach between Bolsheviks and Mensheviks. The defeat of the Russian Army led to internal troubles. Big strikes and demonstrations for economic and political demands were met with bullets and bayonets. The workers in St. Petersburg threw up their Soviets of workers' deputies, which were the foundation of the future Workers' and Peasants' Government in Russia.

Martoff, Plechanoff and the Mensheviks counselled the workers to support the demand for the Duma or constituent assembly, since they thought they saw in the Duma a means of limiting the powers of the old Czar and reforming the old régime. Lenin, on the other hand, declared this alliance with the capitalists and landlords would be death for the workers' movement and said the only possible alliance was that of the workers with the peasants. His policy is clearly outlined in his book, "The Social-Democratic Tactics in the Democratic Revolution." But the soldiers and workers could not follow the intricacies of party polemics. They believed it was an evil to have the two parties fighting each other and demanded unity.

In 1906 the Congress for Unity was held at Stockholm and the two parties fused into one. At this congress the Mensheviks were in the majority and passed all their resolutions. They hesitated before confiscation. They talked of solving the land problem by means of the existing regional and provincial administrations on which the nobles and rich bourgeois were predominant. They believed the Duma was a reformation of the State and should be

accepted by the working class. Lenin and the Bolsheviks declared for nationalisation of the land and a Workers' Government. He urged the workers to organise the Soviets as had been done in St. Petersburg, since he was persuaded that the nobles and capitalists would not be persuaded by the phrases of the Mensheviks nor yield without force, and that only the government of workers and peasants could take the land and secure power for the people. Lenin's predictions were realised with a vengeance. Before the congress ended the Czar had dispersed the Petersburg Soviet, arrested or deported its members to Siberia, the Duma was dissolved, and the workers' representatives imprisoned wherever they were shown to be in the least popular. Before the minions of the Czar were finished Russia resembled a huge cemetery and everything appeared pacific.

The daily life of Lenin now became more and more difficult and finally he had to go once more into exile. But even in exile he never ceased to aid and instruct the Russian workers and peasants, and there was need for it! The Mensheviks and the S.R.s were leading the workers along a false track. A section of the Mensheviks even affirmed the people were part of the Government and that it was only a question of ameliorating conditions and being pacific. Lenin exposed the treachery of this attitude and incessantly preached struggle.

The struggle had already begun. At the opening of 1911 the workers organised strikes and demanded liberty. The Czar and his police responded with shot and arrests. Again Lenin indicated the method to be adopted by the workers. He declared for the necessity of an illegal section under the direction of tried revolutionaries such as Sverdlov and many others active and in touch with the workers' movement and who occupied important posts in the Soviets of Russia, e.g., Mouranov, Pétrovsky, Smirnov, Foma—all members of the Duma; Kalinine, president of the Central Committee, Tomsy, president of the Central Council for Trade Unions of Pan Russia (which represented seven million members), Noguine, Staline, Zinoviev, Dzerijinski and many others whose names are well known.

Then upon the suggestion of Lenin and his friends, a workers' paper was started in St. Petersburg—"Zvezda" ("The Star"). This journal was soon confiscated but appeared under another name, "Pravda" (Truth), and, as history knows, was destined to play a tremendously important part in the future struggles of the Russian workers.

TRIUMPH OF BOLSHEVIKS

The second congress in London showed the Lenin faction a well-organised party and with a majority (hence the now famous term Bolshevik). The Mensheviks still counselled collaboration with the landlords and capitalists. Lenin and the Bolshevik Party urged the consolidation of all the forces; unity with the peasants to overthrow

Czarism, the nobles and capitalists. Millions of workers, he declared, were ready for the struggle. A secret organisation was essential for efficiency.

But a means had to be found to explain things clearly to the workers, and this was to hand in "Pravda." "Pravda" was essentially a workers' paper, supported by the pennies collected in the factories and workshops by the workers, who also wrote themselves. But the chief collaborator was Lenin. As the press was moved closer to the frontiers of Russia it was easier to establish direct contact between Lenin and the workers and to get the benefit of his counsel.

The massacres in the gold mines of Lena in 1912 showed revolution to be once more in the air. But an event of importance for the world revolution was at hand. The European war broke out. The part played by the Czar and the landlords and capitalists of Russia, as well as the bourgeoisie of the entire world, has been exposed in the publication of the secret treaties—a complete vindication of the Bolshevik method.

WAR ON WAR

Before the war Lenin had understood the trend of events and was one of the first to declare the moment had come to refuse to fight for the interests of the rich and to declare universal war against capital. "We will respond to this war by the civil war," he said. But this was not the opinion of all. Old masters of Lenin, such as Kautsky and Plechanoff, thought otherwise. The story of Kerensky, Plechanoff and Kautsky, as well as the conduct of the many social traitors, is now common knowledge.

Lenin never ceased his activity against the war, and the Bolsheviks passed through very severe trials. "Pravda" was suppressed, the workers, Mouranov, Petrovsky and other members of the Duma were accused of high treason and deported to Siberia. Lenin appeared to be preaching in the wilderness. But this was only in appearance. He applied all his mind and energy to the task before him and was in close contact with the immortal Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg. It was this group that convened the congress at Zimmerwald and then at Kienthal, where the slogan was given out to the workers of the world to cease fighting for the wealthy imperialists and to begin a war against the capitalists, landlords and monarchs.

Everyone knows how the war ended; the insurrection of the soldiers and workers of St. Petersburg and the passing of power out of the hands of Czarism to the workers and peasants. The story has also been told many times of how the S.R.s, Tchernov, Avksentiev, Kerensky, and the Mensheviks, Tsérételli, Martov, Dan, etc., fell into the camp of the bourgeoisie and the part they played in the counter-revolution.

Out of their experience in 1905 the workers soon formed their Soviets, but as yet these were mainly in the hands of the Mensheviks. Lenin was in exile. Trotsky, in attempting to pass through England, was arrested and sent to Halifax, Canada. Other comrades were scattered all over the world. It is curious to think of the affection the workers had for Lenin at this time. Secret whisperings were heard, "Lenin is coming!" "Lenin is coming!" At length, after an adventurous journey in a sealed wagon through Germany, Lenin arrived! His first meetings with the workers were explanations of his activity abroad, why he had come to Russia and what was to be done.

COUNSEL TO PETROGRAD WORKERS

In founding the workers' councils and deposing the Czar the workers, said Lenin, had accomplished a veritable miracle. But there was yet the bigger and more difficult task to overtake. The deposition of the Czar was comparatively an easy thing. Not so the abolition of the capitalists and landlords. Yet this must be done. The workers must take all power to themselves. The land and factories and workshops must be handed over to the peasants and workers. And the workers approved.

The old struggle with the Mensheviks and S.R.s was intensified. Lenin was slandered by the bourgeois Press as a German spy and traitor in the pay of the Kaiser's junkers. To dupe the workers Government portfolios were lavishly handed out to the Mensheviks. But the workers and peasants had neither freedom nor land. This period is graphically told in John Read's "Ten Days that Shook the World" and also Philip Price's "Russian Revolution."

The power passed into the hands of the workers and then began the real struggle, led and directed by Lenin, which cost very dearly in bloodshed but which has finally terminated in complete victory for the proletariat. All the world knows to-day how Lenin's predictions have been verified.

He had declared that the power must be taken out of the hands of the landlords and capitalists by the workers and held by the mass of the workers and peasants, not only of Russia, but of the world. The Russian workers understood that without the Soviets and without taking the power by force there would be neither land nor liberty. The revolution of October, 1917, has confirmed all this. Since then the Bolshevik Party has changed its name to the Communist Party.

Lenin from the first knew full well the mercenary part the White generals and their tools would play. That is why all the time his voice kept ringing the slogan, "Form your Red Army of workers and peasants; sacrifice everything. If you will guard your liberty and land you must be prepared to pay the price with your blood if necessary." And this politic has guided Lenin since 1917 and

throughout his active career. It was this ability to pay the price that triumphed at Brest-Litovsk, the harbinger of the German revolution and the fall of the Kaiser. The same spirit moves behind the whole politic of Soviet Russia to-day with its modifications in economic, industrial, or social life, and directs the great Communist International—the fighting machine of the world's militants against imperialism.

THE GREAT HUMANIST

With an abiding faith in the ultimate triumph of the working class, interested as much in the life of the miners in South Wales, the engineers on the Clyde, the cottor workers of Lancashire, as in the oppressed peoples in the Orient, South America, or his beloved Russia, Lenin stands out head and shoulders above the big figures of the present age—the great humanist.

The powerful Press of Great Britain may seek to spread lies and make base insinuations against Comrade Lenin. His name remains sacred to thousands of British workers. Indeed, there is scarcely a town and village in Great Britain but which contains in the home of some worker a picture of the greatest proletarian leader in modern times.

Bullets, poison, lies, and all the instruments of bourgeois democracy may seek to destroy the mighty influence of Lenin upon the working masses of the world. His spirit will still survive to succour, guide, and direct the millions of the oppressed peoples towards the goal of their emancipation—the liberation of the toilers from class rule and exploitation.

T. B.

* * * In contrast with the bourgeois associations of November with Armistice Day, throughout the world millions of proletarians will always associate November with the name of Lenin. The materials for this very brief sketch have been taken from V. L. Nevsky's booklet and Zinoviev's *Life of Lenin*.—T.B.



Unemployment and the Coming Winter

AT the recent meeting of the British Association a great deal was talked about the problem of over-population. Sir William Beveridge, President of the Economic Section, claimed that there was little evidence that Europe was over-populated. Dr. Cornish actually championed the preaching of a yet greater increase in population for the purpose of developing the Empire and providing man-power for future wars.

This is of considerable significance. There have always been two schools among the theoreticians of the capitalist class: one, the Malthusian, claiming that unemployment and poverty is due to over-population; the other claiming it is due to lack of development of the forces of capitalist production. The former preach birth-control as the only remedy; the latter preach increased production, trustification, and imperialism. Both are partially right; but because both are only partially right, both are wrong.

The truth of the matter is that imperialism sounds the death-knell of capitalism because it both wrecks the forces of production and at the same time encourages the breeding of an excessive population for "cannon fodder" and imperial development. Underproduction and over-population are two sides of the same disease. Both are the result of imperialism: unemployment and low wages are the symptoms of the disease. The remedy is the rising of the working class against unemployment and low wages and ultimately against imperialist capitalism itself.

WHY THIS UNEMPLOYMENT ?

Now, the war and the post-war political settlement have brought on this chronic disease of world capitalism, one of the symptoms of which is unemployment, in the following principal ways:—

(a) It has destroyed material wealth. Areas have been devastated. Countries have lived on their capital: they have spent resources for war purposes which otherwise would have gone to the repair and development of houses, roads, railways, docks, mines, etc.

(b) It has broken down the international division of labour. It has split up with new political boundaries and tariff barriers hitherto existing economic units. Hence productivity is everywhere lowered.

(c) The uncertainty and insecurity caused by recurring

political crises, such as the Ruhr occupation, and by fluctuating price-levels and exchanges, has discouraged trade and enterprise on the part of capitalists.

(d) As a result, capital accumulation is much less than before the war. A bourgeois economist (Professor Clay) has estimated it in this country between 1918 and 1922—as only half the pre-war rate. In Germany probably it is very much smaller—perhaps even net disaccumulation. This means in turn a diminished demand for labour and a lowered productivity.*

(e) Existing resources have been misdirected, going from more to less productive channels. For instance, too much capital has flown into luxury and armament trades and into the constructional trades (causing severe over-production there), and too little into the production of food and necessaries.

THE FRUITS OF IMPERIALISM

Every attempt of the capitalists to remedy these features of the disease have failed owing to the bitter imperialist rivalry of the big capitalist groups. The great attempt at Genoa at “stabilisation,” with its “circus” of experts, failed owing to the rivalry of the oil combines. The earlier attempt at internationalism at Washington had merely served to accentuate and uncover the growing rivalry between British and French capitalism. During the last eighteen months imperialist rivalry has intensified and has expressed itself in recurring political crises. In the Near East there has been the crisis of the Straits. Even Liberals have been moved to admit the bankruptcy of the League of Nations by the crisis of Corfu. In the Balkans there has been tension between Bulgaria and the Little Entente. Crowning all, and nearest home of all, there has been the French occupation of the Ruhr! The disease is getting worse, not better.

Unemployment and low wages are, therefore, not primarily due to any “wickedness” of capitalists as individuals, which can be remedied by gentle persuasion and conversion, as the Fabians think. They are symptoms of the world disease of capitalism; a disease which can only be cured when the working class has seized direction of affairs throughout Europe, and has rescued society from the devastating antagonisms of capitalist and financial groups. Trotsky’s way, and not Keynes’ way, is the only way to “The United States of Europe.” “The United States of Europe” is the one part of the way out of unemployment.

From the point of view of Britain, unemployment and trade depression have the following causes. First, there is collapse of

* For an elaboration and proof of these points see Varga, *The Process of Capitalist Decline*, esp. pp. 11-19.

European demand for British goods, owing to the impoverishment of Europe. An important aspect of this is the closing of the Russian market. Second, there is collapse of demand from markets in the Near East and in South America, owing to the uncertainty caused in the minds of buyers in these markets by the political crises and changing price-levels in Europe. If these buyers think that prices in Europe are going to fall further, they will clearly postpone buying until the uncertainty is over. Third, there is maladjustment and misdirection of resources inside British capitalism itself. There has been large over-investment of capital in industries like shipbuilding and engineering, causing large over-expansion there. The cotton industry also appears to be suffering from over-capitalisation. As a result, it will take a great deal of "booming" trade to shake these industries out of their depression; and meanwhile there is a scarcity of capital for starting productive activity in other directions.

DILEMMA OF BRITISH CAPITALISM

British capitalism has been making vigorous efforts to improve this state of affairs. Certain progressive sections of it have tried to solve the unemployment problem, seeing that unemployment both adds fuel to the class struggle and depreciates the efficiency of labour-power. In general it has desired an ending of the trade depression and a revival of trade and production. It has, therefore, been making vigorous efforts to this end. Its first attempt was that which sent Mr. Bonar Law into power—the policy of Tranquillity, of let-things-alone, in Europe, of revival of Empire trade. This failed because of the French move in the Ruhr; and British capitalism saw that it could not afford to let things alone in Europe, since, if it did, the union of Stinnes with the Comité des Forges would beget a giant combine of heavy industry under the control of Paris finance, which would sweep the markets of the world clean of British iron and steel products. Hence Mr. Baldwin with his Conservative imperialism, developing the Empire with one hand, and with the other claiming a "share in the swag" from M. Poincaré.

Now, at the end of last year there were distinct signs that a revival of trade and production (albeit of a purely temporary character) was at hand.† But this was choked by two things: first, by the fresh uncertainty created by the occupation of the Ruhr; second, by the action of the financial interests, anxious for further deflation and the restoration of the gold standard, in raising the Bank of England's rate of interest on credit advances (the bank rate).* British capitalism is, therefore, faced with another black winter of no markets and no profits.

† See article by present writer in "The Plebs," July, and in "Communist Review," January. Also Varga, "Process of Capitalist Decline."

* For this see "The Plebs," September.

The progressive elements of British capitalism, as represented in the Industrial Group in Parliament with Sir Allan Smith at its head, is consequently demanding that the State should take definite action to assist a revival of trade, and that it should do so by expending money directly on constructional work, or in giving credits to private enterprise to do so. Among the proposals made by Sir Allan Smith are the following: The building of a bridge across the River Benue in Nigeria, a bridge across Sydney Harbour (costing seven million), the electrification of home railways, the extension of the policy of Government credit for overseas trade, including trade with Russia. "If some definite feeling of security is not created within the next four weeks," says Sir Allan, "no recovery will be possible before March of next year at the latest."*

So, whereas, before, capitalism was crying for economy and abandonment of State interference, now the State is called in to spend money in assisting capitalism on its feet again. The Fabian leaders of the Labour Party will no doubt welcome this as a step towards Socialism! It is but a further stage of imperialism—the making of the State a more useful servant of heavy industry and the promoter of large-scale scientific production. Sir Allan Smith has been clever: he has stolen some of Mr. Webb's and Mr. MacDonald's thunder. How nice for Sir Allan; but what a condemnation of Mr. Webb and Mr. MacDonald!

DISHING THE LABOUR PARTY

Now, the official element in the Labour Party have always urged that the way to deal with trade depression and unemployment is for the Government to postpone expenditure on big constructional works (bridges, docks, armaments, roads, etc.) in time of good trade, and to concentrate that expenditure at a time of depressed trade. Thus, when private demand for goods and for labour declines, public demand for goods and for labour would increase. This would have the additional advantage that the Government would be buying its materials and borrowing money for this constructional work at a time of falling prices and falling money-rates, instead of, as otherwise, swelling the "boom" demand for a scarce quantity of materials and "credit" at a time when, on account of this scarcity, prices were rising fast.

The Labour Party has criticised the policy of the Government during the present depression on the following grounds:—

(a) The Government schemes have been insufficiently planned and inadequate, being confined to the Trade Facilities Act and the Export Credit Schemes.

(b) Insufficient attempts have been made to restore the European market and to reopen trade with Russia.

* See "The Times," August 14.

(c) Too much of the burden (about 57 per cent.) of the cost of "relief work" for the unemployed has been thrown on to the local authorities.

(d) The policy of "relief works" is bad, since as a rule they are inefficiently managed, and employ skilled men on heavy unskilled work, for which they are not fitted. The money spent on them is, therefore, waste, and had been better employed in paying maintenance without the cost of providing work, or in Government expenditure through the ordinary channels.

The Labour Party proposes instead: "The resumption of trade with Russia; the reasonable settlement of the indemnity question; the cessation of waste on military enterprises abroad; the reform of the tax system; the stabilisation of the foreign exchanges and extension of international credits; and the adoption of an extensive programme of afforestation, land reclamation, improvement of the transport system, construction and improvement of urgently needed public buildings, and erection of electrical power stations."

It will be noticed that the official Labour Party attitude, both in its critical and constructive aspects, is surprisingly similar to that of Sir Allan Smith. Sir Allan Smith claims that relief works are "no solution of the problem of unemployment" since they "give employment on work which is not of a skilled character and is suitable only to men who have been accustomed to hard manual labour." He criticises the Government's measures as inadequate. He asks for the extension of the export credits scheme to trade with Russia ("If the President of the Board of Trade puts the whole benefit of the export credits machinery before English traders, an order will be placed in this country from Russia of between two and three million sterling"). He declares that the Government measures are "calculated not only to solve the difficulty, but actually to increase it."

THE COMMUNIST CHALLENGE TO CAPITALISM

What it is important to notice is this. Both Sir Allan Smith and the Labour Party look to action by the capitalist State as the only remedy. Both Sir Allan Smith and the Labour Party judge schemes of unemployment relief by the criterion of whether they aid the efficient working of capitalism. We may feel sure neither would support any scheme which endangered the existence and efficiency of capitalist production. They, therefore, base themselves on common assumptions. What they both fail to see is that unemployment is inseparably bound up with the whole disease of world capitalism: it is merely a symptom, not a root cause. Therefore, measures to deal with unemployment are of little abiding use, if they only attempt to deal with it within the limits set by the assumptions

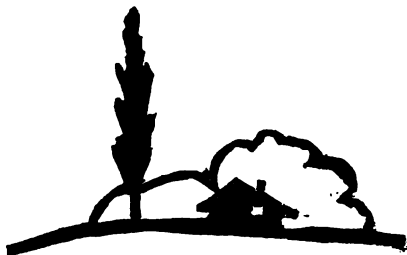
* "Unemployed Relief," T.U.C. and Labour Party, 3d.

of the existing system. They will only be of use if they include measures which will strengthen the working class in their struggle against imperialist capitalism.

The officials of the Labour Party must, therefore, take their choice. Either they can join with Sir Allan Smith, and in proposing measures of unemployment relief they can include measures to stabilise the capitalist system, to weld closer the State and British heavy industry, and so to make greater the chances of imperialist aggression, to safeguard the markets and material supplies of heavy industry. Or else they must join with the Communists, and in proposing measures of unemployment relief, they must include measures which will weaken the power and influence of the F.B.I., and will rally the workers in opposition to the capitalist State. If they do the former, Communists will oppose them. If they do the latter, as Poplar has done, Communists will support them with might and main.

Our immediate proposals for unemployment must have, not a capitalist appeal, nor merely a working class appeal in the sense that the workers will passively support them. They must be a challenge and a clarion call to action. For the problem of unemployment cannot be solved apart from the whole problem of imperialist capitalism, and our efforts consequently will avail little unless they are related to the crucial issue of the working class struggle for power.

M. H. D.



Soviet Russia and the World Crisis

SOVIET Russia has now carried the red banner, in triumphant success, through six years of arduous revolutionary struggle. In the first years of her titanic effort we, in this country, had to explain, justify and defend the tactics of the Russian Communists. We were compelled to do this because the superficial and timid leaders of the British Labour movement readily joined in the reactionary clamour which sought to show that the Russian Communists were unprincipled maniacs, who abandoned the splendid precepts of democracy in order to set up a proletarian dictatorship. To this very day one may hear discredited chatterers, like Mr. Snowden, denouncing the Bolsheviks. One may even hear Mr. Frank Hodges repudiating the Soviet system as being something inherently Asiatic; his brilliant colleague, Mr. J. R. MacDonald, however, is equally emphatic that the Soviet method is in reality the old English policy so long pursued by the Conservatives and practised by the British aristocracy through the House of Lords. (Vide "Parliament and Revolution.") We can leave these two amiable gentlemen to discuss the problem with Mr. Sidney Webb, who blames the German, Karl Marx, for the Soviet policy.

Ever since the capitalist statesmen were forced to realise that the Soviet Government was an ever-increasing force in international politics, so in the same measure the more clever labour leaders have been compelled to drop their open hostility to the Russian Workers' Republic. And just as the Imperialist politicians conduct their campaign against the Bolsheviks by means of secret plottings, so in a similar manner do the "democratic" labour leaders use their political and trade union control to undermine and sabotage the growing influence of the Communist International. Thus, the attitude of the moderate Labour leaders towards Russia has been and is almost identical with that of the clearest-sighted members of the capitalist class.

At a time when Winston Churchill was launching his subsidised military puppets against the Soviet Republic, Mr. J. R. MacDonald, as leader of the Second International, was loudly proclaiming to the whole world that his organisation would stem the spread of Communism. At a time when Lord Curzon, at the behest of certain financiers and urged on by his usual blood lust, was threatening Russia with war, Mr. Philip Snowden had, of course, to howl in tune with the reactionary clique. Even to-day, the "Daily Herald's"

official attitude on Russia is determined for it by Mr. Garvin's editorial observations in that Sunday organ of well-poised Conservatism, "The Observer."

And during those six years the Russian Communists unflinchingly pursued their course, retreating here, advancing there, until they built up what is, at the present moment, the most powerful Government in the world. They did this, and in doing it compelled Churchill to withdraw his armies, and Mr. J. R. MacDonald and his colleagues were forced to bury the evil-smelling corpse of

their defunct Second International at the Hamburg funeral service where its passing was unwept and unsung.

To-day we no longer need to justify the Communist tactics employed in the Russian revolution by any arguments. The triumph of the Soviet Republic, in action, is its most complete and successful vindication. Six years ago Lenin and Trotsky defined for us the tactics of the proletarian revolution in words; to-day, those tactics have been reinforced in a thousand ways, through their successful application during six years of revolutionary deeds. During those years the Russian



G. ZINOVIEV
President, Communist International

Communists have heroically defended their red ramparts against those imperialist armies, and Labour renegades, that advanced to destroy them on many fronts. Not only had the Reds to combat all the forces of reaction that sought to advance against them from the outside, they also had to struggle with the armed capitalist menace inside their own country, with the middle class saboteurs, and with the moderate Socialists, who attempted to enforce their democratic principles by the use of poisoned bullets. While conducting this unequal struggle, which drained the energies of the best elements of the militant proletariat, they had to renew the social fabric which had been rent so ruthlessly by the destructive and chaotic policy of the reactionary propertied interests. They had, by exerting a miracle-like energy, to succour and restore the ruined economic machine bequeathed to them as a legacy from the Tsarist and Kerensky regimes. While these seemingly insuperable tasks were being carried out they also had to perfect the social institutions necessary to perform the requisite functions of a Workers' Republic. All these things, and more,

the much-abused Bolsheviks have accomplished during six memorable years. Small wonder that every honest student of society is compelled to admit that the Russian revolution to-day stands as the greatest political and social achievement in the whole of history.

SOCIAL REVOLUTIONS AND "DEMOCRATIC" INSTITUTIONS

Despite what has been done in Russia, the leaders of the revolution are still criticised for having abandoned and destroyed those institutions which served the political needs of the propertied class. All the spleen of the political theorists of modern capitalism has been centred upon this point; and, as always, this also has been the leading theme upon which the "safe" Labour leaders of the British Empire have tuned their miserable non-Socialist lamentations. These wonderful critics of the White and Pink brigade never seemed to have known the elementary historical truism—that revolutions are socially imperative just because the traditional institutions, of any given social system, no longer respond to the problems that history places before them.

There never has been a revolution, at any period in history, where the prevailing institutions functioned in an adequate manner. A revolution only becomes possible, and therefore historically necessary, when the ruling class find their institutions unworkable. When this takes place it is the political indication that economic contradictions and class antagonisms are reducing society to chaos and that a new way out is needed. If at such a period no revolution takes place it is because the challenging class lack the will and courage to seize their opportunity, and because they have not created a new political apparatus that will enable the hampered economic forces to sweep forward. The revolutionary struggle is, indeed, the conflict between the old ruling class trying to preserve their effete institutions and the new challenging class attempting to stamp out the old in order to build up new social organs to solve the political and economic problems of the period. This explains why every revolutionary struggle becomes, in essence, one of class power.

The revolutionary class can only become a ruling class by having the power to enforce the new institutions upon the die-hards of the old regime. Thus, when the White and Pink critics of the Russian Communists deplore that the revolution was transformed into a class dictatorship, and that the old institutions were destroyed and replaced by new ones by the methods of force, these critics are not so much attacking the Russian revolution as they are attacking every revolution that has ever taken place. These critical simpletons are not even aware that in denouncing the Bolsheviks for having seized power and for having enforced the new social institutions upon their reactionary opponents, that they are telling the world that the early

phases of the Russian revolution were highly successful.

To wield power is the aim of every political organisation. Power, of course, is a very necessary instrument in the hands of the reactionaries and enables them to prolong the existence of their decadent political institutions. Thus power used by a Mussolini to buttress a collapsing social system is not the same thing as revolutionary power. The latter is a constructive force because its historic mission is primarily that of creating new social institutions and of liberating new economic elements.

FAILURE OF CONSTITUTIONALISM

The success and, therefore the historical correctness, of the tactics of the Russian Communists may be measured by the humiliating failure of the tactics of the Continental friends of Mr. J. R. MacDonald. In every country where the European Socialists of the I.L.P. type claimed a victory, they have been disastrously routed. They all began their work by asking heaven to preserve them from ever emulating the tactics of the Communists. They were confirmed believers in democratic principles and worshipped the parliamentary method. In every instance they speedily discovered that a parliamentary majority did not give them any real political power. The bitter realism of defeat taught them the mockery of Mr. MacDonald's windy and flamboyant declaration that a parliamentary majority could yield everything that the Russians won by their revolutionary tactics (vide "Parliament and Revolution"). The workers in the various countries ruled by the parliamentary Socialists soon found out that people like Moske and Ebert were only able to use any force when it was directed against the masses. These masses cruelly realised that the democratic pretensions of the colleagues of Mr. MacDonald did not prevent them from assisting in using terroristic tactics against the proletariat in the interests of the capitalist class.

But the greatest defeat of the Continental parliamentary Socialists, and of the Amsterdam trade union leaders, has been their fear of combating the capitalists and imperialists. This cowardice has directly encouraged the imperialists and Fascisti elements to rush upon the masses and to strip them of almost every weapon of defence. By failing to organise the workers into an united army, as the Communists urged them to do, they have assisted the militarists and the Fascisti in their many victories over the proletariat. The temporary triumph of Poincaré, the success of Mussolini, the continued activities of Stinnes, Ludendorf and Hitler in Germany, the imperialistic gestures of Curzon—all these are only possible by the continued tactics of confusion and cowardice which at present stamps the moderate Socialist movement in this and the Continental countries. If one of these leaders demands unity of action and courageous

leadership, he is, as E. Fimmen now knows, speedily deprived of his position and silenced.

History has nothing that can equal the utter futility that has been exhibited by the moderate Socialists, who have only dared to raise their voices to attack Soviet Russia. They, more than any other political group, are responsible for the present chaos that is threatening to shatter the European world. Even at this late moment salvation can only come by the masses following the lead now being given by the Communist International.

THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL AND THE CRISIS IN GERMANY

The new interest shown in, and the study of the policy of, the Communist International, by the masses, has become one of the most hopeful features of the present crisis. In Germany and elsewhere the "democratic" Socialists, in conjunction with the reactionaries, are trying to prohibit the distribution of Communist newspapers and literature. The capitalist politicians are dropping the veneer of democracy and are proving the Communist contention that in a system based upon class differences it is impossible to avoid dictatorship. The "democratic" Socialists are also showing that they only object to terrorism and dictatorship when these are used by the masses to defeat the capitalists and imperialists. Thus, all through the present crisis the enemies of the Communists are doing precisely what we said they would do. We see, then, that one of the most urgent needs of the present critical moment is to spread broadcast the literature that specifically deals with the policy of the Communist International. This is being done upon a great scale in Germany in spite of the decrees of the Socialist-Stinnes Group.

There are many small pamphlets dealing with this subject in English. There are several large books that deal, theoretically, with Communist policy. But in this, as in so many other things, it is best to go direct to the fountain head. To all who are interested in this all-important question, the very best thing to do is to read the recently published report of the "Fourth Congress of the Communist International" (price 1s. 6d.). There can be studied the splendid discussions, on working-class policy, opened out by the most brilliant mass fighters in the world. Here one can vividly realise that the Communist International is no mutual admiration society but a serious and determined organisation of revolutionary fighters. The Communist International, unlike any other political group in the world, is its own unsparing critic.

Of almost equal importance is the volume that contains the "Resolutions and Theses of the Fourth Congress" (price 1s.). It should be made compulsory for every member of the party to study these two publications. And the more we can circulate these among

those workers interested in the Labour movement, the more clear-sighted will the rank and file of the British movement become. Events in Germany and elsewhere are moving so rapidly that a great deal of new interest is going to be manifested in the tactics of the Communists.

Another indication that the tactics of the Communists are correct may be seen in the fact that while the Russian Social-Democrats (Mensheviks) are dissolving their organisations and are joining hands with the successful Communist rulers of the Soviet Republics, in Germany the Social-Democratic members are deserting their recent parliamentary rulers and are enrolling en-masse within the Communist Party. Experience has shown the Social-Democrats of Russia that the Communists' tactics are successful and lead to victory; and experience has also shown the Social-Democrats of Germany that the empty parliamentary methods employed by their leaders are both futile and disastrous.

Thus, while the world crisis is becoming ever more desperate in every country, except Russia, in the Soviet Republic the great work of social reconstruction increases with an ever-growing rapidity. Six years have shown the success of the courageous tactics of Communists; six years have also shown the disaster and tragedy that accompanies the compromise policy of those who have tried what is, at present, the official viewpoint of the Labour Party in this country.

Hence, the verdict of history and the test of experience indicates that the Communists are correct. This should strengthen and encourage Communists the world over to march forward resolutely to face the big and fierce problems that are surging forward to meet us.

WM. PAUL.



The Crisis in Agriculture

THE condition of British agriculture is receiving adequate publicity in the Press of to-day, and the failure of the farmers' deputation to the Prime Minister has created an attitude of despair throughout the whole of the agricultural areas. The farmers do not even yet realise the implications of imperialism. The spectacle of a British farmers' deputation to the Premier at the moment of the Imperial Conference would in ordinary circumstances create mirth, if it were not for the serious condition of our rural workers. On one hand the British farmers asking for protection against imported foodstuffs and on the other the Colonial Governments asking for preferential tariffs for their primary products, mainly foodstuffs.

The policy pursued by successive Governments in this country since the later period of imperialism has tended to sacrifice agriculture to industry, and the pressure on the farmer will tend to increase rather than be retarded in the future.

There is no doubt that some farmers are in a bad way and the class of farmers who are feeling the depression most are small farmers, who will in the process be further driven into the ranks of the agricultural and industrial workers or driven overseas as were their predecessors after the previous depression of 1874 to 1894. The result of that depression was to eliminate the small farmer class and to extend large-scale capitalist farming. To-day the same thing is going to happen because the small farmer cannot hold out to the same extent as the large farmer, either for the market to improve or prices to rise. The result after the last depression was that, whereas in 1913 farms of one to fifty acres numbered 292,720 as against 143,166 larger than fifty acres, they did not occupy sixteen per cent. of the total acreage, i.e., there are actually even now more small farms than large ones, but the large ones occupy eighty-four per cent. of the acreage.

The above process is going to be repeated in the present depression, and in the possible development of ranch farming the ground-work will be prepared for another considerable exodus of broken small farmers and agricultural workers to the vacant spaces of the Empire similar to the exodus which took place from 1874-94, only, while at that period there was work on the railways, in the cities, in municipal and other work openings for the rural worker, to-day there is nothing but emigration. The movement to re-establish a peasantry on the land by the development of small holdings has practically failed and the continued cutting down of grants for agricultural work and development by the Government during the

past two years are possibly part and parcel of that policy which underlies the Empire Settlement Act.

Under the present basis of society there is no security for the working farmers and the agricultural workers, and all the proposals propounded by the Linlithgow Commission are not going to solve the problem. Co-operative buying, selling, and credit facilities may help the biggest farmers to survive, but the smaller men are doomed. The policy pursued by the Government is inherent in the imperialist tendencies of the capitalist-financial interests of this country. The whole series of conferences which have been held since 1887, and in 1897, 1902, 1907, 1911, the Imperial War Conferences of 1917 and 1918 and the present conference in October, 1923, show the trend of development of imperial economics: the preferences in finance through the Colonial Stock Act, by which the Colonies obtained cheap loans and finally Tariff Preference in 1919, these and the development of organisations like the Empire Producers' Organisation prove there is no time to waste on the needs and problems of agriculture at home.

The development of Empire resources offer an outlet for the financiers and the development of that policy must naturally react against the farmers of this country. The fact is that a world re-adjustment is going on which will make the power of the capitalist financiers more complete, and the farmers as a class will be more and more reduced to the semi-independent class of agricultural labourers. The farmer is not able to form an effective union similar to the organisation of the capitalist financier, and we repeat again that the only hope of the working farmer is to ally himself with the organised industrial workers in their fight against the common enemy and by their joint action set up a Workers' and Working Farmers' Government with its necessary organisation and control of industry.

The farmers are due to have many ups and downs before they are finally reduced to the same level as the industrial workers. The Government of capitalist financiers operating in the interests of high finance in their schemes of imperial development will recurrently give farmers a basis for the hope that they can once again restore the industry and thereby establish security for the farmers. It will be this series of promises and hopes which will tend to keep them from uniting with the industrial workers, who have already been divorced from such hopes save through their own organisations. The fact is that a world readjustment is going on which will make the domination of the financiers more complete. This country will be organised for the export of those products which will hasten the development of the Colonial empire. This means that for the farmer and industrial worker stability of occupation and earnings will be dependent on the new factors of imperial development. The natural mental relationship which ought to exist between the farm and the

factory will practically cease to exist. Both to-day cannot exist to maintain the greed and ambition of a small wealthy class. Unless farmers and workers perfect their organisations of production for their own benefit a series of further breaks and extended depression in agriculture may end in some degree of stability on a lower plane of earnings than either have expected. It cannot bring permanent security.

The increasing burden of mortgages upon the farmer is drawing them headlong on the road to ruin. The amount of mortgages on farms run by farmers who were forced to buy or quit during the period following the war has increased over 100 per cent. and here the farmer loses double, the money was borrowed in 1919-20, when the £1 sterling was worth in reality less than 10s., and as the mortgages have now to be paid off in money when money is dear and the £1 sterling nearly approaching parity, the result will be more and more foreclosures and a more rapid fall in the percentage of farmers owning and operating their own farms. This control is being increasingly taken over by the banks and insurance investment companies to whom the farmer had to resort when faced with the problem of buying or quitting, with the result that more and more the farmer becomes a hired servant of the capitalist financiers.

“ All economic products result from two factors only, land and labour; using the word land in the large sense of theoretical economics, so as to include water and mines and all the natural resources of the planet. Capital is not really a third factor: capital is a product of the application of labour to land, and is merely a stage in production. Without land human life is impossible; without labour very little human life would be possible,” says Bertrand Russell. The above quotation summarises the importance of land and labour. At present in agriculture and industry in general the whole purpose of production is the enrichment of a few. Under a sane system of society the producers of that wealth, the industrial workers and working farmers who produce all the wealth, would also control the distribution of that wealth. The factors which prevent that basis from operating is the division between these two sections which is fostered by that small wealthy class which exploits both as a result of their division. For the working farmers as well as the industrial worker the only solution is a closer unity between them and not only organisation industrially but also politically, expressing itself in a Workers' and Working Farmers' Government.

WILLIAM JOSS.

The Tasks of Communist Education

By L. TROTSKY

THE "NEW MAN" AND THE REVOLUTIONIST.

IT is frequently asserted that the task of Communist enlightenment consists in the education of the new man. These words are somewhat too general, too pathetic, and we must be particularly careful not to permit any formless humanitarian interpretation of the conception "new man" or the tasks of Communist education. There is no doubt whatever but that the man of the future, the citizen of the commune, will be an exceedingly interesting and attractive creature, and that his psychology (the futurists will pardon me, but I fancy that the man of the future will possess a psychology) will be very different to ours. Our present task, unfortunately, cannot lie in the education of the human being of the future. The Utopian and humanitarian-psychological viewpoint is, that the new man must first be formed, and that he will then create the new conditions. We cannot believe this. We know that man is a product of social conditions. But we know too that between human beings and conditions there exists a complicated and actively working mutual relationship. Man himself is an instrument of this historical development, and not the least. And in this complicated historical reflex action of the conditions experienced by active human beings, we do not create the abstractly harmonious and perfect citizen of the commune, but we form the concrete human beings of our epoch, who have still to fight for the creation of the conditions out of which the harmonious citizen of the commune may emerge. This, of course, is a very different thing, for the simple reason that our great-grandson, the citizen of the commune, will be no revolutionist.

At first glance this appears to be wrong, it sounds almost insulting. And yet it is so. The conception "revolutionist" is formed by us out of our thoughts and wishes, out of the totality of our best passions, and thus the word "revolutionist" is permeated by the highest ideals and morals which we have taken over from the whole preceding epoch of cultural evolution. Thus it seems to us that we cast an aspersion on our posterity when we do not think of them as revolutionists. But we must not forget that the revolutionist is a product of definite historical conditions, a product of class society. The revolutionist is no psychological abstraction. Revolution in itself is no abstract principle, but a material historical fact, growing out of class antagonism, out:

of the violent subjection of one class by another. Thus the revolutionist is a concrete historical type, and in consequence a temporary type. We are proud of belonging to this type. But by means of our work we are creating the conditions of a social order in which no class antagonisms will exist, no revolutions, and thus no revolutionists. It is true that we can extend the meaning of the word "revolutionist" until it comprises the whole conscious activity of man directed towards the subjection of nature, and towards the expansion of technical and cultural gains. But we have no right to make such an abstraction, such a limitless extension of the conception "revolutionist," for we have by no means fulfilled our concrete historical revolutionary task, the overthrow of class society. Consequently, we are far from being required to educate the harmonious citizen of the commune, forming him by careful laboratory work, in an extremely disharmonious transition stage of society. Such an undertaking would be a wretchedly childish Utopia. What we want to make is champions, revolutionists, who will inherit and complete our historical traditions, which we have not yet carried to a conclusion.

REVOLUTION AND MYSTICISM

What are the main characteristics of the revolutionist? It must be emphasised that we have no right to separate the revolutionist from the class basis upon which he has evolved, and without which he is nothing. The revolutionist of our epoch, who can only be associated with the working class, possesses his special psychological characteristics, characteristics of intellect and will. If it is necessary and possible, the revolutionist shatters the historical obstructions, resorting to force for the purpose. If this is not possible, then he makes a detour, undermines and crushes, patiently and determinedly. He is a revolutionist because he does not fear to shatter obstacles and relentlessly to employ force; at the same time he knows its historical value. It is his constant endeavour to maintain his destructive and creative work at their highest pitch of activity, that is, to obtain from the given historical conditions the maximum which they are capable of yielding for the forward movement of the revolutionary class.

The revolutionist knows only external obstacles to his activity, no internal ones. That is: he has to develop within himself the capacity of estimating the arena of his activity in all its concreteness, with its positive and negative aspects, and to strike a correct political balance. But if he is internally hampered by subjective hindrances to action, if he is lacking in understanding or will power, if he is paralysed by internal discord, by religious, national, or craft prejudices, then he is at best only half a revolutionist. There are too many obstacles in the objective conditions already, and the

revolutionist cannot allow himself the luxury of multiplying the objective hindrances and frictions by subjective ones. Therefore the education of the revolutionist must, above all, consist in his emancipation from that residue of ignorance and superstition, which is frequently found in a very "sensitive" consciousness. And therefore we adopt a ruthlessly irreconcilable attitude to anyone who utters a single word to the effect that mysticism or religious sentimentality might be combined with Communism. Religiousness is irreconcilable with the Marxian standpoint. We are of the opinion that atheism, as an inseparable element of the materialist view of life, is a necessary condition for the theoretical education of the revolutionist. He who believes in another world is not capable of concentrating all his passion on the transformation of this one.

DARWINISM AND MARXISM

Even if Darwin, as he himself asserted, did not lose his belief in God for all his rejection of the biblical theory of creation, Darwinism itself is none the less entirely irreconcilable with this belief. In this, as in other respects, Darwinism is a forerunner, a preparation for Marxism. Taken in a broadly materialist and dialectic sense, Marxism is the application of Darwinism to human society. Manchester Liberalism has attempted to fit Darwinism mechanically into sociology. Such attempts have only led to childish analogies veiling a malicious bourgeois apologia: Marx's competition was explained as the "eternal" law of the struggle for existence. These are absurdities. It is only the inner connection between Darwinism and Marxism which makes it possible to grasp the living flow of being in its primeval connection with inorganic nature; in its further particularisation and evolution; in its dynamics; in the differentiation of the necessities of life among the first elementary varieties of the vegetable and animal kingdoms; in its struggles; in the appearance of the "first" man or manlike creature, making use of the first tool; in the development of primitive co-operation, employing associative organs; in the further stratification of society consequent on the development of the means of production, that is, of the means of subjugating nature; in class warfare; and, finally, in the struggle for the uplift of the classes.

To comprehend the world from such a broad point of view signifies the emancipation of man's consciousness for the first time from the residue of mysticism, and the securing of a firm foothold. It signifies being quite clear on the point that for the future there are no inner subjective hindrances to the struggle, but that the sole existing obstacles and reactions are external, and have to be overcome in various ways, according to the conditions of the conflict.

How often we have said: "Practice wins in the end." This is correct in the sense that the collective experience of a class, and

of the whole of humanity, gradually sweeps away the illusions and false theories based on hasty generalisations. But it may be said with equal truth: "Theory wins in the end," when we understand by this that theory in reality comprises the total experience of humanity. Seen from this standpoint, the opposition between theory and practice vanishes, for theory is nothing else than correctly considered and generalised practice. Theory does not defeat practice, but the thoughtless, empirical, crude attitude to it. In order to be able properly to estimate the conditions of the struggle, the situation of our own class, we must possess a reliable method of political and historical orientation. This is Marxism, or, with respect to the latest epoch, Leninism.

Marx and Lenin—these are our two supreme guides in the sphere of social research. For the younger generation the way to Marx is through Lenin. The straight road becomes increasingly difficult, for the period is too long which separates the rising generation from the genius of those who founded scientific Socialism, Marx and Engels. Leninism is the highest embodiment and condensation of Marxism for direct revolutionary action in the epoch of the imperialist death agony of bourgeois society. The Lenin Institute at Moscow must be made a higher academy of revolutionary strategy. Our Communist Party is permeated by the mighty spirit of Lenin. His revolutionary genius is with us. Our revolutionary lungs breathe the atmosphere of that better and higher doctrine which the preceding development of human thought has created. Thus it is that we are so profoundly convinced that to-morrow is ours.



The Case for the Y.C.L.

CENTRAL Europe to-day is a seething whirlpool of class conflicts, which threatens at any moment to break out into open civil war and revolution. That it marks the beginning of a long-drawn-out conflict embracing the whole of Europe is obvious to every Communist, and that as a consequence Great Britain, too, will be drawn into it is clear to one and all. The industries of this country are paralysed and decaying. Unemployment grows apace, drawing unto itself new thousands of recruits with every week that passes by. The proposed relief schemes of the Government, even if it were possible to undertake them immediately, are no more than a drop in the bucket. The trades unions are badly weakened from the savage onslaught of the capitalist offensive; their numbers are depleted by three million men and women; their treasuries are empty; and their leaders fear to act. The Labour Party heads are too much interested in becoming respectable in the eyes of the ruling class of to-day to pay any heed to the immediate needs of the workers or of leading a determined fight against the master class of Great Britain, which is rapidly reducing the masses to a condition of complete apathy, servility and despair. In the face of these great problems which the Communist movement of Great Britain has to meet, little or no time can be given to questions of second or third rating.

Is the organisation of a Young Communist League of sufficient importance to warrant giving it support, and if so, to what extent? This, then, is the problem which we shall seek to deal with in these pages. Let the facts speak for themselves. Let us view the problem from the angle of the situation in this country. We have no time to offer support on the basis of mere sentiment. On the other hand, if a Y.C.L. can be of good service and is a necessary factor in the Communist movement, then let us cease repeating the age-worn platitudes about "The future belongs to the young" or "The child of to-day is the citizen of to-morrow." Instead of empty phrases let us, then, lend our wholehearted support to the establishment and strengthening of the Y.C.L. in all parts of the country.

YOUNG WORKERS IN GREAT BRITAIN.

As a starting point it is well to consider to what extent young workers are a factor in the economic, social and political life of the nation. A report to the Southport T.U.C. dealing with apprenticeship says:—

"During the last half-century boy labour has become almost as uncontrolled as, and comparable with, women's labour. It has been used largely as a lever in reducing wages, and in

many instances the boy has become a cheaper man." (Heavy type mine.)

In a memorandum on "Education of Young Workers" prepared on behalf of the General Council of the T.U.C. we are told:—

"There are well over two million young workers of under eighteen employed in wage-earning occupations, and the vast majority of these, it may be assumed, are eligible for trade-union membership. Here is a wide field, much of which the trade unions are at present making but slight attempts to cover." (Heavy type mine.)

Two million young workers! What a powerful force if once organised on behalf of themselves, of the working class! And to-day, neglected and unorganised, exploited most cruelly by their employers, and with no aid given them by the adults, they constitute a force which nullifies the organised efforts of adult labour! Crushed between the upper and nether mill-stones, their outlook on life becomes one of sheer despair. The manner in which they are treated by the adults and their organisations makes them resentful. Instance after instance can be cited where apprentices or young workers generally who sought to fight against some of the many hardships they were forced to endure at the hands of the masters were not only given no assistance by the adult workers' organisations, but these actually lined up on the side of the bosses against the youthful workers. The result has been that when the trade unions, at some later date, went on strike the young workers refused to join them. The situation to-day in some of the shipyards is such. The boilermakers, now that they see how the apprentices are doing their work, completing ships, realise that their own position is precarious indeed. Because of their former neglect of these young workers, to-day these same young workers refuse to listen to what the representatives of the unions have to say.

Two million young workers! A formidable army indeed. They are to be found in the shipyards and engineering shops, in the cotton and woollen mills, in the paper mills, the clothing trades, in and around the mines, in the printing trades, distributive workers, messengers, etc., etc. Everywhere they replace the adults. They are young, willing, obedient, with no right to vote and with no economic organisation to look after their interests. Religious and other bourgeois organisations cater to them. The Y.M.C.A.s and Y.W.C.A.s give them socials, athletics and good doses of patriotism and religious humbug. The employers themselves now make a habit of spending thousands of pounds upon "welfare work"—that is to say, they establish clubrooms, social centres and sports organisations for their employees. Wonderful, isn't it! What kind souls they must be! Thus they seek to keep their slaves contented. Spend

a bit of money on football or cricket for them and they'll not think so much about their wretched wages, their long hours, their miserable conditions. Give them clubrooms, where smooth-tongued orators will tell them of the tyranny of the trades unions and the menace of Radicalism. Ah, yes! Capitalism is not neglecting the young, even if we are.

Then there is the Army and the Navy. "Young men wanted!" say the posters—and they get them. Nearly 35,000 enlisted during the recruiting year just ended. Nearly all of them were drawn from the ranks of the unemployed youth. Now they will serve their King and Country by shooting rebellious natives in India, Egypt or South Africa, by helping to drown in a sea of blood the rising tide of the proletarian revolution in Germany, and perhaps to bayonet their starving fathers, mothers, sisters and brothers in this country when the masses, grown desperate by want and hunger and cold, seek to get the necessities of life.

The whole system of capitalism is skilfully playing the young workers against the adults, and in this way tightening their hold upon both sections. Child labour is on the increase. The youth more and more takes the place of the adult. Unemployment increases, and with it goes the lowering of wages. The attempted enforcement of a ten-hour day in Germany is already being followed up by the master class here. Meanwhile the younger generation, as well as the older, suffers from all of the evils that can be thought of. Rickets and tuberculosis are on the increase. Deformity becomes the order of the day—and still there are those who hesitate before the question of the necessity for a youth organisation. "Ah, for the fiery spirit of youth!" some say, and then pass on, forgetting that unless we undertake to tackle this problem many other tasks can never be fully completed.

A YOUNG COMMUNIST LEAGUE—AND WHAT IT HAS TO DO.

I was speaking with a rather prominent member of the Communist Party not long ago about the tasks of a Young Communist League, and he astounded me by suggesting that what we should do in order to reach the youth was to issue **RED Penny dreadfuls!** Let's make Bolshie Boris the hero instead of Diamond Dick! A brilliant idea, that! Almost as good as the Socialist Sunday School where the kiddies were being made into good fighters for the revolutionary movement by having sung to them such inspiring songs as "Yes, We Have No Bananas" and "The Sheik."

First of all, let us become clear on one point—the Young Communist League is not a children's organisation. It is a young workers' organisation, and takes into its ranks young workers between the ages of fourteen and twenty-five years of age. It is

organisationally a free body, but politically it is subordinate to the Communist Party.

The specific tasks of the Y.C.L. are to organise and educate the young workers; to lead in the fight against the horrible conditions imposed upon them at the present time; to bring them into the trade unions, and, in conjunction with all Communists and Progressives within the trade unions, to see that there shall be no discrimination made against young workers, but that instead a campaign shall be undertaken to bring them into the unions; to bring about a united front of youth and adult labour; to fight for making the sports clubs and associations to which young workers belong take their stand on the side of the working class and not remain "neutral" (for neutrality in the class struggle means support for the capitalist); to fight for the abolition of child labour; to fight the militarist and religious tendencies of Boy Scout and similar organisations; to carry on work amongst the unemployed youth to show them the true meaning of the forces of Army and the Navy; to establish Communist Children's Groups in all parts of the country, where the child of the worker can be given an antidote to the mental poison inflicted upon him in the public schools; and, above all, to make the child an active participant in the struggle of its class.

The motto of the Y.C.L. is "Education through active participation in the class struggle." It does not want to turn out arm-chair philosophers, but militant leaders who can take their place in the front ranks of the fight, who can help to knit together the rift between young and old, and who can give to the Communist and Labour movements new life and a new fighting spirit.

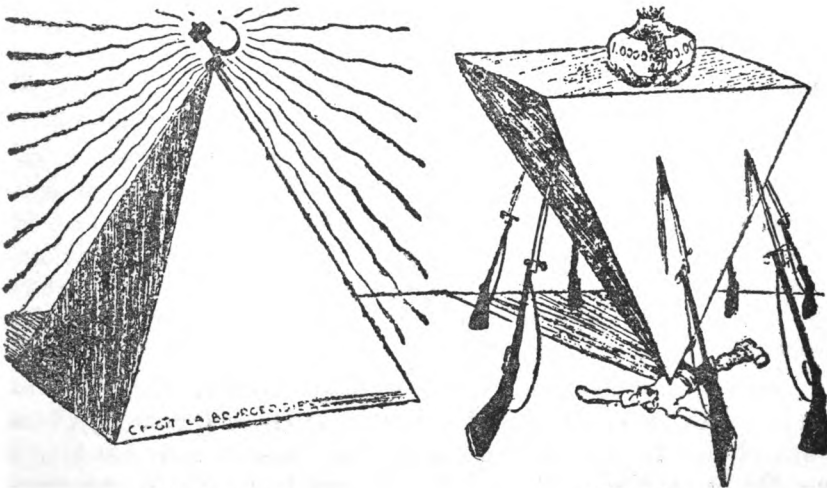
Not that alone, the Y.C.L. has recognised that its organisational structure with the territorial branch as the basic unit is fundamentally wrong; that the organisation, to achieve leadership, to become a mass movement, must have as its basic unit the shop group or nucleus. Communists in the Y.C.L. will be judged, not so much by the revolutionary tenor of the speeches that they are able to make at public meetings or aggregate membership meetings, but by their success in bringing into their ranks new recruits from amongst their fellow shop mates and of the influence they can gain over the rest of the young workers in the factory, mine, mill or shop. This system of organisation, being the same as that which has been so successfully applied by the Communist Party and Young Communist League of Russia, is being started here.

By the time this article is being read the second National Conference of the Young Communist League of Great Britain will have taken place. In the course of the last few months there has been a remarkable change in the spirit and activity of the Young Communist League. It has really begun to undertake those tasks for

which it was organised. Little by little the membership of the Communist Party is beginning to realise that the Young Communist League is not a mere "necessary evil," but a factor of first-rate importance, a factor which, when once fully exploited, will draw unto itself thousands upon thousands of young workers, train them into fighters for the youth as well as fighters for the working class as a whole. The Young Communist League will give to the party that new blood which it needs to draw upon from time to time in order to maintain its vigour.

It is gratifying to know that the Executive Council of the Communist Party at last fully realises what an important asset to the party a Young Communist League is and can be. It now remains for the Communists everywhere to realise it. The times ahead of us will be stormy ones; that no one can deny. We must mobilise our forces, from the youngest child to the oldest man. We must fight on many fronts, since our numbers are all too few; but there is no time for hesitancy. If the Young Communist League of Great Britain will be able to carry on as it has during the last two or three months we can feel confident that it will play no insignificant part in the class struggles of Great Britain.

J. J.



Communism

Fascism

Pacifism and Communism

(An Appeal to Pacifists.)

"The working class desires peace and therefore it must wage the class war. It is necessary to destroy the power which incites the nations against one another; it is necessary to struggle against the causes of continual conflicts, and to put an end to the system by which the blood of the workers is turned into jingling gold."—(Appeal of the Executive Committee of the Red International of Labour Unions, Moscow, April 15th, 1923.)

IN recent times there has been an increasing number of cases in which pacifists have taken up a strongly sympathetic attitude towards the Communist Parties. Not only is this attempt at a new orientation to be perceived amongst the ordinary members of pacifist organisations, but the discussion of principles in the directing circles of peace societies has had to take the form of choosing between purely pacifist and more or less Communist methods of attaining the pacifist object.

For this reason it seems to the writer of these lines that the membership of the Communist Party of Great Britain should recognise that it is opportune at this time (which more than any previous period demands an intelligible and honest position) to examine this problem of the highest importance—the problem of pacifism and Communism—from the standpoint of revolutionary Socialism, and to engage pacifists in discussion. I am well aware of the fact that limitations of space forbid consideration of all the philosophical, social, juridical and ethical problems which present themselves in this sphere. It is only possible in an essay of this kind to discuss, in the first place, problems of a purely political nature, and to make an attempt to solve them from the standpoint of Communism.

The ultimate aim of pacifist endeavour is to bring about a state of affairs in which war will not exist. And thus we are already at the heart of the problem of pacifism and Communism.

It must be understood to begin with that the characteristic of the ultimate condition of humanity—the absence of war—which is desired by pacifists is likewise a characteristic of the ultimate condition of humanity which is desired by Communists. (By "the ultimate condition of humanity" is here understood, of course, only the political goal which pacifists and Communists respectively have set themselves.) Every struggle against the Communists and their parties conducted with arguments which absolutely repudiate the social system desired by Communists denies the aims of revolutionary Communism, and is therefore in the highest degree a sordid struggle.

If we accept as given the fact that the ultimate aim of pacifists

and that of Communists is to realise a condition of society in which there will be no more war, the more difficult part of our inquiry of course remains: to determine what are the divergencies of principle between the aims and methods of pacifism and those of Communism, where the reasons for these divergencies are to be sought, and what theoretical and practical possibilities exist for one of the two tendencies—pacifism and Communism—to convince the other of the righteousness and exclusive practicability of its policy.

AIMS OF PACIFISM

First as to the divergencies of aim. Pacifism would be satisfied with a state of affairs in which there would be no war, i.e., with a state of affairs in which it would no longer be possible to compel a human being to kill or to be killed. In this formulation of the goal of pacifist policy (in which the emphasis lies on "would be satisfied") we have already all the difference between the aim of pacifism and that of Communism. All other differences concerning the goal can be traced from that already pointed out. For if pacifism as a criterion of its aim is satisfied with a complete absence of war, it has to be said from the Communist standpoint that though this warless condition will indeed be consummated by the Communist form of society, that is not the only, nor, indeed, from the point of view of principle, the most important, viewpoint of Communist policy.

The goal of pacifism is a warless society, but under exactly the same form of production, in the same social and juridical conditions as at present. The goal of Communism is the Communist society, that is, a society without exploitation, the society in which the demand for the complete abolition of private property in the means of production will be realised. This (Communist) condition of human society consummates the condition of permanent warlessness.

We Communists know that in the sight of history we are the true pacifists, because we know that it is not sufficient to prevent an isolated war to-day or to-morrow. (Here it may be emphasised that we, in individual cases, participate in and support, as a matter of course, any policy calculated to prevent war.) But we know that it is not sufficient—even from the standpoint of striving only for the pacifist goal, it is not sufficient—to make prevention of individual wars the sole or even the chief line of active policy. War must be made impossible by destroying its deepest and best hidden roots.

Since Rosa Luxemburg's time we know the connection between economy and bloodshed with the same exactitude that the medical man knows the process of the circulation of the blood. By her ingenious presentation (*Accumulation, an Economic Explanation of*

Imperialism, Vol. I, and still more Vol. II, which is the completion of the part of "Capital" left in a fragmentary condition by the death of Marx), she, with the critical instrument of scientific Socialism, explained the social relations of mankind better than anyone else since the death of the great master, and showed that modern capitalism would be unthinkable if it were not constantly compelled, for the purpose of making accumulation possible, to conquer territories still unaffected by capitalism, to acquire new markets and colonies and the possessions of foreign and distant powers, and to subjugate and exploit the inhabitants of those areas. It is for the possession of these colonies, etc., that quarrels naturally arise amongst the "civilised" States which have long since passed under the capitalist form. These are the last links of the chain which leads from the first moment of "peaceful" exploitation to bloody war.

It is not, of course, the task of the present writer to show the complex mechanism of all the links of this chain (for that one must study Marx, Rosa Luxemburg, Bucharin, and Lenin): the aim of this article is rather to ascertain what lines of practical policy are to be drawn from the results of scientific investigation already recognised as correct—investigation conducted on the basis of historical materialism and scientific Socialism.

ROOTS OF VIOLENCE

Here, however, we arrive at the problem of the divergencies of the methods of pacifist and Communist policy. They consist of the following: pacifism in its most radical form repudiates killing in any circumstances. Above all, killing in a civil war. If I have previously made the assertion that we Communists in the sight of history are the true pacifists, and if I now speak of civil war with all its terrors (killing, complete suppression of the freedom of the Press, revolutionary courts, etc., in a word, of the dictatorship of the proletariat) without thereby becoming involved in the slightest contradiction, it can only be because the problem of killing in a civil war and the attainment thereby of the ultimate pacifist condition in the Communist society, on the one hand, and the problem of "not killing" and thereby perpetuating the existence of capitalist society as an unending progression of acts of killing, on the other hand, have long since attained the precision of an arithmetical proposition.

On the one side there is the continued existence of the system of private capitalist exploitation, and with it new wars, new international conflicts, economic crises, exploitation, incredible—but within the capitalist system, unavoidable—impoverishment of the masses, wholesale mortality through exploitation, epidemics, and all kinds

of venereal and other infectious diseases—in a word, an unending progression of acts of killing of all kinds and by both warlike and peaceful methods, killing of those who belong to the overwhelming majority of mankind—the working class—by those who belong to a ridiculously small minority which, in obedience to the law of concentration and centralisation, is becoming an ever smaller class of idle exploiters.

But what stands on the other side to the account of the social revolution and of Communism? At first blood, terror, oppression. This, of course, not the fault of the workers, but the fault of the capitalist class which opposes with violence the Socialist system of production. This obtains on a national as well as on a world scale. It is everywhere the same: the bourgeois possessing classes do not voluntarily renounce one iota of their "rights" from any motive of rational perception (as a class they are not capable of this). The nobles, when they were the possessing class, treated the revolutionary bourgeoisie in exactly the same way. That belongs to the dynamic of history. Therefore the last page in the story of the old epoch which the revolution represents, is like all its other pages, covered with blood. How could it be otherwise?

But this last page of the story of the old, completely anarchistic period will be the first page in the story of the new period, of the first period in history of whose system blood-letting is not a *sine qua non*. For the first time in history there will be an era—the era of Communist society—in which murder will be called murder, and in which there will be no pardon for mass-murders, simply because there will be no mass-murders, and in which there will be no pardon for smaller mass-murders or individual murders for the same reason.

We Communists are not satisfied with destroying the poisonous fruit—war—which has hitherto been the only aim, conscious or unconscious, of the great majority of pacifists: we consciously kill the deepest roots of legal, collective mass-murder—capitalism.

We therefore appeal to all honest pacifists to consider carefully this train of thought: we ask them to examine and discuss it. They should test out these ideas, and if they find that they agree with them (as many pacifists actually do), they should have the courage to draw the conclusions therefrom. They should then seek to prepare for pacifism where the struggle for it (and also for the immanent goal of Communism) will be waged in a thoroughgoing fashion, with gaze directed not only to the present but also to the future.

J. EPSTEIN.

(Trans. P. Lavin.)

THE FORUM

Under this heading readers are invited to state their personal opinion upon any question of vital importance to the working class

THE UNITED STATES OF EUROPE.

Dear Comrade,

May I, through the columns of the "Forum," air my views regarding L. Trotsky's article in the October issue of the "Communist Review" on the U.S. of Europe.

That the theory of this subject is in accordance with the views of Communists is, of course, generally understood, the point in controversy being, "is the time ripe for such a slogan?" However, taking into consideration the psychology of the average worker, and also the ideology that has been instilled into his mind by the powers that be, there are, in my opinion, several obstacles which must be overcome before we can really propagate that slogan.

Coincidental with Trotsky's article, the "Observer" of October 7th publishes an article by Austin Harrison on the U.S. of Europe. The theme of this article is representative of the

bourgeois standpoint, but nevertheless, some of the obstacles he puts forward are only too real to be overlooked.

Let us take that of national and religious feeling. In spite of the lessons to be learned from the war, we still find members of the working class who look upon their fellow-workers in countries foreign to their own with contempt and "superiority," and generally regard them with hostility. Also, from time to time we read of Pogroms and other disturbances between different religious sects.

I, personally, cannot help feeling that, as a stepping-stone to the title-subject, we need some mediating slogan, and I would suggest:—

"International and Inter-racial Brotherhood."

What do our comrades think about it?

S. MUSCOVITCH,
(Y.C.L.—Stepney Branch.)

BOOK REVIEW

NEW STANDARDS AND OLD FALLACIES.

Were we reviewing Mr. Cole's "New Standards" for an ordinary capitalist journal we might begin by paraphrasing the orthodox reviewer and say that Mr. Cole has done a brave thing in seeking to impose on an already surfeited reading public yet another magazine—albeit the price is only 3d.

For our part "New Standards" must be judged by other than orthodox rules, since we are certain Mr. Cole is not likely to be influenced by what reviewers say, nor the "unedited" opinions he hopes to get about his latest fad. If he has the itch to write he will write, no matter what it costs or who suffers in the process.

Now the justification for a new journal in the Labour movement is either a party need or the fact that someone has something to say outside the sphere of party controversy or principles. "New Standards" fulfils neither of these tests. In proper dilettante vein it tries to steer clear of party warfare, and seems not to be aware that the best

"Guildism" has to offer the working class has been absorbed long ago in the active Labour movement. Apart from the re-hash of his pet Guild idea "New Standards" is in reality old fallacies relabelled. Those familiar with Cole's career can therefore judge whether he is likely to have anything worth while to say, unless, if we are to judge from the flirting with Fascism on the part of his reviewer of Por's book or his W. E. A. Standards of Education, that he is at last coming out definitely on the side of reaction. The fact that the magazine, well got up, only costs threepence tempers the references to "no rich capitalists" in Mr. Cole's appeal for financial help.

T. H. B.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

- "The Government Strikebreaker," Jay Lovestone (Workers' Party of America). 75 cents.
- "Blood and Steel," an exposure of the 12-hour day in steel industry. Jay Lovestone (Workers' Party of America). 10 cents.



French S. P. and Ruhr

M. Jean Longuet has hypocritically sought to cover up the grave shortcomings of the French Socialist Party with regard to action against the Ruhr occupation, by saying that if there had been no formation of a Communist Party in December, 1920, the old "United" Socialist Party "would have been a sufficient guarantee against the mad Ruhr race to ruin and disaster." This peculiarly puerile type of political polemic gets nowhere: and in any case, it is a curious excuse to offer for non-action by a "Socialist" Party in a contingency of such grave importance for every section of the international working class.

For the plain fact is that the French Socialist Party did nothing to rouse the masses of French workers and peasants against the Ruhr occupation. On the other hand, the French Communist Party (together with the C.G.T.U.) immediately the occupation began, organised the "Committee of Action Against Imperialism and War." This committee commenced a wide agitation among the French masses: and promptly got its leading member jailed, without trial, by the Poincaré Government.

Meanwhile, the Parliamentary Socialist Party was meeting Arthur Henderson in Paris. The "conversations" that ensued were conceived in the best diplomatic vein. Henderson spoke on the question of Reparations and the need for European reconstruction—just like Mr. J. M. Keynes. Léon Blum, for the French Socialist Party, concurred in all his remarks. No word of the German workers, no suggestions for working class action on the lines already being carried out by the French Communist Party.

In February the Socialist Party held its Congress at Lille. It refused the united front proposed to it by the Communist Party. It refused, that is to say, to join in the working-class struggle against the Poincaré Govern-

ment and its imperialist aims, as exemplified in the Ruhr occupation. What then, did it do? It decided, in the words of the "Daily Herald" report, "to submit a programme to the League of Nations embracing a definite assessment of Germany's debt within her capacity, the annulling of the inter-Ally debts, the realisation on account of Germany of international credit permitting payments to devastated areas, the re-establishment of German finances, stabilisation of exchanges and restoration of normal international economic relations." After outlining this programme of "reconstruction" (i.e., of capitalism), it proceeded to an appeal—to the international working class?—no, to the strongest citadel of world capitalism, the United States of America.

So far the French Socialist Party had not faced the question of the occupation, let alone take any action with regard to it. And the story is the same right through. In July Longuet, with the express approval of French Liberals such as M. Hénriot, the Mayor of Lyons, and M. Saguier, the pacifist, proposed a meeting of the Socialist and Labour Parties of France and England, together with "the best Radical elements of both countries," to consider what should be done about the Ruhr. Nothing came of the proposal, though it was sympathetic in showing the inability of the French Socialist Party (as of the Labour Party here) to dissociate itself from the outlook of the Liberal bourgeoisie.

Later in the same month of July Léon Blum represented the French Socialist Party at a meeting of Socialist Parties at Easton Lodge. The meeting decided, in view of the exchange of Notes then proceeding between the French and British Governments, to send Tom Shaw to the Ruhr to prepare a report! And so the tale of ineptitude, of pitiful political bankruptcy, of treason to the working class, unfolds

itself inexorably. All because of the initial inability to view the Ruhr as an episode of the class struggle. But that inability goes deep into the ideological foundations of the Labour and Socialist International (née the Second International), and of its French section.

No French Socialist has been arrested because of his agitation against the Ruhr occupation. Of course, the French Socialist Party has not agitated against the Ruhr occupation. It has only emitted a few feeble whines in correctly "pacifist" and Liberal tones. And the French bourgeoisie is unperturbed by these. The Communists have striven valiantly to unite the French working masses against the Government of "Poincaruhr" and the class it represents: and that class, seriously frightened by the proletarian challenge to its domination, voiced by the Communist Party, has persecuted the Communists whenever it got the chance.

The utter bankruptcy of the French Socialist Party throughout the Ruhr adventure may perhaps be best exemplified by its central party organ, the "Populaire" of Paris. The spineless character of this sheet has not altered one jot since the Ruhr affair began: comrades will guess just how much of a travesty of a Workers' Paper the "Populaire" has proved to be throughout this crisis when they realise that it is rather worse than the "Daily Herald." One may fairly say, with Comrade Trotsky, of this paper — and of the party that publishes it—"There is here neither theoretical analysis nor revolutionary politics—only the peevish comments of a scribbler in the margin of the great book of history."

"L'Humanité," on the other hand, the great organ of the French Communist Party, has from the first conducted an increasing agitation by pointed articles and biting cartoons, against the Ruhr occupation and the policy that lies behind it. It has never given the Poincaré Government a moment's peace. It has been a great rallying standard for the forces of the French working class in the struggle against imperialism and war.

When the Ruhr occupation began the circulation of "L'Humanité" rose from 150,000 per day to 220,000 a day, and then stabilised at 160-180,000. The circulation of the "Populaire" is under 10 000 a day—and those have to be attracted by an elaborate scheme of prize coupons and similar capitalist Press stunts. This contrast in power and influence between the two papers effectively expresses the difference in the influence of the Socialist Party and the Communist Party among the masses.

Saxony

The Central Committee of the German Communist Party approves of the entrance of three of its members, Comrades Boettcher, Heckert and Braudler into the Saxon Government. The working masses are faced with an offensive from big industry, landed proprietors and monarchist generals.

The military dictatorship destined to drown the working class in blood is at hand. The Communist members of the Saxon Government are entrusted by the party to organise and direct with the Social-Democratic members of the Left, in the same Cabinet, the common defence of the working class. The Communist representatives are placed under the control and direct supervision of the party.

The entrance of our comrades in the Saxon Government is not the result of bargaining and Parliamentary combinations; it affirms the determined will of the labouring masses to oppose a united front of proletarian struggle to the offensive of large capital.

For the party this event signals the realisation of the proletarian united front.

The Government of proletarian defence in Saxony will be a real sequel for all the working class in Germany.

But this Government needs the support of all the proletariat of the Reich. This tentative enterprise in Saxony to form, at the moment where the danger is the greatest, a common Government with the Social-Democrats of the Left to organise the proletarian defence, will only succeed if the party is able to mobilise the working class throughout the Reich and to form a proletarian united front against its class enemy.

(The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany.)

Bulgaria

WHITE TERROR IN BULGARIA.
(Socialist Minister Kasakoff Orders 20 Workers to be Shot.)

The insurrection of the workers and peasants in Bulgaria against the Fascist-Socialist Government of Tsankoff has met with brutal repression for has met with brutal repression of peasant workers, and especially the Communists. Town after town which had fallen into the hands of the workers and peasants have been subjected to severe reprisals by the Government troops, made up principally of Macedonian brigands and the rag-tag of Wrangel's army of whites.

During the latter days of the insur-

rection Tsankoff issued an appeal for "severe measures" to be taken to suppress the revolt, with the consequence that the most barbarous and bloody reprisals were let loose on the workers and their organisations. The Rote Fahne of Vienna gives us the first details of the acts of white terror perpetrated by the Fascist Government of Tsankoff, in which, it has to be noted, Bulgarian Socialist reformers, members of the Hombourg International, are active participants.

Upon the order of the Government, the Wrangel troops and Macedonian brigands organised a veritable massacre of the workers and peasants. Up to October 3, no less than 15,000 proletarians have been shot. At Novo-Zagora there were 600 executions, at Lompalanka 1,000, at Ferdinand 200. Berkovica and a large number of villages have been completely burned down. The prisoners were put on to boats on the Danube in large masses and literally murdered.

Twenty railwaymen and telegraph workers belonging to the trade unions were taken out on the orders of the Socialist Minister Kasakoff and shot because they refused to lend their aid in transporting the white troops.

The bourgeois journals announce that Comrade Blagoieff, an old militant and one of the founders of the Bulgarian Socialist Party—subsequently joining the Communist Party—being interned in prison became sick and died. The plain truth of this is that as Leibnecht and Rosa Luxembourg were foully murdered, so Blagoieff has been assassinated.

All the Press are unanimous in appealing to the Allies on the necessity for a large Bulgarian Army to maintain "order"!

America

"Boom" Collapsing: Don't Emigrate.

Undoubtedly for the past eighteen months or so, the United States (but not Canada) has been passing through a period of so-called prosperity. This, however, has been most unevenly divided. The industrial workers have had rather the best of it. At least

2,000,000 farmers during this time have actually abandoned their farms, due to hard times, and it is expected that 3,000,000 more will do so within the coming year. In most of the basic industries the workers have shared very little of the "good times." Being destitute of labour organisation, they have to take whatever is given them by the employers, which is little enough compared to the tremendous cost of living. The one branch which prospered above all others was the building trades. The workers in this industry are getting higher wages than ever before in their history, and labour is very scarce. Bricklayers and other skilled mechanics commonly get from 12 dols. a day upwards. Of course, such wages are very unusual. Not all workers are allowed to enjoy them. They obtain only in the best organised districts. In the Steamfitters Union they have not taken in a single member for 15 years past. It is practically a job trust. In the metal trades, railroad trades, etc., of course, no such high wages prevail. In the industrial slump that took place in 1921, they had their wages heavily cut. During the present period of prosperity they have not yet overcome this cut. In fact, the buying power of their wages is steadily decreasing. The only benefit they get is by being furnished steadier work.

All signs now point to the development of a big industrial depression in the United States. The peak of employment was past in May. Gradually production is slowing down and the army of unemployed increasing. The crash may hold off for a few months longer, but all economists practically are agreeing that we are heading into a period of industrial depression. In the face of this situation, it would be highly inadvisable for workers to go to the United States at this time. It is only two years since there were 5,000,000 men walking the streets looking for work. The chances are that the condition will be even worse before another year goes by, although the capitalists will undoubtedly make a desperate effort to patch up the industrial system until the Presidential Election of 1924 has passed.