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TWOPENCE

SAVE THE RAND BOYS

By DAVE KENDALL, Deported from South Africa

[David Kendall, secretary of the Workers' Union in South Africa, has been deported for his share in the Rand Strike. In this article, specially written for the COMMUNIST, he gives the full facts of the Rand revolt for the first time.]

TO give you the facts of the great class war on the Rand and make it all clear to you I must go back a good way. Many complications, including the colour bar, are involved, and they are not all easy to explain. Not only is it the most tremendous conflict between capital and labour that has been seen for a long while, but there are lives in the balance. There are boys now in jail who may be on the end of a rope yet, and, over here, you can save them if you choose. In such a case as this, therefore, I can rightly ask you to spend a few moments in going rather further back into the matter.

In 1914, the Great War broke out. That was the time above any other that the worker on the Reef could have demanded and forced what he wanted. Instead, he accepted the suggestion made to him by the Chamber of Mines, to the election of a board of arbitration, composed of equal numbers of members of the Chamber and the Federation (workers), with an independent chairman, the finding of the board to be final. It was in 1916 that the agreement was honourably signed by the Chamber of Mines and the Federation, and in it was embodied all which caused the tremendous upheaval and slaughter.

Last year the coal owners got a tremendous reduction in the freight on coal from the Government amounting to £2,000,000. Not satisfied with that, they demanded a reduction of the workers' wages of 5s. a day. The Federation, on behalf of the Union concerned, agreed to accept the reduction of 2s. 6d., and, if the coal owner could prove that it was fair or necessary, to a further reduction of 2s. 6d. This was not done, and a strike followed.

At the same time, the Victoria Power Co. demanded a similar reduction from the mechanics in their employ, and negotiations were also proceeding between the Government, Chamber of Mines, and the Federation on the question of the withdrawal of the "status quo." This was an agreement (arrived at during the war), that assured the white worker a certain ratio in proportion to the unskilled, cheap, native workers. The outcome of this conference was that the Prime Minister (Smuts), advised the workers to accept the demands of the Chamber of Mines. Then he would elect an "independent board," and, "see what could be done."

The immediate result of this would have thrown out of work, as the Chamber of Mines estimated, 2,500 men. The Federation proved it could not be less than 4,500 to 6,000. These white workers' places would have been replaced by the cheap native labour, recruited in the tropics. This was a question of life and death to the white workers, and they, as one man, decided never to submit to this demand. An almost unanimous ballot in favour of a strike was taken. The Chamber of Mines was again

approached, but refused to arbitrate on the question.

The Strike is called

A strike was declared on January 10th of this year.

The battle cry of the striker was: "A White South Africa." It has been this cry which has been so misrepresented. It even caused the native to regard the strike as a fight against him. This was absolutely untrue. The battle cry was only the tactic which won the strikers public sympathy. The public regarded the replacement of white workers by natives as tending to drive the white men out of the country.

By its ultimatum, the Chamber of Mines never aimed at elevating the native. Its only object was, and is, more profit. It merely aimed at replacing men who received 20s. per day, and more, by natives, who can be driven down the mine for 2s. per day and under.

The press, which is owned by the "Corner House" (the Chamber of Mines), was agitating for the removal of the "status quo," which it called the colour bar, in order to bring the standard of the white worker down to the level of the native. This, then, is the meaning of the Colour Bar, and what the striker meant by the "White South Africa," was a higher standard for all.

"We pay for labour and not for colour" was the cry of the Chamber's leader, Sir Lionel Phillips. By this he meant "we pay 2/- per day for native labour; instead of 20/- to a white man."

This explains the whole-hearted support given to the striker by the public, it being realised that the native would be no better off, but would have assisted in bringing the white worker down to his own low standard of living.

The strike started on January 10th. The funds of the different unions at this time were exceedingly low. Having gained experience from the other strikes, the E.C. of the Federation got busy, and sent young Dutch speakers out on propaganda work amongst the farmers. Their object was to put the workers' case to them and collect food supplies. Soon it was a common sight to see truck loads of cattle, sheep and mealies flowing into the different strike centres.

The Commandos

At the same time, in the towns, organisation of the strikers in Commandos was beginning. Each district, or mine, formed its own Commando, and elected its officers. All Commandos, being under, and controlled by the Augmented Executive of the organisation. Although the Government tried to prove to the public after the slaughter, that this was a part of a great "Red Revolution," I have evidence before me as I write, to prove that the Government and police did not object to it, and, as a matter of fact, thought it a splendid idea to keep the men fit and orderly. The E.C. of the Federation, desirous of keeping things quiet, requested the Government to close all bars and wine stores within the strike area. This was done.

The strike went on for several weeks. Nothing happened beyond regular meetings

held every day, the strikers behaving in a most exemplary manner. They were content, and daily grew more determined, to fight for the withdrawal of the ultimatum.

Another conference was called. The Chamber and Federation sat for 13 days, but could not agree. On this occasion the Federation suggested that if it was a question of saving the low grade mine, would they apply the removal of the "status quo" only to the low grade mines? The Chamber demanded that it should apply to all mines, low or high. So the Conference broke up on the 13th day. No results.

Again both sides marked time, there was nothing happening. The relations between the strikers and police were most cordial.

The press then got busy, and told stories of the most dastardly things said to be done by the strikers. A train left Springs. A few miles away from the station, the engine driver stopped his engine, got off the foot-plate, examined the rail just in front, and found a twisted rail. Everybody laughed.

Two or three days later a heap of stones about 4 ft. high was found on the rails. I personally made investigations here, and found that a few native children had been putting stones there, for the purpose of seeing them run over.

The third "outrage" in the press, was headed: "A Terrible Outrage at Bramfontein: Attempt Made to Dynamite the Line." The corner of a wooden sleeper had been blown off. The miner uses dynamite every day for a living, and he could only, on this occasion, blow the corner off a sleeper!

Meanwhile, a few scabs had gone back to work on the coal mines, with the aid of the mine officials, natives, and Government assistance (the Government allowed the officials to drive hauling engines without being qualified). A few mines began to work. Many accidents happened with loss of life.

Council Intervenes

The next move came from the Johannesburg Town Council. The coal which now was being produced by the few coal mines working, was banned by the Federation as being scab coal. The Council was using coal produced before the strike. It suddenly came to the assistance of the Chamber of Mines, by ordering the scab coal.

While the power station men were holding a meeting to consider the position thus created, 100 police, armed with rifles and fixed bayonets, occupied the power station, ordered the men out, and with them the Labour members of the Town Council. Thus the power station and tramway men were, by the action of the Government, forced to throw in their lot with the miners. Things at this moment began to look serious as the public was aware of what was taking place. The Chamber of Mines was more than feeling the pinch, and the rumour was getting abroad that they had to borrow money from London to carry on with. The food came merrily in from the farmers to the strikers. Again an appeal was made to the Prime Minister, again he replied that his best advice had been given, viz., "Go back to work on the conditions the Chamber of Mines offer, and I make enquiries."

The next move was made by the Government through J. C. Smuts. He threw off the mantle of neutrality and openly declared

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for the Chamber of Mines. He issued an appeal to the men to go back to work on the terms offered by the Chamber, and called upon every loyal worker to present himself two days later at the mine head. He would guarantee protection to them if they did so. He also called upon the Chamber of Mines to light the fires in the boilers and be ready to receive those who were willing to work. The E.C. called a demonstration of the strikers, who turned out in their thousands as a reply to the Government's appeal.

Here the trouble began. The strikers, realising that a few would go back and scab, attempted (with their Commandos) to persuade them not to do so, and, although they tried to avoid it, on a few occasions, they clashed with the police.

At Boksburg, the Commando fell in, and marched to the Trades Hall to hold a meeting at 7.30 p.m. On their arrival there they found a meeting being held. Rather than they should break up, they marched around the town, and, on passing the jail, remembering they had a few comrades within those walls, then decided they would cheer them up a bit by singing the Red Flag. Whilst they were singing, a posse of

that it would take away the authority of the police.

The Natives brought in

But on the whole, the strikers were holding firm. There were very few scabs, and the determination of the strikers grew firmer. Something had to be done, and the real move again came from the Chamber. The natives were armed for the purpose of diverting the strikers and the public from the main issue, and fighting between the natives and whites commenced.

These moves were closely watched by the Augmented E.C., and, as a counter move, they warned the strikers to leave the natives alone. So serious had the position grown that the commanders of the different Commandos along the Reef threatened to shoot any striker who did not obey their orders. Whilst this was going on, the Government was despatching artillery, Lewis guns, and ammunition, as fast as possible from headquarters in Pretoria. The Durban Light Infantry was called up, and an appeal was made by the Government for Special Police, at 5s. per day. I leave it to your imagination what class of man was taking on that job.

When the Government had got everything in order things in the Federation be-

Reef, and immediately declared martial law, raided the Trades Hall, arrested all the leaders, and anybody else who happened that way.

Raids for Arms

Left in this plight, without any pre-arranged plans, they immediately saw to it that they strengthened their position, and commenced to protect themselves with what weapons they could get. They raided police depots, etc., imprisoned the police, and took away their ammunition. In this way several suburbs fell into the hands of the strikers, who proceeded to strengthen their positions. It was then that Generals with aeroplanes, tanks, etc., came into action, and real war began. The Government now began the cry of the Red Revolt, Bolsheviks, Russian money had been found, documentary evidence had been found in the Trades Hall, proving that the E.C. had been arranging with the Soviet Government to turn the country over. Of course, it had the necessary effect upon the people, and they began to fall in to save the country from ruin.

The Witwatersrand, was turned into a battlefield. The strikers entrenched himself and made a fight for it. In Benoni aeroplanes were used to bomb the Workers' Hall. It was reported in the Yellow Press that a meeting was being held. This was not true. The aeroplanes could only, after many tries, blow off the back of the hall. The police went into it on the Saturday to set fire to it. They could not carry this out, so returned to it again on Sunday, when they were more successful. And today, the finest hall along the Reef lies in ruins, a hall which had cost the workers £35,000. They dropped shells in amongst women and children, and then reported in the papers that a striker fired at it and loosened a catch that let the four shells drop. The people were told to clear because they intended to shell the town, and to-day, Benoni is in ruins.

Fordsburg lies in ruins, and some of the most brutal murders were done by the troops, that were ever done in the history of the British Empire.

The two following cases are sufficient evidence of what has happened:—

The question was asked the Prime Minister if it were true that three sons in one family had been taken out of the house and shot. Another letter was read from a man accusing the Government troops in Benoni of having thrown a bomb through his bedroom window, blowing his wife to pieces.

After the battle came the massacre, and men and women arrested wholesale and rushed into gaol, as many as 10,000 to 15,000, I believe.

Then—and this is gravest of all:—

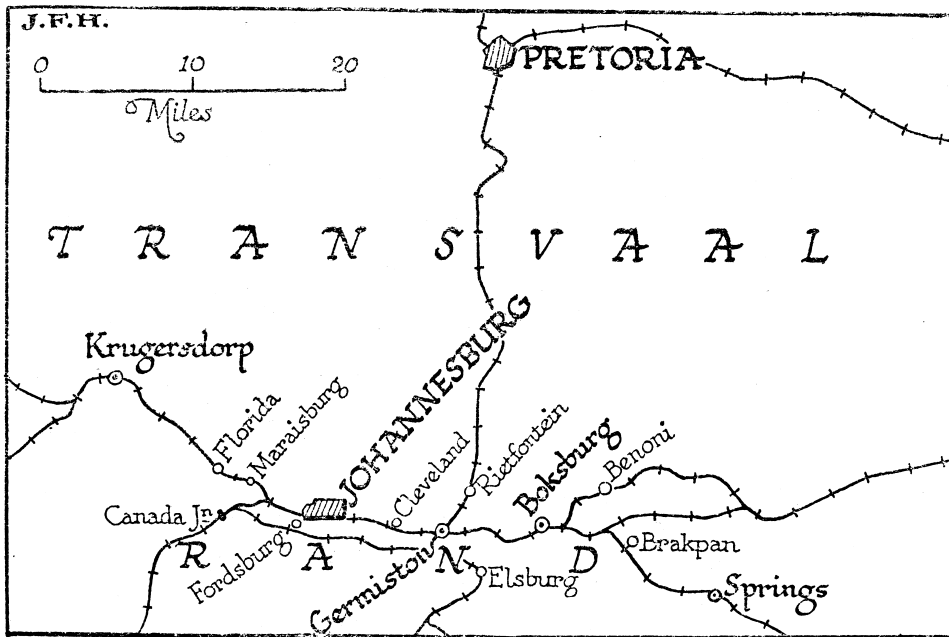
In a speech made by the Right Honourable Prime Minister J. C. Smuts, in the House of Assembly, he said he was desirous of getting the country back to normal, and to do this he wanted to get the trials of prisoners over. He continued: "It is not my intention to try them by martial law, because some people have a horror of it." He did not intend to try them by the African common law, because that was too slow, and would waste too much time, but he intended to have them tried by the old Roman Dutch law "that gentlemen will be the fastest, but, I am sorry to say that any man who has been seen to shoot at a government man would be tried for murder."

To-day then, we have 10,000 Comrades in gaol, 850 to be tried for high treason, and about 100 for murder.

On their behalf I am determined to fight, and I ask the readers of the COMMUNIST to help me to state the case. Anywhere I am willing to speak, and feel sure that when you have heard it, you will demand their release.

Jan Smuts is afraid of an uproar over here. If his fine, pretty European reputation is damaged he will feel it.

YOU OVER HERE CAN STOP THESE MURDERS. WE IN SOUTH AFRICA ARE LOOKING TO YOU. ENGLISH LABOUR IF IT PROTEST ENOUGH CAN SAVE THEM. THOSE FELLOWS' LIVES DEPEND ON YOU.



MAP OF THE RAND

police, commanded by Capt. Fulford, came around the corner.

A sworn affidavit by H. A. Earle reads as follows:—

"I was attending a meeting at the Masonic Hall, Boksburg (upstairs). While the meeting was in progress I could hear a lot of men singing, which I took to be outside the gaol. While the song was in progress, I heard the clatter of horses' hoofs. Directly afterwards I heard a whistle blow. It was at this stage, an interval occurred in the meeting. I immediately ran to the balcony to ascertain the cause of the stampede. While looking out, I heard a voice at the bottom corner, below the Wesleyan Church, exclaiming: "get back, you B—— B——." It was a police officer, and that officer was Capt. Fulford. He had his revolver in his hand. He then fired a shot which seemed to be fairly high. He then again fired point blank. There were several shots after that. During this he was walking backwards all the time. Things seemed to cool down, in the bottom corner. He then proceeded towards the gaol. I then lost sight of him in the crowd. There were two shots fired from the south end of Osborne street, which passed several of us standing on the balcony. Capt. Fulford then proceeded towards Osborne Street, and posted a squadron of police across the street. It was then I heard a volley fired. Things cooled down then, and I went back into the Hall.—

(signed) H. A. EARLE.

Sworn before me, at Boksburg, on the first day of March, 1922, Boris Melman, J.P., Mayor of Boksburg."

I have in my possession eight similar affidavits to this. In this affair three strikers were killed in cold blood. The E.C. of the Federation demanded that Capt. Fulford should be put upon his trial for murder. The only answer they received was

gan to move again. The press was always calling to them to take another ballot. They, seeing the serious position, began to weaken, and the rumour got about that that was exactly what the augmented E.C. intended doing. The rank and file were determined to fight it out to the last, and swarmed all over the Trades Hall and demanded that the E.C. should call a general strike.

After many hours discussion, the general strike was decided upon by 64 against 21 votes.

The enforcement of this decision was largely dependent upon the railwaymen, who are always weak-kneed, owing to their terror of losing their privileges and pensions.

The rest of the workers were not affected much by the happenings in the Transvaal. They failed to realise that the miners' loss would eventually prove their defeat also. The Commandos now found themselves very busy pulling out the workers. Many of these were only waiting for them to be visited. The police, on the other hand, had received orders to break up the Commandos at all costs.

The Women's Commandos approached the Telephone Exchange. Troops with fixed bayonets charged the crowd. A young Jewish lad, 17 years of age, protesting against a woman being ill-treated, was bayoneted. Armed troops were now being poured into the strike areas. The defence force, called up in their thousands, behaved in a most provocative fashion.

The Commandos now being attacked from all sides, the strikers' determination grew greater. They were not to be driven back to work, even at the point of the bayonet. The Government (ever ready to fasten on to anything to excuse martial law), declared that firing by the strikers had taken place in three different townships along the



THE GENOA TEA PARTY

THE RUSSIAN BEAR: "And they invited me to come only if I was 'on my good behaviour'!"

BACK AGAIN IN RUSSIA

By T. BELL

FOR anyone who has been absent from Russia for a time, the most interesting study is the operation of what is called The New Economic Policy. Especially for those who thought the mere institution of proletarian dictatorship would realise Communism and give full fledged economic security to the industrial masses.

To see all the manifestations of capitalism appearing again; to witness not only free speculation and trading but small private industry, the opening of big multiple stores, with theatres, cafes, etc., and that in the heart of Red Moscow—is, to say the least, a cold douche for anyone who brings here romantic notions about the Revolution and its achievements.

Enquire where you will as to the meaning of this and that obvious contradiction to stereotyped opinions of revolutionary Russia and the monotonous explanation is always the same—the "new economic policy."

This being my second visit to Moscow much of the romance naturally associated with the first proletarian revolution had been shed long ago. Accordingly, I have not been unduly influenced by the appearance of things.

Early last Spring I saw the shops still closed and barricaded. The new decree regarding open trade had not had time to operate. Before the summer ended many shops had been opened and a beginning made with the new policy. I had expected to see much more evidence of the return of the petty bourgeois shop-keeping class than actually obtains. Frankly, the efforts of the shop-keeping speculators are pathetic, when one remembers their pre-revolutionary prestige.

In the Factories

I began to make enquiries as to the attitude of the workers in the factories. In the last analysis it is these workers who count—at least in the big cities and industrial centres. In conversation with a responsible Communist Party official I learned that the Party were quite satisfied with the general attitude of the workers, who have in no way slackened in their revolutionary determination.

The disposition of large masses of the workers, he said, is to carry on the revolutionary struggle. The workers realise that all the concessions to the petty bourgeoisie and the accompanying paraphernalia in the shape of speculation and trading are only manifestations of the transition period to

Communism and that fresh battles have yet to be fought before such forms of capitalism as yet remain are finally crushed.

This is the considered opinion arrived at after keen enquiries and investigations made on behalf of the Party. I have also spoken with workmen who, in their several stories, confirm this view. One workman to whom I was accidentally introduced the other day spoke with much enthusiasm about the general position. We talked about the reconstruction of industries; how the problem of over-staffing was being met, unemployment, wages payment, and general conditions of labour. With reference to over-staffing, at first, he said, it was natural that the petty bourgeois and intelligentzia elements should try to take hold of the staff jobs and find room for their friends who had been rendered unemployed by the revolution, or who, in order to get "pyock," i.e., bread and clothes, had to find an occupation. In this way many industries were ridiculously over-staffed. This problem, however, was now being successfully overcome, and he quoted cases to me where hundreds of so-called staff or clerical workers had been combed out. "And where do they go to?" I asked. "Oh," he said, with a shrug of the shoulders, "these are the people who make up the speculators."

As to my enquiries about the stories of unemployment among the working class, this workman told me it was true there were a number of unemployed in Moscow, but these were generally not the best elements among the workers. Where, however, there were genuine and regular workers who had been in industry for the last three years, or youths from 16 to 20 rendered idle on account of various circumstances, these received half of their wages on the basis of their last month's rates, and, he said, with a touch of sarcasm, referring to those who had not been conscripted, a little taste of unemployment would do them no harm. In any case, he assured me there was no danger to the revolution on the score of unemployment.

In Private Enterprises

But what about private enterprises? How do the workers fare there?

Well, he said, with a chuckle, the position is quite all right. We make our own demands upon the employer, within reason, of course, and we do not do so bad. At first the employers went to the country and brought in labourers and tried to work them 14 to 15 hours a day. But now that 98 per

cent employed in private enterprise are organised in the union, 8 hours is the regular day, and the conditions of State enterprise recognised.

Another comrade who lived in England a number of years, and who is a technical engineer, told me some vivid stories about the great work of reconstruction going on. He confirmed what I had heard about the combing out process and recited case after case where the staff had been reduced to numbers something proportionate to the requirements of the industry. The intelligentsia and experts of the old regime, however, are a bit truculent. They seize on all the technical literature they can get their hands upon but don't want to spread the information among the workmen. On the other hand, they do not favour importation of foreign capital, which they fear will bring in competitive expert labour, and so they are in a cleft stick.

Driven between the desire for monopoly in their technical knowledge, and the fear of foreign expert and technical labour, they are being forced to stand in with the Soviet Government. But their truculence has to be overcome and is yet a big difficulty, though rapid strides are being made in the direction of proper and efficient organisation.

To wages payment and other conditions I will return in another article. Here I want to say that the industrial masses realise since the actual cost of production for the present exceeds the value of the output, there can be no exploitation for their labour, and the harder they work the better will be the general level for all.

That feverish speculation is indulged in and license taken under cover of the new economic policy goes without saying. The petty bourgeois has only one god, and that is Gold! £.s.d. is the only holy trinity he worships. Communists don't need to be reminded about that.

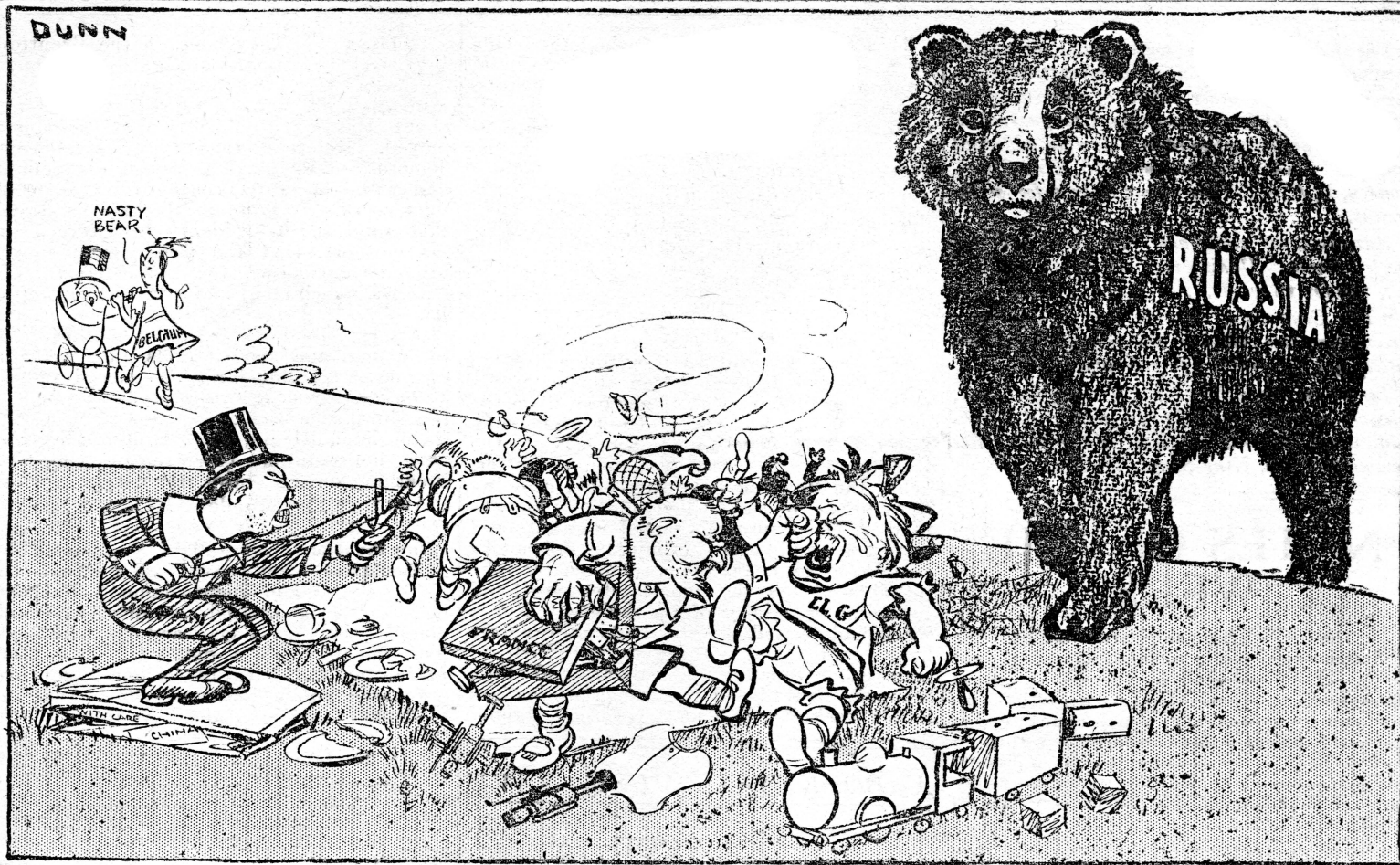
And so when the lying journalists of the poisonous capitalist Press in England try to persuade their readers that Communism has failed, and incidentally to bring comfort to the tortured souls of the bourgeoisie who are seeing red at their own doorsteps, we can afford to smile. As the politicians say in the English Parliament: "The situation is well in hand." The experience in Russia clearly demonstrates that the world revolution is not moving in a straight line.

The zig-zag manner in which events are forcing our Russian comrades to move may be puzzling to the comrades in other countries not yet in the throes of revolutionary action. We have read and heard of an army anxious to go into battle, but restrained by a wise generalship. Retreats have been ordered even against the will of the rank and file eager to fight. The generalship of the Russian revolution and this new economic policy, represents exactly such a situation.



THE GENOA TEA PARTY

THE RUSSIAN BEAR: "And they invited me to come only if I was 'on my good behaviour'!"



THE GENOA TEA PARTY

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The Editor welcomes contributions from any member of the Party, or from sympathisers, on any industrial or other subject of interest to the Party. The return of these cannot be guaranteed unless they are accompanied by a stamped addressed envelope. They should be sent to 16, King Street, London, W.C.2. They cannot be paid for at the present.

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NOTES OF THE WEEK

The Surrender The shipyard ballot has given a small majority—not stated, by the way—against going back to work. Hence, with that enthusiasm for democracy, which characterises them, the officials have ordered a return to work. That action, which would be poorly spirited enough any way, is made worse by the fact that out of 300,000, barely 45,000 voted.

It is perfectly well known that this wholesale abstention was part of a deliberate policy. The workers refused to vote, in order to express their disgust at these continual ballots and to induce the E.C. to get on with the job.

We think, and we said at the time, that this policy was a mistake, as it gave an opportunity for just this wangle. But our advice was not approved in this case, and large bodies of locked-out workers, simply refused to vote, with the result that we have the officials claiming a return to work when of 300,000 workers, only "about 40,000" are in favour of doing so.

* * *

But Wait These figures are striking enough. But they do more than show the pusillanimity of the officials. They show that there is a strong probability that the officials will not be able to deliver the goods.

We warned the engineers originally to beware of the officials and trust to the rank and file of the forty-seven. That warning has been justified through and through. The officials have let them down, but the rank and file is standing firm.

Insufficient reports are to hand as yet, but it appears that the order to return to work is being largely disobeyed. We understand that at least one considerable port in the provinces will remain closed, and that, at the time we write, the Thames-side is absolutely solid against return.

The rank and file move has begun. IT MUST NOT STOP.

* * *

London Leaders For once in a way, it appears that London may give an example to the rest of the country. Only in Sheffield, up to now has there been any vigorous action. In that city they have taken the excellent step of closing down the non-federated shops. Now a move has begun in London, marked by the institution of the *Disputes Advisory Committee*, a body founded on the initiative of the A.E.U., No. U District Committee, and recognised (we understand) now officially by the E. and S. Federation. We call attention to a statement on its policy by our old friend Tom Mann (who is acting as organiser), in another column of this issue.

The first task of this body will be—has been, rather—to weld into one co-ordinated group, all the various isolated lock-out committees of London and to get them to work and fight as a whole. So far forward has it gone with its work that an all-London Conference of these bodies has been called, and meets in the Memorial Hall on Monday.

This Conference will be asked to decide upon action to widen and unite the front in London. We are giving away no secrets, moreover, when we say that the intention is to discuss the extension of the dispute to (a), the public utility services; (b), the non-federated shops.

This is excellent and has our hearty endorsement, as it will have that of every genuine worker. The pity of it is that it is confined to London. Is the industrial North going to be left behind? What about it?

* * *

Genoa Elsewhere in this paper we print a letter from a Russian comrade with the delegation at Genoa. We wish to add a comment of our own upon the adroitness of Chicherin and our other comrades. The spectacular success of the Rapallo Treaty is really a minor matter. What the Russians have succeeded in doing is to break up the Allied unity. All was ready. The Supreme Council was gathered together, and the criminal Bolsheviks summoned to hear their sentence and be intimidated by the moral sternness and imposing unanimity of the judges. Not a week had passed before baits alternately held forward and withdrawn, the Shell oil concession rumours set about and then stopped, had turned the bench of justices into a cockpit. The most reverend signors

A BOOK YOU MUST HAVE

Between Red and White

By LEON TROTSKY

In this magnificent work—probably the most striking that even Trotsky has yet written—there is given not only a crushing exposure of the evil anti-proletarian intrigues of the Georgian Mensheviks but also a trenchant presentation of the Communist philosophy of revolution.

The book, bound in limp cloth, and sold at 2s. net, will be ready this week end.

C.P.G.B. Publishing Department,
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READY THIS WEEK END

have forgotten their dignity and their need for a moral unity against Sin, and have started biting and scratching each other.

Allied unity is at an end. Now it is a helter-skelter scramble for the concessions Chicherin waves before them. Each donkey is running for its carrot, and now the Russians can practically make their own terms.

* * *

Belgium at Genoa The following particulars, derived from the financial supplement of *L'Information* (7-8-22), throw an interesting side-light on Belgium's policy at Genoa:—

Countries in debt to	Amount of Debt.
France.	Francs.
Russia (old regime)	5,459,000,000
Belgium	3,684,000,000

The further facts that four of the same banks in the "Russian Group of Financial Houses" included in the Six Power Banking Consortium having to do with China were, in reality, Belgian banks; that one of the chief supporters of the Schneider-Creusot group in their European Financial and Industrial Union (instituted in 1920 to exploit coal and iron throughout Europe), was the all-powerful Societe Generale de Belgique—are also enlightening.

Belgian banks were heavily interested in coal and iron mines and works in the Donetz basin of Russia. This may explain the confession of M. Theunis, the Belgian Premier:

"He would not budge on the question of private property. If, indeed, he did so, he would be overthrown."—*Pall Mall Gazette* (8-5-22).

And there you are, then!

14s. a week They have on the Brentford Board of Guardians a member (the member for Ealing) who, gallant man, is greatly concerned about the spiritual welfare of the unemployed. He fears that they may become demoralised by "lavish" scales of "relief," and will, therefore, cease to be eager to "get work." Therefore, he has suggested that (and the Guardians have agreed, on his motion), that the weekly unemployed relief be cut down to: married man, 7s.; wife, 7s.; each child under 16, 4s.; rent up to 10s.

Observe: food, fares, light, clothes, etc., for a man and his wife, 14s.; for a family of four, 22s.; But for rent—sacred rent!—property, my dear! property!—as much as ten shillings a week.

One house-owner (for maintenance)—7s.; One house-owner (for the privilege of breathing on his "property"), 10s.!

And then they wonder . . . !

* * *

How the Poor should live The gallant captain—which his name is Barker!—oh! eloquent name!!—Barker!! just so!—was nettled because somebody doubted whether a man and his wife could live on a "bob" a day each. He went, therefore, and with his strong right arm purchased viands and comestibles sufficient to demonstrate his claim. As thus:—

1½ lbs. bread	...	...	...	3½d.
2 ozs. margarine	...	...	...	1
2 ozs. sugar	...	...	...	0½
½ oz. tea	...	...	...	0½
½ pint milk	...	...	...	1¼
½ lb. meat	...	...	...	3½
1 lb. potatoes	...	...	...	1½
1 lb. greens	...	...	...	2½
2 ozs. cheese	...	...	...	1

Total 1/3½d.

Now, you see? The whole of 8½d. left every day for a man and wife to squander in coal, gas, candles, soap, starch, firewood, clothes and recreation!

I wonder who sold him the 1lb. of greens? And what he thought it was for? And how he'd like it—just for one week!

Barker, his name is, and he is the Guardian for Ealing, where there are over 1,000 unemployed.

Surely this little matter can be explained to him?—By those who understand?—the half-pound of meat, by the way, is alternately *English* beef (clod!), and Australian mutton (neck!) A few samples now!

* * *

The Castleford Case The case of Ernest Gough which we noted a short time ago—a case in which relief granted during the miners' lock-out was, by the Guardians, ordered to be refunded by stoppage from his wages—has come to an impasse.

Nothing has been stopped from Gough's wages because Gough's mate (in the Yorkshire pits they work in couples and draw a joint wage)—joins him in refusing to submit to any stoppage. As there is no legal or quasi-legal authority for raiding the mate's wage, the authorities are left in a quandary.

The matter must now be brought to a legal issue. If this sort of thing were to be tolerated every worker would, once locked-out or cast into unemployment, be degraded to the position of a Mexican peon.

* * *

The Cartoon Album We apologise for the absence of Francis Meynell's review of our magnificent cartoon album. Not our fault: Frances's. He forgot.

Also, a further nuisance—it never rains but it pours—John Ball's notes were lost in the post.

William Hewlett Memorial

The Abertillery Branch of the Communist Party are still able to supply copies of the memorial to the memory of W. Hewlett. This takes the form of a reproduction on plate paper of a fine portrait of our late Comrade enclosed within a pamphlet reproduction of his last speech (given at the Congress of the Third International) prefaced by a sketch of his life. This is sold at 3d., and can be obtained from Vi Sheen, 60, Clarence Place, Blaenau Gwent, Abertillery. We are asked to request all those who have received bundles of this memorial to render all monies and accounts to the above-named as soon as possible.

BETWEEN RED & WHITE

A Study of some fundamental questions of Revolution with particular reference to Georgia. Specially written for the COMMUNIST by LEON TROTSKY, People's Commissar for War in the Russian Soviet Republic.

This is the sixth instalment of the serial which Trotsky wrote for the COMMUNIST and of which certain extracts have appeared in the *Daily Herald*. First he dealt with the myth of peaceful neutral democratic Georgia. He pointed out that the rulers of Georgia were the main directors of the internal Russian war against the Soviets. Georgia made itself utterly subservient first to the Germans and then to the Allies in their war upon Russia. This group of self-appointed Mensheviks kept their power by a fierce White terror against the peasants, and the savage punitive expeditions and burning of villages. In conjunction with

the British these democrats stamped out the only opposition — the Georgian Communists.

The duplicity of the Georgian politicians was exposed and demonstrated by their giving aid to Wrangel in men and munitions after having refused an offer of alliance from Soviet Russia. The defeat of Wrangel created an embarrassing situation for the Georgian Mensheviks and for the Western Imperialism on whose success they had gambled. Emboldened by their belief in the inevitable triumph of Denikin the Georgian Mensheviks adopted a provocative attitude towards the

Soviet Republic. In the war that followed the defeat of Wrangel the workers and peasantry of Georgia infuriated at the oppression inflicted upon them by their Menshevik rulers and their fury inflamed by the hostility of these rulers to Soviet Russia, everywhere seized the opportunity to rise in revolt and establish the Georgian Soviet Republic which, to the chagrin of Macdonald and Co., still exists and flourishes. The relations of Soviets to democracy are then discussed in the section which follows.

Back numbers containing the previous instalments can be obtained from the Circulation Manager, 16 King Street, W.C.2—price 2d. each

History on the whole knows of no revolution that was accomplished in a democratic way. For revolution is a very serious contest which is always settled, not according to form, but according to substance. It happens quite frequently that individuals lose their fortunes and even their "honour" when playing cards according to the rules of the game; but classes never consent to lose possessions, power and "honour" by observing the rules of the game of "democratic" parliamentarism. They always decide this question in earnest, i.e., in accordance with the real co-relation of the material forces, and not with the phantom shadows of these forces.

CHAPTER VIII.

ABOUT DEMOCRACY AND THE SOVIETS

(continued)

But what does it all mean? If, let us say, Macdonald was capable of historical insight, if, behind an historical movement he were capable of seeing its living forces and interests, of distinguishing their real appearance from their disguise, their real motives from their pretexts, he would have first of all realised that the Menshevik politicians, these democrats *par excellence*, aimed at, and carried out, the most far-reaching measures in contravention of the methods of political democracy. It is true that they made use of the Trans-Caucasian fragment of the All-Russian Constituent Assembly. But they used it for purposes that were directly opposite to those for which it has been elected. Then they artificially bolstered up this remnant of the Yesterday of the Revolution, in order to counteract its Tomorrow. They convened the Georgian Constituent Assembly only after they had deliberately driven Georgia into a situation where the people had no choice: Trans-Caucasia was torn away from

Russia, Georgia from Trans-Caucasia, the English were in occupation of Batoum, unreliable White Guard friends were at the borders of the Republic, the Georgian Bolsheviks were outlawed. The Menshevik Party remained the only possible intermediary between Georgia and the Entente, upon whom its bread supply depended. Under these circumstances "democratic" elections could mean nothing but the inevitable sanctioning of the whole chain of facts achieved by counter-revolutionary violence both by the Mensheviks themselves and by their foreign associates and protectors.

Compare this with the October Revolution, which we prepared openly, gathering the masses around the programme of "All Power to the Soviets," building up the Soviets, struggling for the Soviets, and everywhere winning the majority of them against the Mensheviks and Social-Revolutionaries, through persistent and uncompromising effort. On which side then was the real revolutionary democracy.

A HISTORY LESSON

Here we must once more revert to some questions of the mechanics of revolution as we know it from the whole experience of modern history.

Up to the present experience had shown that a revolution was possible only when the interests of the majority of the people,

and consequently of different classes, came into conflict with the existing system of property and state relations. The revolution, therefore, commenced with elementary "national" demands which expressed the self interests of the propertied classes, the shortsightedness of the middle-class and the political backwardness of the proletariat. It was only in the process of the actual realisation of this programme that the clashing interests manifested themselves in the camp of the revolution. Its propertied, conservative elements were gradually or at one blow thrown into the counter-revolutionary camp, while ever-increasing numbers from among the oppressed masses came out into the fray. Demands became more decisive, methods more implacable. The revolution here reached its culminating point. For further upward march it lacked either material pre-requisites (the conditions of production) or a conscious political force (a Party). The revolution then took a downward trend, for a short period or for a long historical epoch. The extreme Party of the revolution was either driven from power, or it voluntarily curtailed its programme of action, pending a more favourable turn of events.

[We are giving here an algebraic formula of revolution without exact class outlines; but it suffices for our present purpose, since we are dealing with the co-relation between the struggle of the living forces and the forms of democracy].

A representative institution inherited from the past (the Estates General in France, the Imperial Duma in Russia), can at a certain moment give an impetus to the revolution and at the next moment become an obstacle.

A representative institution elected during the first period of the revolution inevitably reflects all its political primitiveness, naivete, benevolence and indecision. It is for this very reason that it soon becomes a brake on the revolutionary development. If no revolutionary force that can overcome this obstacle is forthcoming the revolution comes to a standstill and then recedes. The Constituent Assembly is swept away by a counter-revolution. Thus it happened in the revolution of 1848. General Wrangel* liquidated the Prussian Constituent Assembly, which proved unable to liquidate General Wrangel, and had not been itself liquidated in time by the revolutionary party. We also had our General Wrangel, of identical and obviously inherited, proclivities. Yet we have liquidated *him*. We could do this because we had liquidated the Constituent Assembly in time. The Samara Constituent Assembly, for instance, repeated the Prussian experiment, finding its grave-digger in the person of Kolchak.

The French Revolution could for a time afford to operate by the side of unwieldy and laggard representative institutions, only because Germany at that time was a nonentity, while England then as now, could hardly tackle a Continental country. Thus, the French Revolution, unlike our own, from the very outset enjoyed a prolonged external "respite," which for a time allowed it to go on experimenting and adapting successive democratic representative forms to the requirements of the revolution. But, when the situation grew menacing, the leading revolutionary party did not squeeze itself into the mould of formal democracy, but, with the aid of the guillotine, hastily shaped the democracy to suit its political requirements. The Jacobins exterminated the right-wing members of the Convention and intimidated the centrists. The course of the revolution flowed not along the channel of democracy, but through the defiles and rapids of terrorist dictatorship.

History on the whole knows of no revolution that was accomplished in a democratic way. For revolution is a very serious contest which is always settled, not according to form, but according to substance. It happens quite frequently that individuals lose their fortunes and even their "honour" when playing cards according to the rules of the game; but classes never consent to lose possessions, power and "honour" by observing the rules of the game of "democratic" parliamentarism. They always decide this question in grim earnest, i.e., in accordance with the real co-relation of the material forces, and not with the phantom shadows of these forces.

No doubt even in countries like England with an absolute majority of proletarians, the representative institution called into being by a working class revolution will reflect, not only the first needs of the revolution, but also the monstrous conservative traditions of this country. The mentality of a present-day English trade union leader is a mixture of the religious and social prejudices of the period of the restoration of St. Paul's Cathedral, the practical habits of a trade union official at the height of capitalist development, the snobbishness of a middle-class man fighting to be respectable, and the uneasy conscience of a labour politician who has repeatedly betrayed the workers. To this must be added the influences of intellectuals, of professors and Fabians; of the Socialist moralisings of Sunday preachers, the rationalist schemes of pacifists, the diletantism of "Guild Socialists," and the stubborn and haughty Fabian narrow-mindedness. Although the present social relations in England are quite revolutionary, yet her mighty historic past has deposited a conservative crust on the consciousness of not only the labour bureaucracy but also the upper strata of the more skilled mechanics. The obstacles to social revolution in Russia are *objective*; the predominance of petty peasant farming, and technical backwardness in industry; in England these obstacles are *subjective*; the ossified consciousness of an enormous Henderson and a hydra-headed Mrs. Snowden. The proletarian revolution will dispose of these obstacles

by methods of elimination and self-purification. But it cannot hope to dispose of them in a democratic way. Mr. Macdonald himself will prevent such a consummation, not by his programme but by the mere fact of his conservative existence.

If the Russian Revolution—with the unsettled social relations existing within, and the ever present menace from without—had tied itself with the bonds of bourgeois democracy, it long since would have been found lying prostrate upon the highway with a knife in its throat. Kautsky has replied that the collapse of the Soviet Republic would not be a serious blow to the international revolution. But this has nothing to do with the case. We have no doubt whatever that the fall of the Republic of the Russian proletariat would lift a heavy stone from many a burdened heart. Everyone of them would triumphantly say: "I told you so!" Kautsky could write his pamphlet No. 1,001, wherein he would not explain why he himself is doomed to become a nonentity. We over here continue to think that the very fact that the Soviet Republic has not fallen during the most difficult years serves as the best testimony in favour of the Soviet system. Of course, it contains no miraculous power. But it proved sufficiently flexible to bring about the closest union between the Communist Party and the masses, and at the same time it enabled the Party to conduct the necessary manoeuvring, to retain the initiative and prevent the jeopardising of the fundamental tasks of the revolution by yielding to the two and three to one chances of the parliamentary game. As regards the opposite danger—of becoming detached from the changing moods and co-relations of forces, the Soviet system has also demonstrated the highest vitality during the past year. The Mensheviks of the whole world have seized upon the phrase of the "Thermidor stage"* of the Russian Revolution. Yet it was not they, but we ourselves who formulated this diagnosis. And, what is more important, the concessions to the Thermidor mood and tendencies of the petty-bourgeois, necessary for the purpose of maintaining the power of the proletariat, were made by the Communist Party without effecting a break in the system and without quitting the helm. A thinking Russian professor, whom the revolution has taught something, has described our new economic policy as "going down the hill with the brakes on." It is quite likely that this professor, in common with many others, considers this descent, of which we do not care to minimise the extent or significance, as something final and decisive. He will have to learn again, that however important the incidental deviations may be, our policy always regains and maintains its main course. In order to understand this it is necessary to measure our tactics, not with the measure of newspaper sensation-mongers, but on the scale of an epoch. At any rate, "going down the hill with the brakes on," from the point of view of the proletariat in power, has the same advantages as those which the bourgeois regime obtains by granting modern reforms which weaken the force of the revolutionary onslaught—a comparison which should appeal very much to Henderson, for the whole of his Party is merely a safety brake for bourgeois society.

WHY THE SOVIET "DECAYED"

But what about the "decay" of the Soviet system, so much spoken and written about by the Mensheviks of all nations for months and even years? Well, what they call "decay" is closely associated with what has been described above as going down with the brakes on. The international revolution is passing through a process of molecular concentration of forces under the outward appearance of stagnation and even retreat. One phase of this process is our new economic policy. This difficult period of international relapse naturally effects the conditions and needs of the Russian toiling masses, and consequently the work of the Soviet system. Its administrative and economic apparatus has registered big successes during this period. But as mass representative institutions the Soviets could not, of course, maintain that high tension which characterised them during the first period of internal struggles or at moments of acute danger from outside. The humdrum activities of parliamentary parties, their combinations and intrigues, may achieve the highest "drama" even amid the greatest oppression of the masses. The Soviet is not so independent of time and space. It reflects much more directly the life and sentiments of the masses. It is therefore monstrous to put down as a *defect* that which is its main *virtue*. Only the development of the revolution in Europe will again give a mighty impetus to the Soviet system.

Or perhaps one can "raise the spirits" of the masses by means of the Menshevik opposition and the rest of the mysteries of parliamentarism? There is no lack of countries possessing parliamentary democracy. And yet, what do we see? It would take the dullest-witted professor of constitutional law or the most brazen renegade of Socialism, to deny the fact that the Russian toiling masses right now, even amidst so-called "decay" of the Soviet system, participate in directing all aspects of social life in a manner which is a hundred times more active, more direct, continuous and decisive than is the case in any parliamentary republic. In all the countries that maintain the old parliamentary culture, quite a number of intricate mechanical contrivances have been evolved whereby the will of Capital is transmitted through a parliament based upon universal suffrage. In young and culturally more backward countries, democracy reposing upon a peasant foundation, assumes a much more frank, and therefore,

* A Prussian general of 1848, not the more famous living general.

* From the date of 9th Thermidor when the Jacobin dictatorship was overturned in the great French Revolution.

instructive character. Just as one begins the study of animal organisms from the *amæba*, so the study of the intricacies of British parliamentarism must be commenced by examining the practices of the Balkan constitutions.

The parties which have been dominant in Bulgaria and have ruled the country ever since the commencement of its independent existence, were all the time engaged in a relentless struggle against each other, although their programmes were indistinguishable from each other. Every party, whether Russophile or Germanophile, on being called to power by the Prince, immediately dissolved the National Assembly and held new elections, which invariably gave the ruling party the overwhelming majority, leaving to the rival parties two or three seats. One of the parties that had been rendered almost extinct by the democratic elections was invited by the Prince two or three years afterwards to take office; it dissolved the National Assembly and held new elections which gave it, this time, the majority of the seats. The Bulgarian peasantry, who, by their cultural standard, and political experience, cannot be placed lower than the Georgians, invariably expressed their political will by voting for the party in power. And in a revolution, the peasantry support only that party which shows in practice that it can or does hold the power. This was the case with the Social Revolutionaries after the March revolution of 1917. This was the case with the Bolsheviks after October. The "democratic" domination of the Mensheviks in Georgia was substantially of a "Balkan" character, although cloaked in the garb of a revolutionary epoch, that is, it relied upon the historically demonstrated inability of the peasantry, under the bourgeois system, to form their own party to guide the destinies of the State. Throughout modern history the programme and the lead were always given by the cities. The decisive character of a revolution depended upon the extent to which the peasant masses threw in their lot with the extreme Left parties of the cities. Thus it happened at Munster in Germany at the close of the Reformation. Thus it happened in the great French revolution, where the Jacobin clubs of the city could rely upon the village. The revolution of 1848 was defeated at its very beginning for the very reason that its weak left wing could not gain the support of the village, and the peasantry, in the person of the army, remained on the side of law and order. The present Russian revolution owes its success mainly to the fact that the workers managed politically to capture the peasantry by demonstrating to the latter their ability to govern.

In Georgia, the small numbers and the backwardness of the proletariat, coupled with its isolation from the centres of the revolution, allowed an incomparably longer lease of power to the political alliance of the middle class intelligentsia and the more conservative groups among the workers. The Georgian peasants tried by unrest and rebellions to force their radical demands upon the government, but, as always, proved themselves incapable of taking power into their own hands. Their isolated rebellions were crushed. In the meantime, the parliamentary swindle went on.

The relative stability of the Menshevik regime was due to the political impotence of the unorganised peasant masses, which the Mensheviks artfully maintained. In this they succeeded, particularly by solving the question of actual authority, independently of the principle of government by the people, by organising an independent armed force owing absolutely no allegiance to the democratic institutions. We mean the National Guards of whom we have so far spoken only *en passant*. Yet this is the most important clue to the mysteries of a Menshevik democracy. The National Guard was under the direct authority of the President of the Republic and was composed of carefully picked and well-armed adherents of the regime. Kautsky knows it: "only tried organised comrades could obtain arms" (page 61). As a tried and organised Menshevik, Kautsky himself was enlisted as an honorary soldier of the Georgian National Guard. This is very touching, but National Guards do not go very well with democracy. Attacking the Bolsheviks, Kautsky writes in the same pamphlet: "If the proletariat or the proletarian army does not possess the monopoly of arms, it can retain power, in an agrarian country, only by winning the sympathy of the peasantry." (page 48). But what is the National Guard if not a monopoly of arms in the hands of the Menshevik Party? To be sure, along with the National Guard of the Menshevik dictatorship there sprang up in Georgia a regular army based on conscription. But the significance of this army amounted to almost nil. At the time of the overthrow of the Mensheviks, in February-March, 1921, the National Army took almost no part in the fighting, and, as a general rule, either went over to the Bolsheviks or surrendered without fighting. Perhaps Kautsky has different information upon this score? Let him divulge it. But first of all let him explain why was there need for a strictly picked and purely prætorian armed force if Georgian "democracy" was maintained by the sympathy of the toiling masses? On this Kautsky utters not a word. Macdonald, as we know, does not deem it necessary to "bother over questions of revolution," especially since in Great Britain he has become accustomed to the sight of mercenary reactionary troops preserving "democracy."

Yet, upon that little matter of the armed force of the regime, the apologists of Menshevik democracy keep silent. But in the hands of the National Guard was concentrated practically the entire authority of the State. Hand in hand with the Special Detachment, they dealt out executions and pardons, arrests, shootings and exiles. Without asking the Constituent talking-shop,

they imposed conscription of labour by their own decree. Ferdinand Lassalle explained quite lucidly that cannon is the essential part of any constitution. The Georgian "Constitution," as we see, was crowned by a National Guard armed to the teeth (according to Kautsky of 30,000* Mensheviks), equipped, not with the programmes of the Second International, but with rifles and cannon, this most serious part of the constitution.

We remember, moreover, that in Georgia there were always foreign troops, invited by the Mensheviks for the express purpose of preserving the regime.

Under these circumstances the 82 per cent. majority of Mensheviks in the Constituent Assembly was merely the parliamentary reflection of the cannon of the National Guard, the Special Detachment, the English military expedition, and the Tiflis solitary confinement prison. Such are the mysteries of democracy.

"And what about yourselves?" we hear the angry rejoinder of Mrs. Snowden.

About ourselves, Madam? First of all, Madam, comparing the number of institutions with the area of the country and the vastness of the population, the means adopted by the dictatorship of Georgian Menshevism were several times in excess of the governmental machinery of the Soviets. If you know the four rules of arithmetic, you can easily convince yourself of this. Furthermore, Madam, against us all the time was arrayed the entire capitalist world, whereas Georgia invariably enjoyed the protection of the same victorious imperialist countries that fought against us. And finally, Madam—and this is not unimportant—we have never and nowhere denied that our regime is one of class revolutionary dictatorship, and not a democracy, standing above class, relying upon itself for stability. We did not lie like the Georgian Mensheviks and their apologists. We are accustomed to call a spade a spade. When we take away political rights from the bourgeoisie and its political servants, we do not resort to democratic disguises, we act openly. We enforce the revolutionary right of the victorious proletariat. When we shoot our enemies we do not say it is the sound of the Aeolian harps of democracy. An honest revolutionary policy above all avoids throwing dust into the eyes of the masses.

CHAPTER IX.

SELF-DETERMINATION AND THE REVOLUTION

"The Allied powers do not intend to recede from the great principle of the self-determination of small nations. They will only repudiate this principle when they are faced with the fact that some of the temporarily independent nations, prove themselves to be a peril to universal peace by their incapacity to maintain order, by their bellicose and aggressive acts, and even by constant, childish and unnecessary insistence of their own dignity. The Great Powers will not tolerate such nations, as they are determined to preserve universal peace."

With these energetic words the British General Walker impressed on the Georgian Mensheviks' minds the conception of the *relativity* of national right to self-determination. Politically, Henderson stood, and still stands, behind his general. But "on principle," he is willing to turn national self-determination into an absolute principle, and to direct it against the Soviet Republic.

National self-determination is the fundamental democratic formula for oppressed nations. Wherever class oppression is complicated by national subjection, democratic demands take first of all the form of demands for national equality of rights—for autonomy or for independence.

The programme of bourgeois democracy included the right of national self-determination, but this democratic principle came into violent and open conflict with the interests of the bourgeoisie of the most powerful nations. The Republican form of Government seemed to be quite compatible with the domination of the Stock Exchange. Capitalism with the greatest ease established a dictatorship over the machinery of universal suffrage. However, the right of national self-determination has assumed and is still assuming in many instances the character of an acute and immediate peril of the dismemberment of the bourgeois states, or of the secession of their colonies.

The most powerful democracies have been transferred into imperialist autocracies. The financial oligarchy, the City, reigns supreme over the disfranchised human ocean of Asia and Africa through the medium of the "democratically" enslaved people of the home country.

The French Republic, with a population of 38 millions, is only a part of the colonial empire, which at the present time numbers 60 million coloured slaves. The black population of the French colonies will have to supplement to an ever increasing degree, the army which is serving for the maintenance of the capitalist rule over the workers in France itself. The tendency to extend the markets at the expense of neighbouring nations, the struggle for colonial expansion and for sea power—imperialism—has come more and more into irreconcilable conflict with the separatist national tendencies of the oppressed peoples. And as the middle class democrats, including the social-democrats, became completely subject to the imperialists, the programme of national self-determination was reduced practically to nothing.

* This figure is much exaggerated. The Mensheviks even here did not miss an opportunity to deceive the esteemed admirer of the National Guard.

The great imperialist slaughter brought acute changes into this question: all the bourgeois and social-patriotic parties seized hold of national determination, but at the wrong end. The warring governments were doing their utmost to adopt this watchword, first in the war with each other and afterwards in the war against Soviet Russia. German Imperialism flirted with the national independence of the Poles, Ukrainians, Lithuanians, Letts, Estonians, Finns, and the Caucasian peoples, and used the watchwords at first against Tsarism, and subsequently, on a wider scale, against us. At first the Entente, in conjunction with Tsarism, claimed the "liberation" of the peoples of Austria-Hungary, Germany and Turkey. Subsequently, having been deprived of the co-operation of Tsarism, they took up the line of the "liberation" of the border states of Russia.

The Soviet Republic, having inherited the Tsarist Empire, which had been created by violence and oppression, quite openly proclaimed the right of national self-determination and of national independence. Though realising the enormous significance of this watchword during the transition period to Socialism, our party did not for a minute turn the democratic principle of self-determination into a dominating factor over all other historic requirements and tasks.

The economic development of present day society has a strongly centralist character. Capitalism has laid down the preliminary foundations for a well-regulated economy on a world scale. Imperialism is only the predatory capitalist expression of this desire to have the leading role in the management of the world's economy. All the powerful imperialist countries find that they have not enough scope within the narrow limits of national economy, and they are all seeking for wider markets. Their aim (to give it the most idealistic interpretation), is—the monopoly of the world's economy. In the phraseology of capitalist greed and piracy, the fundamental task of our epoch consists in the establishment of close relationships between the economic systems of the various parts of the world, and in the building up, in the interests of the whole of humanity, co-ordinated world production, based on the most economic use of all forces and means. This is precisely the task of Socialism.

It is self-evident that the principle of self-determination does not in any case supersede the unifying tendencies of socialist economic construction. In this respect, self-determination occupies, in the process of historic development, the subordinate position allotted to democracy in general. Socialist-centralism, however, cannot replace imperialist centralism without a transition, and oppressed nationalities must be given the opportunity to stretch out their limbs—which have become stiff under the chains of capitalist coercion.

The period necessary for the satisfactory settlement of the national independence of Finland, Czecho-Slovakia, Poland, etc., will be determined by the general trend of the social revolution. The economic dependence of the various small nationalities, which were parts of the former Russian Empire, made itself felt very acutely almost immediately after their inception as independent entities, owing to their isolation from each other.

The task and the methods of the proletarian revolution does not by any means consist in the mechanical elimination of national characteristics or in the introduction of forcible amalgamation. Interference with the language, the education, the literature and the culture of various nationalities, is certainly alien to the proletarian revolution. That is concerned with other things than the professional interests of the intellectuals and the "national" interests of the working class. The victorious social revolution will give full freedom to all the national groups to settle for themselves all the questions of national culture, while bringing under one head (for the common good with the consent of the workers), the economic tasks, which require handling in a manner well-considered and commensurate with natural, historic and technical conditions; not by any means with national groupings. The Soviet Federation represents the most adaptable and flexible state form for the co-ordination of national and economic requirements.

The Soviet Government has taken up its position between the West and the East, armed with two watchwords: "The Dictatorship of the Proletariat" and "National Self-determination." In some cases these two phases might be separated from each other by only a few years, or even a few months. In the case of the great empires of the East, this interval might probably last decades.

Under the then existing revolutionary conditions, the nine months of democratic Kerensky-Tseretelli regime, proved sufficient for creating the conditions for a proletarian victory. Compared with the regime of Nicholas and Rasputin, the Kerensky-Tseretelli regime was a step forward, which we were always ready to acknowledge. This acknowledgment puts a revolutionary, historic, and materialistic valuation upon the real meaning of democracy, in the place of the valuation put on it by the professors, the priests and the Macdonalds. Nine months of revolution were sufficient to show the extent of its independent progressive significance. This does not mean, of course, that it was possible in October, 1917, to receive by means of a referendum, a definite answer from the majority of the workers and peasants to the question as to whether they considered the preparatory democratic course sufficient for them. But it certainly means, that after nine months of democratic regime, the conquest of power by the proletarian vanguard ran no risk of opposition from

the workers, based on ignorance and prejudices. It was at once enabled to extend and fortify its positions, awakening the consciousness and the adherence of the ever growing masses of workers. In this, then, consists the great significance of the Soviet system, which fact is even admitted by the dull pedants of democracy.

The national separation of the former border countries of the Tsarist Empire, and their transformation into independent, petty-bourgeois republics, had approximately the same progressive significance as democracy on the whole. It is only imperialists and semi-imperialists, who can refuse the right of self-determination to the oppressed peoples. It is only fanatics and charlatans of nationalism who can see in it self-seeking designs. To us, national self-determination has always appeared and will always appear in many cases, an inevitable step towards the Dictatorship of the working class—which, in accordance with the rules of revolutionary strategy, and in the process of civil war, develops strong centralist tendencies, acting as a counterpoise to national separation; thus completely conforming to the requirements of a well regulated socialist economic system.

How soon resistance (beginning on a small scale) to the illusions of "independent" State existence will render possible the conquest of power by the working class, depends upon the trend of revolutionary development (as already stated), as well as upon the particular internal and external conditions of the given country. In Georgia a fictitious national independence was maintained for three years.

It is impossible to give an academic answer to the questions—did the working masses of Georgia really require three years to wear down their national illusions? or—were more than three years required for this process? The referendum and the plebiscite, amidst fierce imperialist and revolutionary struggles in every part of the world, are nothing but fiction. How these can be engineered may be easily ascertained from Messrs. Korfanty and Galikhovsky, or from the corresponding Entente commissions. For us this question can be settled, not by the methods of formal democratic statics, but by the methods of revolutionary dynamics. The crux of the matter consists in the fact that the Soviet revolution in Georgia (which was indeed brought about with the active participation of the Red Army, for we would have betrayed the workers and peasants of Georgia, if we had not assisted them by our armed forces, since we had such), took place after the political experiment of three years of Georgian "independence" and under conditions which guaranteed not merely a temporary military success, but also further political development for the revolution—that is, the extension and strengthening of the Soviet system in Georgia itself. And in this (if the thick-headed pedants of democracy will allow me to say so), our revolutionary task consists.

The politicians of the Second International, in unison with their mentors from their bourgeois diplomatic Chancellories, smile sardonically at our recognition of the rights of national self-determination. This they designate as a trap for simpletons—a bait held out by Russian imperialism. In reality, it is history itself which is holding out these baits, instead of settling the questions in a straightforward way. In any case, we cannot be accused of turning the zig-zags of historical development into traps, for while actually recognising the right of national self-determination, we take care to explain to the masses its limited historic significance, and we never put it above the interests of the proletarian revolution.

A workers' state, in recognising the right of self-determination, at the same time recognises the fact that revolutionary coercion is not an all-powerful historical factor. Soviet Russia does not by any means intend to make its military power take the place of the revolutionary efforts of the proletariats of other countries. The conquest of proletarian power must be an outcome of proletarian political experience. This does not mean that the revolutionary efforts of the workers of Georgia or any other country, must not receive any military support from outside. It is only essential that this support should come at a moment when the need for it has been created by the political development of the workers, and recognised by the class-conscious revolutionary vanguard, who have won the sympathy of the majority of the workers. These are questions of revolutionary strategy, and not a formal democratic ritual.

The "Realpolitik" of to-day necessitates the conformity of the interests of the workers' State with the conditions created by the fact of its being surrounded by large and small bourgeois nationalist-democratic States. We were actuated by such considerations based on an accurate valuation of existing facts when we maintained our attitude of patience and toleration towards Georgia. But when this attitude, after a long period of trial, did not give us even the most elementary guarantees of safety—when the principle of self-determination became in the hands of General Walker and Admiral Dumesnil, a juridical guarantee for counter-revolution, which was preparing a new attack on us, we did not and could not see any moral obstacle to introducing at the call of the revolutionary vanguard of Georgia, our Red Army, in order to help the workers and poorest peasants with the least possible delay and sacrifice, to overthrow that political democracy which had destroyed itself by its own policy.

(To be continued).

WHAT COMMUNISM MEANS

A Sixth Article by T. A. JACKSON

[This is the concluding instalment of a series designed to introduce the beginner to the study of Communism. The work to which this series is intended to serve as a preliminary survey—"The A.B.C. of Communism," by Buharin and Preobrazhensky—is now on sale (price 3s. stiff paper, 5s. cloth). It is a large work of 420 pages, well printed and in clear type, and forms a survey of the whole question so complete and detailed that it is quite indispensable to any one, propagandist or inquirer, desiring a reliable guide to a complete knowledge of the subject.

To prevent confusion it is necessary to say that this is the complete work—a previous publication with the same title being a translation of an abridged edition of the first and smaller part only.

Our readers who have followed this series should now take their opportunity to pass on to the study of Buharin and Preobrazhensky's great work.—ED.]

FOR as long as there have been class divisions within human society—and they began as far back as when the institution of private property in flocks, herds, tillage fields and slaves had begotten inequalities of possessions and antagonisms of interest—as long as there have been class divisions there have been struggles for social mastery.

Law and Authority

There is thus a two-fold aspect to that State Power and authority which newspaper writers have sanctified into an idol with the name of "Law and Order" and similarly a two-fold aspect to those concerted movements of revolt which the same writers denounce mechanically as "anarchistic" and "criminal" attempts to "overthrow society."

* * *

On the basis of a given system of wealth production a political system becomes established. The laws and the moral codes with which it begins are all such as are calculated to secure the best results from that economic system, and the central authority such as expresses most clearly the will and interest of the class primarily concerned with that production process as controllers and exploiting gainers. Moreover, at the beginning, such an economic system seems so useful and so inescapable that even the subject masses look for advantage to come from its full and satisfactory working. On that side, and so far, Law and Authority are indispensable to the development and operation of the economic processes which give the life-blood of human society. But simultaneously with this operates the fact that no private-property-based system can for long be any but an exploiting system. And as the system develops, the more complete and more onerous become its exactions and the less endurable the life it offers to its indispensable toilers. As, too, each economic system grows at the expense of some older system whose relics are progressively annihilated as it grows. And since also, as it grows, each economic system undergoes radical transformation until it has created the possibility of a new system, the State, Law, and Authority, proper to any given system of production, must as that system develops, grow more and more into an Authority defending and protecting an intensifying exploitation—repressing the complaints of its victims, protecting those most the objects of the righteous wrath of the suffering and degraded, and advancing the claims and interests of a system that every day brings nearer to the point of being intolerable, life-destroying and obsolete.

Just as it is true that "he who kills a king and he who dies for him are alike idolators," so it is true that Law and Authority are alike indispensable to existence and totally destructive of human life and happiness.

The Revolutionist is the Saviour of Society—just because he is its Destroyer. He saves the essential inter-relation of men for production—and the rational enjoyment of that which is produced—by destroying those creeds, codes, laws and institutions which by lingering after they have become superseded would destroy humanity to save a particular form of society.

* * *

Communism in its earliest theoretical forms appeared as a dream-picture in the brains of men of contemplative leisure. Philosophers and monastic visionaries each of them constructed imaginary descriptions of a perfect state of society in which disease, crime, anger, ill-will, war and civil commotion were all obviated. And with astonishing unanimity they insisted that none of these things could be until private property in the common essentials of existence had been suppressed.

But how was this to be achieved? Here the speculators left the earth and soared into the realms of fancy. In the absence of any proper knowledge of the history of primitive society—nay, worse, with a totally false notion imposed as an article of theological faith—their guesses took all sorts of forms from that of a semi-divine Conqueror, of a dramatic religious revival, to that of a quasi-scientific miracle worked by emanations from a comet.

All agreed that some sort of Communism would obviate the evils of class division, subjection, and exploitation. All agreed that some powerful authority meeting with general acceptance could alone bring it into being. And all agreed that the possibility of the creation of such an authority was barely, if at all, imaginable.

The Science of Revolution

It was here that Karl Marx made history. He it was who saw in the struggles of the wage workers the operation of a force which was bound sooner or later to become so developed, so transformed by development, so inter-related and organised, so powerful, and so universal as to supply at once the Authority necessary for the establishment of Communism and the general approval which would make that Authority stable and effective. In the class-consciousness of the toiling mass, and in its potentialities for alike offence and defence, destruction and construction, Revolution and Conservation, Marx saw the Force sufficient to effect the transformation which the Utopians had believed impossible.

And in seeing it Marx made Communism a thing of scientific force and precision. By the union of the speculative theories of the Utopians, with the passion and will of the workers' struggle for betterment—he made possible the Communist and Socialist Movements which have on an ever increasing scale forced the attention of the rulers and exploiters of the whole world.

Alternately derided as a dream and hated as a nightmare—denounced as a sophistry and guarded against as an insanity—once played with as a toy by the aristocracy piqued at the success of the despised bourgeoisie and now persecuted with bullet, bomb, bludgeon, gallows and gaol by that same bourgeoisie in a frenzy of fear, Communism has survived every terror until now it is the burning topic in every place where two or three working men meet together to consider grievances or where statesmen and financiers debate upon the means for safeguarding what they have gained.

* * *

Looked at closely it will be seen that Communism arises always as an outcome of experience in class strife. That it is nothing more and nothing less than the will of the working class to be Masters of the World grown articulate and finding expression. That the fight against Communism is always most bitter when there is most need to hold large masses of workers down in completest subjection to Capitalist rule and authority.

Those who have not grasped this fact make it a charge against Communists that they avow their aim to be the "Dictatorship of the Proletariat." Those who have grasped it see in that avowal a simple statement of an elementary need.

The Democrat, the Parliamentarian, the Reformer, the Patriot Progressive—all those types which are more filled with a sense of the justice of the workers' claims than of the historic causes of their appearance, or the inveterate class-habits and illusions of their exploiters—all these in one form or another would have the workers wait until the exploiting class is willing to surrender.

They have a little hatred for the capitalist system in the abstract but have none of the burning anger and disgust which is battered into the souls of the toilers by every successive calamity which comes to the workers as a matter of course. The timid worker, over full of a sense of the power of the Boss Class, the tired worker who has lost even if he ever had any faith in the power of his own class, the ignorant worker who can conceive no alternative to capitalism, and the demoralised worker who thinks in his greed he can gain more by sycophantic adulation of the powers that be than he can ever hope to get from a manly struggle against them, all these with those in the various stages of illusion left behind by the boss class managed system of education, form the following of the anti-Communist, "Socialist" and "Labour" parties.

Sooner or later, however, the healthy elements among this following are driven by their experience to realise the folly and worse than folly of this policy of waiting for the Boss to give in. The instinct to struggle is developed in the very marrow of the working mass. So much so that

the history of the workers' struggle is more one of the holding-in-check of the rank and file than one of goading them into action. Sooner or later—and sooner rather than later—the mass of the workers will be (even if they are not at this moment) ripe for casting off the authority of the Boss Class and setting up their own authority in its place.

And when they have reached this mental stage it will want but one extra squeeze of economic crisis or one extra exasperation from the capitalist dictators to set the workers in motion all along the line.

* * *

How it will come no man can say—except that it will be unexpected. When it does come the explosion will be so vast and far-reaching that the workers will need as never men needed a co-ordinating and directing force to enable the dynamic impulses of the explosion to be directed in such a way as to produce the maximum of harm to things which it is necessary to destroy and the minimum of harm to the things it is necessary to preserve.

Here will arise the need for a body of men trained to act together as are and do the Communist Party. A body of men and women who have championed the workers' wrongs, who have affirmed the right to emancipation and to establish such rule as will involve emancipation, who have preached Communism as an ideal and urged it upon the workers as an alternative to the existing devilish system—such a body in such a crisis will be turned to by the workers on all hands for guidance and direction. The better its personal quality, the richer its experience, the more efficiently it will be able to carry through its work.

If it has the proper relations with the workers organised in industry it will be able to secure the carrying on of productive work almost without a hitch.

If it has the proper hold upon the working mass it will be able to overcome the inevitable proslavery rebellion of the middle and upper classes with a minimum of effort, bloodshed and suffering.

If it has not the proper hold the struggle will be violent, prolonged, bloody, and devastating.

The Communist Party

The British Government, speaking through the mouth of Mr. Shortt, and the British Middle and Upper Classes speaking through the mouths of Mr. Horatio Bottomley and the Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, respectively, profess to see in the Communist Party nothing but a secret conspiracy to effect a violent overturning of the Sacred British Constitution.

Those who have troubled to read these brief outlines will see the stupidity of such romantics. The Communist Party is not secret, it is not a conspiracy, it will only be violent when forced to in self-defence, and it can and will only be so forced by the very friends of these gentlemen. And the British Constitution is sacred only to that Capitalist Imperialism which is fast making life an intolerable misery for the majority of the toiling millions under its sway.

The Communist Party is a serious endeavour to gather, recruit and organise a force making for the complete co-ordination of the working class struggle, nationally and internationally.

The Communist Party did not create that struggle. It existed before any living Communist was born; it raged when Marx and Engels were infants in their cradles and when the parents of Lenin and Trotsky were children at school. It would still go on and all the more bitterly because robbed of intelligent leadership and the hope thereby engendered, if every single Communist were hanged to-night.

It is an endeavour to establish by precept and practice such a psychology and such an authority as will enable the working class to carry society successfully over the period of crisis which the rule of the class whose spokesmen are named above is making inevitable.

It is a call to every worker who has heart enough to feel a hatred for the wrongs and agonies of the Capitalist system and head enough to realise the possibility of an alternative to join in the work of preparation necessary to enable humanity to meet the crisis towards which it is rushing and from which the only road of emergence is by way of the Dictatorship of the Toiling Masses, which in turn can be expressed and exercised only through the medium such an organised, trained, experienced and disciplined Party.

The Communist Party is indeed, and from this point of view a religious confraternity in that it is inspired by a faith in the possibility of and a will to spend life, health, and strength in the attainment of a state of things not unworthy the name of a Heaven upon Earth.

He who would not willingly live and rot with the tame and satisfied sheep will be found rejoicing in the pride of a manly defiance under the banner of the Communist Party.

WHAT ABOUT THE CO-OPS?

By. A. B. F. WHITE

"The tasks of the Communists in the Co-operative Movement are as follows:—

1. To propagate Communist ideas.
2. To transform the Co-operative Movement into an instrument of the revolutionary class struggle without detaching the local societies from the national organisation as a whole." (*Decisions of the Third Congress of the Communist International, Moscow, July, 1921*).

Introduction

THE reactions of the world economic crisis on the financial position of the British Co-operative Movement makes it a particularly fruitful field for Communist propaganda at the present moment. The necessity for and the importance of using this movement as an arm in the revolutionary struggle in the present and immediate future can hardly be over-estimated.

The British employing class are busily and successfully engaged in destroying what remains of the proletarian industrial movement. They are doing this by using the bludgeon of starvation through the agency of victimisation, lock-outs, ineffective strikes, and the ever-increasing menace of unemployment. Not only is the Co-operative Movement one of the few weapons left to us for "stopping the retreat," but it has the additional value of being made of the right material and being already partially designed and adapted for this purpose.

Let us consider what opportunities the Co-operative Movement offers for the propagation of Communist ideas by the individual members of the local branches of the C.P.G.B. Then we will discuss the uses of the Co-operative Movement as an instrument in the revolutionary class struggle and what immediate steps can be taken by individual members and local branches to adapt it locally for that purpose.

I.

The Co-operative membership is usually essentially working class. Its very nature excludes the middle-class and small shopkeeper elements which make up such a large proportion of individual Labour Party members. Since C.W.S. goods are in many instances slightly more expensive than similar capitalist productions and many local societies are not paying dividends this year owing to trade depression, there has been a falling off of the less intelligent and class-conscious members. The members who remain are the more far-sighted and intelligent section who are therefore more open to Communist propaganda.

Guilds

The Co-operative guilds offer many opportunities for useful propaganda. Members of the mens' guilds are accustomed to discuss economic and financial problems and are hence capable of appreciating the sanity of the Communist diagnosis of the world economic position. Women comrades will find a fertile and almost untouched field for propaganda among the membership of the women's guilds, whose level of intelligence and capacity for translating thought into action is generally relatively very high. Young Communists and others who are interested in work among the young will find ample scope for propaganda work among the children of the workers in the junior guilds.

Co-operative Questions

The reactions of capitalism on the Co-operative Movement must be diligently exploited by Communist members. The financial position of the C.W.S. and many of the local societies is unsatisfactory compared with other years. The connection between this, the growth of Trusts, the boycott of Soviet Russia, the Versailles Treaty, unemployment and the general economic collapse of capitalism should be carefully explained to the Co-operative members.

Direct or indirect attacks on Co-operative trading by national or municipal authorities should be used to demonstrate the relentless character of the class war.

The attitude of Communist members to internal Co-operative questions should be determined by the application to them of general Communist principles. Take, for example, the attitude of the society to its employees. Attempts to cut the wages of employees to enable dividends should be strenuously resisted on the ground that the first charge on any industry should be an adequate recompense to the workers employed therein. The movement of the employees to secure representation and the right to sit on management committees should be supported on the principle of workers' control of industry. Similarly the movement to reduce the excessive salaries paid to C.W.S. directors should receive Communist support.

Ideology

The ideology of the Co-operative Movement must be clarified and critically analysed. Discussion as

to the nature of the Co-operative Commonwealth must include an exposition of the rôle of Co-operative societies in Soviet Russia. Talk of the progressive establishment of workers' control in industry through the gradual substitution of Co-operative for Capitalist production must be countered by an explanation of present day economic tendencies. The theory of the "non-political" character of the Co-operative Movement must be shown up as impossible and futile.

II.

Political Action

Co-operatives must participate directly and indirectly in the political struggle of the proletariat. The guilds with their banners must take part in processions and demonstrations. In the case of parliamentary or local elections, Communists within the local Co-operative society must force it to identify itself as a society openly with the proletarian candidates.

Industrial Action

Past experience has shown the value of the Co-operative societies in trade disputes. Communists should see to it that their stores are ready to supply goods free, on credit, or at reduced rates to local strikers, locked out men, and the organised unemployed. Communists should persuade their unions to invest funds in the Co-operative societies in time of peace, that in war they may fight strikes and lock-outs with food guaranteed to their members. Individual members can strengthen their hold on the societies by banking or investing with them.

The productive enterprises of the Co-operative Movement ought to be made as far as possible practical examples of what proletarian management can do. The administrative positions could be used as training grounds where proletarians could be trained to administrate during the post-revolutionary period. The local retail societies should be compelled to act as "ideal employers" and so force up the wages of distributive workers in their district. In many places it should be possible to place comrades victimised for political or industrial action in employment with the Co-operative societies.

Where there are local industrial guilds, these should be in close alliance with the Co-operative society. In the case of the Building Guilds, few workers have sufficient capital to build houses for themselves, and Labour Councils are few and those few on the decrease. If the Building Guilds are to fulfil their proper functions, i.e., to build houses for the workers, it is largely to the workers' Co-operative societies that they must look for the necessary capital.

Education

Communists should endeavour to secure control of the Educational Committees of the Co-operative societies. They should see that the instruction provided has a definite revolutionary value and that occasional lectures be given by competent members of the C.P.G.B.

The Press

Communist literature should be sold at Co-operative meetings, and it should be possible to obtain financial support directly or through advertisements for the party papers once a circulation among Co-operative members is obtained. So far hardly any work has been done by Communist contributors in the many weekly and monthly productions of the Co-operative press. It is often possible and useful to have free party literature distributed in rural areas with Co-operative reading matter through the Junior guild.

Russia

Members of the C.P.G.B. in the Co-operative Movement must make the societies in England take an active part in the struggle to facilitate political and commercial intercourse with Russia. They must insist on an active interchange of commodities with Soviet Russia and the neighbouring Soviet republics. Every section of the societies must be called upon to supply relief in money or kind to the victims of the Russian famine.

III.

To secure these results immediate action is needed by individual members and the party as a whole. Candidates under party control must be nominated for the various national and local committees of the Co-operative Movement, and their return secured. Individual members must discuss at their branches the various problems which confront them in their work at the Co-operative society of their locality.

Any individual member of the C.P.G.B. may feel assured there is plenty of work for him and his branch to do till he can answer the following

questions about his local Co-operative Society in the affirmative:—

1. Are all the members of your branch of the C.P.G.B. members of the local Co-operative Society?
2. Can your Co-operative members be relied upon to support members of their class politically?
3. Is your Co-operative Society helping its striking, locked out, or unemployed members?
4. Is your Co-operative Society the best employer of labour in your district?
5. In the event of a revolutionary crisis, could your branch, through your Co-operative Society, feed the workers in your district?
6. Does your Educational Committee supply instruction of any use to the workers?
7. Do all your Co-operative members support the Party Press?
8. Has your society done anything to relieve the distress caused by the Russian Famine?

Communist Party of Great Britain

Publication Department

16, King Street, Covent Garden, W.C. 2

The A.B.C. of Communism has arrived.

For the long and irritating delay in its appearance explanations have already been offered. Circumstances—as our readers are aware—rendered delay unavoidable. Anyhow, here, at long last, is the book.

The Authors of the A.B.C.

N. Buharin (please note that the "h" is pronounced hard as in the Scottish *loch*, or the German *ich*), is one of the most distinguished of the brilliant band of Bolshevik leaders. Springing from the so-called upper classes, he early devoted himself to the cause of the workers, and was imprisoned and exiled in consequence. A master of simple, graphic, expression, his writings have long had an immense influence in Russia. Marx has had no more faithful and intelligent interpreter in any country than Buharin, and the A.B.C. of Communism will introduce to the workers of Great Britain a writer who can combine the most profound theoretical reasoning with an unsurpassed power of lucid description that makes the most difficult problems understandable to all.

E. Preobrazhenski (the pronunciation of whose name is obvious), is a financial and economic expert of the highest order and one of the chief editors of *Pravda*. The Soviet Government has been well served by his intimate knowledge of the process of international exchange, and he is now with the Russian delegation at Genoa, as financial advisor. Like Buharin he is an old member of the Russian Communist Party.

What is the A.B.C.

It is what its name implies, a very alphabet of Communism, complete from start to finish. The authors, while mercilessly dissecting capitalism, discuss also the problems of the transition and post-revolutionary periods. Their own experiences in the actual working class revolution give life and colour to what otherwise would seem academic discourses on problems of the future. The world revolution throbs through every page of the book. The opponent, no less than the supporter, of Communism, who has not read it, is poorly equipped for his job.

The Get-up of the Book

Translated direct from the Russian by Eden and Cedar Paul, into good, nervous English, it has the additional advantages of being bound in one volume and absolutely unabridged. Moreover, it is beautifully printed in bold type that will cause no weary eyes or aching heads. The price, for such a book, is nominal. Bound in stiff paper covers it is 3s. (post free 3s. 6d.); in cloth with gilt lettering, 5s. (post free 5s. 7d.) The translators supply an index drawn up specially to facilitate easy reference. And so with the table of contents.

In short, this is a book that every Communist, every anti-Communist, every trade unionist, every Labour politician, every worker, can read with pleasure, and study with profit.

F. W.

A HUMBUG BUDGET

A Speech in the House of Commons

By C. L. MALONE

THE Chancellor of the Exchequer in framing his Budget has been governed and guided by what he has been told in the Press. Ever since the Prime Minister bowed his head to the *Daily Mail* at the 1918 Election, we have been governed in this country and in our policy, both at home and abroad, by what is known as the Harmsworth Press.

Who said "Limehouse"

The general effect of this Budget is to place or rather retain, the burden on the poor, upon the workers, black-coated or manual, on the wounded ex-soldiers and the dependants of dead warriors.

This is a landlord's Budget. This is a rich man's Budget.

What a Budget to be produced by a Government whose Prime Minister is famed for his oratory at Limehouse years ago!

It is supposed to be a Budget to revive trade. Newspapers have been counselling the reduction of the Income Tax in order to revive trade. How on earth do they suppose that trade is going to be revived by reducing the Income Tax?

The Chancellor of the Exchequer in his opening statement said that the arrangements with regard to the debt to America had resulted in an increase in the value of the pound sterling. So much the better, but I would remind the Committee that only 8 per cent of our present export trade goes to America. Even before the war our export trade to America was only about 9 per cent. How is a reduction in the Income Tax going to affect trade

in other countries? Our export trade with Europe is roughly 40 per cent.

The Tea Duty

The Chancellor of the Exchequer has proposed a reduction in the duty on tea, but even if 4d. per lb. is taken off the duty on tea, how much of that 4d. is going to be given to the consumer? The reduction in the duty on tea will not in the long run prove of any benefit to the working class in this country, because as soon as the cost of living falls the rate of wages is bound to be reduced—as it has been in the past.

Wages and Spending

It may be said that when wages have been reduced the cost of production of our export articles will also fall and that will improve trade. I do not believe it can improve trade, because even if our cost of production to-day was so much reduced that the workers worked without any wages at all, it is impossible, with the exchanges as they are, to sell goods to such European markets as the Austrian, the German and Hungarian. The better way of improving trade is to stop some of the wage cuts that have been going on during the last twelve months, because if wages were not reduced the workers would have more money to circulate and to spend on production of goods in this country.

Income Tax

Coming to the question of Income Tax, I find from the last form of the Commissioners of Inland Revenue that 3,547,000 persons are chargeable for Income Tax. Of the 5,500,000 who are assessable for Income Tax nearly 2,200,000 persons are exempt on account of allowances and abatements. Of the

3,500,000 persons who pay income tax, 3,055,000 will receive an abatement of only 6d. in the £. *The benefit of the reduction of 1s. in the Income Tax will go only to 500,000 rich people.*

The real sources of wealth in this country are still practically untouched. I have only to turn to a Government publication recently produced, to see that 15,789 persons have incomes between £5,000 and £10,000 a year; some 6,389 persons have incomes between £10,000 and £20,000 a year; 3,167 persons have incomes between £20,000 and £50,000, while 600 persons have incomes exceeding £50,000 a year and can be termed millionaires. In this poverty stricken country, therefore, we are not so very badly off for millionaires. A levy on accumulated wealth would very soon find the money required, without bleeding those who can very ill afford to pay.

A Boss Class Budget

This Budget shows only too clearly the psychology of the present Government.

There is no hope of increasing the scanty provision for education, housing or other social purposes. A few rich men who support this Government may be well pleased with the Budget, but just think of what we have outside. We have 2,000,000 men with their dependants suffering all the evils of unemployment. 349,000 war heroes have had their meagre pensions reduced during the last 12 months.

The proposals which the Chancellor of the Exchequer puts forward will be read with widespread dismay by millions of workers throughout the land, and by thousands of men locked out during the last few days, whose scanty savings are being used up by one of the most cruel and unjust lock-outs which we have ever known in the industrial history of this country, and as to which this Government has been in the most complete collusion with the employers the whole time.—*Abridged from HANSARD, 2/5/22.*

THE GREAT LOCK OUT

By Tom Mann

FELLOW workers. It is time to stop the policy of merely passively resisting aggression, and of allowing the bosses to ride rough shod over us. The right to exercise some amount of CONTROL IN THE SHOPS AND SHIPYARDS, is now, and always has been the real purpose of the Trade Unions. It was the real reason why our fathers formed the unions; and *unworthy sons* of those fathers should we be if we allowed this right to be taken from us. If there is to be any change it is *more control*, not less that we will fight for and get.

But we *must Fight*, and not helplessly drift. *We must now attack as well as the bosses.*

To fight effectively we are obliged to hurt.

The bosses have hurt us; as yet we have not hurt them. Now we are about to do it.

And we openly proclaim our intention, and we count upon loyalty in our own ranks.

The capitalist press backs them all ends up. Let them do it,

we will now proceed to marshal our forces in such fashion as will hit them where they will feel it. We have goodwill towards the Community, but if, in order to stop the brutal domineering of the bosses, we hurt some of the public, it is only because there is no other way open to us.

Comrades all! For our own manhood's sake, we refuse to leave this dispute any longer to drag along passively. Our children, our women-folk, and our homes are suffering. Let us then now do the fighting.

This is to inform all concerned that a definite fighting policy is being arranged, and those who act the traitor's part will do so at their peril. Every section is called upon equally, no matter how we are graded. Labourers, semi-skilled, skilled, etc., etc., all and sundry connected with the industry, prepare yourselves. Shortly after this, a fresh statement will be issued. Look out for it; take instructions, march to the real FIGHT, and to VICTORY.

On behalf of the Disputes Advisory Committee,

ON MAY DAY

Organiser's Notes

MAY DAY (Labour Day) came this year in the midst of an acute industrial struggle on the eve of an extension of the Engineering and Shipyard Lock-out. Here was a situation which had advantage been taken of it, it would have lent itself to complete Labour solidarity on Labour's International Day. But to the shame of the British Labour movement, negotiation, meditation, enquiry, balloting, retreating, are the order of the day, and a solid front to Capitalism is continually opposed by numerous officials, executives of national unions, and so-called political leaders of the British Labour movement. Despite these drawbacks, however, there is a growing impulse for unity—unity from below, and Labour Day, 1922, indicates definite progress. From all over the country reports are now coming in to the Organisation Department, and although many of the meetings and demonstrations were arranged for 30th April and 7th May, May 1st (Labour Day) urged hundreds of thousands of British workers, who are growing in consciousness, on to the streets. London's processions and meetings were a huge success, 50 per cent of the speakers being members of the Party, stocks of literature were sold, and good collections of tools and money were made on behalf of the Russian Famine Fund.

Liverpool. In spite of the apathy and indifference of the respectable Labour elements and also their hostility to the Communist Party, a procession was formed which marched to Shiel Park with the A.E.U. banner in front. A meeting was held in the Park, also in Pembroke Chapel in the evening. Comrades Braddock, Mrs. Bamber, I. P. Hughes, along with the Rev. Vint Laughland, R. O. Jones, A.E.U., J. Hamilton, Labour College, Alderman

Richardson, Labour Party, were the speakers.

Birmingham. The workers here celebrated May Day in wonderful spirits. Huge meetings were held on the Sunday under the auspices of our Birmingham Branch, when Comrades Newbold, Webb, Brain, Trotter, Palmer and Ganley were the speakers. On the Monday it poured with rain, commencing early in the morning, but the Birmingham workers were determined to demonstrate, and in spite of the rain, which became very heavy about 2 p.m., they assembled in the Bull Ring in their thousands. Without anywhere to shelter, and in such high spirits that they desired none, the assembled workers were drenched with rain before the procession commenced. Led by several bands, and escorted by the police, the huge procession of workers marched to Calthorpe Park. There were several platforms when the meetings commenced, but before long, due to the heavy rain, a rush was made for the shelter of the bandstand, all except C.P. and Unemployed sections, who were joined together and addressed by some of the comrades already mentioned. For over two hours our speakers held the crowd in spite of the rain, and the cordon of police had to stick it under orders until they were soaked.

Barrow. But I think our greatest achievement was at Barrow-in-Furness. Several weeks ago the local Education Committee had under consideration Empire Day, when a resolution was passed in favour of closing the schools for this occasion. Our local comrades and sympathisers attached to the above Committee offered no opposition to the above resolution, knowing that May Day would be brought up under "New Business." By a concerted effort, a resolution was passed for a children's holiday on International Labour Day. I commend our Barrow comrades for their work.

Propaganda. Now that the open-air season has begun and week's missions of propaganda can be arranged, I urge all branches of the Party to concentrate on the possibilities of an inter-change of speakers. "A prophet has no honour in his own country" is a true saying generally, and an exchange of speakers between districts is very necessary and effective. This year we must avoid, wherever possible, the expensive practice of sending speakers long journeys just for one meeting. In view of the economics in the paid staff, a letter has been sent to each Divisional Organiser, with a panel of speakers enclosed, who are willing and capable of accepting week's missions, and it is up to our branches to muster their resources and to make application to their organiser. Further to this, the selling of literature, taking of collections, and organising propaganda generally should be done in a business-like way. The policy of "everybody's responsibility being nobody's responsibility" should be dropped forthwith, and at each branch meeting adequate preparations should be made for all propaganda efforts. Re sales of literature, it must be insisted upon that the speakers advertise same by saying a few words on the general contents of each publication. This applies to THE COMMUNIST.

THE RESTORATION OF AGRICULTURE IN THE FAMINE AREA OF RUSSIA

Issued by the Information Department of the Russian Trade Delegation

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WHAT IS DIPLOMACY?

A Letter from Genoa

GENOA, APRIL 23rd.

THE workers stand very far from the diplomatic kitchen, and are quite ignorant of the method by which this or that dish was cooked: they only see it in the final form of a treaty, agreement, declaration of war, recognition de jure, or de facto.

After one glimpse of the mysteries of the diplomatic art, I feel bound to try and tell you what I saw.

The most magnificent form of diplomacy is a General Congress or Conference. These ceremonial occasions always involve fine decorative schemes. The many-tongued press works at and adapts the popular mind in the sense desired. The man in the street is first driven out of his wits by contradicting rumours and suggestions: "it will be held . . . it won't . . . they will summon it . . . they won't." Next he is tantalised by tales of a postponement. Then excited by hints of the sensations likely to be forthcoming at the Congress.

Finally, the wretched man has it firmly driven into his head that the coming Conference is the most important event in history, and that everything else, near and comprehensible to him though it may be, is absolutely insignificant.

* * *

At length the long-expected Conference opens. Photographers and cinema men hasten to "fix" the buildings, the surrounding squares and streets, the curious crowds, and the cordon of Carabinieri. It goes without saying that the dramatic personæ themselves are photographed as often as human nature will stand, without losing control of itself. What happens afterwards is another matter. For instance, a Genoese picture theatre announces that it will show its audience: "Il Primo Ministro Russo Joff."

That is, our comrade Joffe is proclaimed the Russian Premier. That wouldn't matter: it's rough on him, it's true, but there is more to follow. When "Il Primo Ministro Russo Joff" appears on the screen, it turns out to be Sabanin, our expert in international law, a non-party man.

Or, you see three individuals on the screen, with the inscription: "Joff, Sashnovsky, Presbazhesky" (some guess: Joffe, Sosnovsky, Preobrazhensky). When you look at them closely, they turn out to be Mdivani, Rudzutak, and Bekzadian. . . .

* * *

But these are details. The Conference carefully stage-managed, opens. Not an opportunity is lost. Even the chandeliers light up, with striking effect, at the precise moment when Lloyd George enters the hall, to be greeted with applause as the Saviour of Europe. . . . Just like the ballet, when the first dancer trips into the limelight. . . .

So the speeches begin. Gracious heavens, how everyone is full of the highest sentiments, love of peace, ardent desire to confer benefits upon mankind. And immediately, right away, without leaving the hall! a sort of competition in high-mindedness, peacefulness, and internationalism begins.

By L. SOSNOVSKY

Do you want to know the programme of the French Government, headed by Poincaré? Listen to Barthou: "We are foreign to hatred of anyone. Our motto is 'Peace and Labour!'" What price that? Try and get round that programme, Bolsheviks. What are you going to set up against it? War against peace? Idleness against labour? Just try it.

Or listen to Lloyd George, talking like a Communist propagandist at a street-corner meeting: "Europe is sick. Europe is slipping towards the abyss. Civilisation is threatened with a catastrophe. The last few years have shown Europe that she is in peril of returning to the Dark Ages. If we cannot find a way out, Europe is lost."

[Substitute "capitalism" for "Europe" everywhere, and all will be clear in a twinkling].

Of course, Lloyd George stands for the fraternal co-operation of all peoples on an equal and just footing. "We are not Monarchists, or Republicans, or Sovietists. There are no victors, or vanquished, or neutrals, amongst us. We are all equal, etc." At these words all the wolves try to assume amiable sheep's faces and express their fraternity.

* * *

The Japanese representative correctly foresaw that in this hall all those present believe in one another's nobility of character and love of peace, and, therefore, long speeches are unnecessary. In bad French the Japanese delegate devoted three minutes to explaining the praiseworthy intentions of his Government, and sat down. His face, like a mask, was not left for an instant by a fixed expression of intense self-satisfaction.

The Belgian representative was also brief. A little pathos: a little bathos (before the war Belgium took so much of world commerce, now her share has decreased to so much); a little word about peace and brotherhood: and he sat down.

The German representative obviously could not approve of such a superficial attitude towards a European Conference. He opened a large and weighty exercise book, and began to read—solidly, in detail, at great length. Of course, the German delegation gives way to none in its high-mindedness and lofty feelings. It is very difficult for Germany just now, but the delegation is not suggesting that any of those present is responsible. Far from it. Those present are not capable of such bad deeds.

* * *

What was there left for the Bolshevik to say? Must he find super-words to express his super-lofty feelings? This was hopeless, after the magnificent utilisation of all the dictionaries by his predecessors. Should he adopt a more prosaic tone, and call them scoundrels, imperialists, and other diplomatic courtesies? Should he suggest improper things about their parents? But then what was the point of putting on a frock coat and dragging across Europe to Genoa? (Besides, the spokesman of the Russian delegation, comrade Chicherin, is

not quite the best instrument for that kind of music. If it were Bukharin or Radek, now . . .).

Seeing that he could not outdo the European diplomats in nobility of sentiment, the Russian delegate decided to outdo them in modesty.

"You spoke of universal brotherhood, of laying the foundations of peace? Excellent. Let's work out even a poor sort of peace instead of that splendid blockade and that delightful intervention. You spoke of brotherhood? By all means: let's begin with disarmament; if you don't want total disarmament, let's begin with partial. Suppose we forbid submarine warfare, poison gasses, and bombing from aeroplanes. You want full fraternal co-operation of the peoples in economic affairs? Let us begin with little things: pooling of world's raw materials, pooling of the world gold fund in the proportions existing before the war. Let's call a real Congress, with an invitation to all those nations not represented here, and to all Labour organisations."

The amiable restorers of Europe had great difficulty in restraining themselves from fixing their teeth in Chicherin's calves. The sweet smiles on their faces disappeared as if by magic.

One smiling angel exploded. Barthou banged his fist on the table, and announced that there was no place for him where they talked of disarmament. He demanded that such offensive words be forbidden: they drive him crazy, and he won't answer for himself.

There might have been a free fight . . .

* * *

But the old and cunning wolf—I beg pardon, the old and cunning sheep—Lloyd George, arose to allay the storm:—

"Oh, M. Barthou, aren't you dreadful, always doing this sort of thing! Didn't we agree at Cannes that we were sheep—SHEEP, do you understand? Then why snap your teeth and howl? And you are so careless, M. Chicherin, you know the peaceful and mild French character, and yet you pronounce such words as "dis-arm-a-ment"

. . . It was lucky I was sitting close by, or there might have been the most unpleasant consequences. Now, do be careful, please, M. Chicherin. We sheep find it very difficult to control our tempers: that's our character. Am I not right, sheep?"

"Brrrrr'r . . . Brrravo."

"Shut your mouths, sheep: hide those fangs. There are many photographers here, and we may as well avoid any more sinfulness to-day. You never know how these things end. There are crowds outside. Now look pleasant, and go out in twos. M. Barthou, you go first with M. Chicherin. M. Bosatiano, never mind rolling your eyes at Rakovsky: you're both Roumanians, you know. Messrs. photographers, attention, please. Mr. Chairman, make haste and close the session."

The first session closes.

The telegraph wires groan piteously under the weight of good words: "Great historic day . . . Fraternal Assembly of the Peoples . . . Peace on Earth, and Goodwill to All men . . ."

LITTLE PARODIES . No. 1

Cant, Countries and Capital

By J. T. W. N. . . . D

FOR years there has been considerable speculation as to the reasons which induced the Siamese Government to concentrate so much attention on the Far East. Up to the present it has not been possible to connect this activity with South Wales Coal or Standard Oil, but there seems no earthly reason why it should not be done, seeing that pretty well everything is mixed up, more or less with everything else.

* * *

We have to commence our investigations by enquiring into the strange case of Maypole margarine. Who would suspect this well-known concern of being linked up through the Soap Trust, with Dr. Carter's Little Liver Pills? Yet, it has now been established, after years of laborious research on my part, that Lord Brindlepup (formerly Sir Solomon Levi), holds no less

than two hundred directorships in different concerns, operating in Patagonia, Tibet, Abyssinia, and Lower Tooting, all of which are interested in supplying margarine, soap, or little liver pills to the natives of these parts of the world.

* * *

The following list should be carefully noted for its importance. Moreover, it fills up space, and looks impressive:—

The Banque Antartique de Boulogne,
Jones, Smith, and Co.,
The British-Alaskan Corporation,
Lockharts, Ltd.,
The Rothschilds,
The Pierpont Morgans,
Standard Oil,
The Penny Bazaar.

Standard Oil comes in simply because it is impossible to leave it out, but it is not so easy to connect up South Wales Coal or

Siam. One suspicious circumstance is the recurrence of the initial letter S in all three cases. This also applies to the Soap Trust, and here we have an invaluable link with the financial interests controlling margarine. When we consider also the political significance of the late Lord Rhondda's appointment as food controller, we see at once the connection between South Wales Coal, and, above all, liver pills.

* * *

What all this has to do with Siam and the Far East may not be clear at the moment, but patient investigation along certain lines will undoubtedly unravel the mystery.

Solomon Levi's maiden aunt did not visit Hong-Kong last year for nothing.

A PUBLIC DEBATE will take place at the Essex Hall, Essex Street, Strand, at 7.30 p.m. on Thursday, May 11th, between R. Palme Dutt, C.P.G.B. (Editor *Labour Monthly*), and Ernest E. Hunter, I.L.P. (National Administrative Council, I.L.P.), on the merits of the respective policies of the C.P.G.B. and the I.L.P. Tickets, price 6d.