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EDITOR: THOS. BELL

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THE COMMUNIST REVIEW

Editor : THOS. BELL

THE EDITORIAL VIEW

OUR first "democratic and pacifist" Labour government is now a matter of history. Its exit was as ignominious as its career was servile. There is none, even in the Labourist camp to do it reverence. At best a government by consent of the capitalists and financiers, it has been set aside when it no longer served the purpose for which it was designed. During its nine months' experience, it has done much to discredit Socialism. That was one of the principle reasons for its existence. But it has done much more to discredit the superstitious reverence hitherto held by hundreds of thousands of workers for capitalism's parliamentary democracy, and for the implicit faith which too many still hold in the theory of a peaceful gradual transformation from capitalism to Socialism. From this angle the experiment has not been without its values.

In a special article in this issue, the statistical results of the election are examined in detail by our Comrade Jackson. The important fact which emerges from this analysis is the discrepancy between the Labour vote and its representation. With over a million more votes cast, the Labour Party has 42 seats less. What does this teach? It teaches us that there is something wrong with democracy. Only the dullest of the dull will fail to see that there is a difference between *real* working class strength and representation. Unless the working class is clear on the importance of this it is in for trouble.

Accepting the capitalist parliamentary standards of representation, they blissfully ignored the organised Labour movement outside parliament, being even less tractable to working class demands than a full hundred per cent. bourgeois government—witness the transport workers' strike, and the miners' approach on the Dawes Report.

* * * * *

It is just here where the Communist Party joins issue with the parliamentary Labourists. We may dismiss for the moment

the verbiage of Mr. Arthur Henderson, M.P., brotherhood preacher, teetotaler and war-monger, in the *Daily Herald* of November 19th, where he associates the social revolution with blood, murder and hatred, as nonsensical claptrap.

The Communist Parties, the Communist International, have repeatedly declared that without the majority of the working class determined upon a social change, revolution is out of the question. But the recognition of the principle of a majority may be looked at from two angles. The reformists have interpreted the "majority" to be a majority of seats in parliament. The Communists look to a majority of the working class expressing their *will* in an organised manner for a complete social change. This *will* may express itself in strikes for economic demands, political strikes, as *e.g.*, the Councils of Action to prevent war, or a majority of votes at the ballot box. Meanwhile as the forged Zinoviev letter shows, it would be folly to ignore the ceaseless intrigues and conspiracies carried on by the ruling class to confuse and defeat the workers. The Communist Party declares it to be the duty of a genuine working class party to be militant in proportion to its strength and never hesitate to utilise its opportunities. Once it is clear the majority of the working class are solid for a change, to hesitate or palaver, is to act the traitor, and defeat the aims of the workers. The MacDonald government neither responded to the strength behind it nor utilised its opportunities.

* * * * *

Contrast the conduct of the Tory Government with MacDonald. Its first act is to declare the existence of the trade union support behind the Labour Party as a national danger, for that is the meaning of the speech of Sir Robert Horne. The reactionaries are determined to demoralise and break the Labour Party by an attack on the trade unions. They fulminate against the "left-wing" leaders, and the Minority Movement, which they falsely identify as the Communist Party. In their campaign against the Communists, they are assisted by ex-Cabinet Ministers (Second Internationalists) headed by Thomas, Henderson and Clynes, who are wrathful at the existence of the Communist Party, because, as they *naively* declare, if there had been no Communist Party, there would have been no "Red Plot!" and they might still have been "in." Thus from two sides, the Communists are attacked, and for two separate motives which are only reconciled in the unanimity of imperialists and Labour lieutenants alike to maintain capitalism intact.

The attack upon the Communists by the Tory reactionaries is intended primarily to get at the trade union movement; the

attack of the servile lieutenants of capitalism is a direct aid to the Tory game.

* * * * *

But the triumph of reaction in Great Britain is not an isolated event. It is part of the opening of a new international offensive of capitalism. It is no accident that the elections in America have simultaneously strengthened the hands of Morgan and his accessors. The German elections will in all likelihood repeat the story. Thus we see, capitalism everywhere mocking the bleatings of the Second Internationalists about the opening of a "new era" of democratic pacifism by setting aside the "democratic" governments and instituting its own repressive cabinets.

Coolidge at the bidding of Morgan, Dawes and Co., declares there is to be no cancellation of debts for Europe. Every cent has to be paid. Baldwin scraps the one fragment of working class legislation attempted by MacDonal in the Anglo-Russian Treaties, and talks menacingly to Soviet Russia about propaganda. Communists in Germany are arrested wholesale and clapped into jail. Deputies are forced to live underground, since there is no parliamentary immunity during an election. In Esthonia, Poland, Bulgaria, Rumania; in India, Algeria, Egypt, Mesopotamia and throughout the world, outside the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, reaction is in the saddle.

* * * * *

Drunk with victory, the international bourgeoisie is pushing its opportunities to advantage. It is about to operate a policy of low wages, increased hours, colonial oppression, war and adventure. In these circumstances to talk of pacifism, of brotherhood between capital and labour, is treason to the struggle of the workers. The workers have had a taste of "brotherhood." The "Red Plot" conspiracy has shown how much brotherly love the capitalists have for Labour. The defeat in the elections is not a set-back to the workers. It is only a set-back for the reformist place-hunters. The sense of strength and self-confidence of the real army of the workers—the organised labour unions—was never stronger than it is to-day. It only remains to crystallise it into a common policy with a single leadership united in aims and methods. A united front of all the working class forces against all the forces of capitalism; the rooting out of the Labour movement of those leaders who have been corrupted with the associations and contact with royalty and its minions. A vigorous class policy and relentless war against capitalism. That must be the reply to the capitalist reaction of every worker who wishes to avoid the debacle of 1921-22.

The quick succession of political events in Egypt, culminating in the arrogant and autocratic notes delivered by Lord Allenby on Saturday, November 23rd with all the military pomp and ceremony worthy of a Hindenburg, brings sharply to the notice of the working class movement in Great Britain, the character and intensity of the struggle of the Egyptian people for national independence. It does something more: it proves how urgent it is to heed the warnings of the Communist Party against the dangers of a new war.

The Egyptian Parliament was opened on Wednesday, 12th November, presided over by the imperialists' vassal, "King Fuad." In the "King's" speech, the government congratulates itself on the efficiency of its internal administration, and outlined a programme of internal development; improved railways, a merchant marine, inland navigation, drainage, irrigation, social development and a *stronger army*.

The Egyptian claims to the Sudan were re-asserted in uncompromising language, and the government congratulated for having kept the rights of Egypt intact.

Three days after, on Saturday, the 15th November, Zaghul Pasha handed in his resignation alleging intrigues from the King's Household, and only withdrew it when a high functionary was sacked. Yet another three days elapse, and the British military chief is laid low. Three more days, and the new Tory Government presents its demands. It calls for an apology, punishment of the participants in the action against the military representative of His Britannic Majesty's Government, *prohibition of popular political demonstrations*, a £500,000 fine, annexation to the Sudan irrigation area, withdrawal of Egyptian troops from the Sudan. The rapidity of events, the language, attitude and demeanour back of the Tory demands, recalls the situation, arguments and attitude of the Austrian Government in July, 1914. And when it is remembered that there are strong French and Italian interests locked up in Egypt, the peril of another war, should the British government persist in its arrogance is obviously something very real.

* * * * *

It is well, since the entire capitalist press is let loose, and playing upon the sentiment and emotions of the whole country, for readers of the *Review* to get clear upon a few fundamentals regarding the struggle for national independence by a subjected people. The forcible removal of a foreign invader, or his representative is nothing new in the struggles of a people for its national freedom. That method has invariably accompanied the struggle of every

nationality that has once made up its mind upon self-government. Bankers, industrialists, landlords, with their Labour lieutenants, may refuse to acknowledge it, but history decrees and condones the principle that it is the unquestioned right of a nation subjected to a military yoke, direct or indirect, to take any and every means to free itself. Political necessity, where the destinies of millions are involved has little time to gush over the personal qualities of foreign rulers. There is but one way to avoid a repetition of the events in Cairo of November the 19th, withdraw every British soldier and official out of Egypt, and leave the Egyptian people to govern themselves.

* * * * *

This principle of trusting the oppressed nationalities to govern themselves has been successfully applied by the Soviet government of the Workers and Peasants of the Russian Union. Seven years' experience has shown it to be the one guarantee of peace and amity between the peoples.

But an essential preliminary to the operation of such a principle is the abandonment of imperialist aims. This is the crux of the problems in Egypt and the Sudan, as in India, Mesopotamia and other subject territories. The British Empire—a colossal joint-stock company of financiers and job-brokers—cannot abandon its imperialist aims without inviting collapse. Having forcibly annexed large territories in Africa, Asia Minor and India, and sunk large sums of capital investments, it proceeds to plead the Suez Canal is a “vital artery” of the Empire, the Sudan essential to the cotton industry, and the protection of foreign communities (investments) a sacred trust. It is against this imperialist grip that the bourgeois nationalists are waging war.

Notwithstanding that even as the struggle against British imperialism goes on, the peasantry and town workers are being cruelly exploited and oppressed by British and Egyptian bourgeois alike: that Communists and trade union leaders are at present in jail for fighting the battles of the working masses against the rapacities of landlordism and industrial capitalism, the Communist Party allies itself with the demand of the Egyptian people for complete freedom and independence from British rule. The financiers and capitalists with their military adjuncts can be relied upon to shower all the necessary sympathy upon, and look after their own friends. It is to the Egyptian workers and peasants the organised Labour movement of Great Britain will turn its thoughts, and seek to strengthen the bonds of Labour solidarity.

The British working class has nothing in common with the

imperialist annexationist aims of British capitalism. It repudiates the declarations of the Baldwin Ministry, as well as the MacDonald Ministry as being alien to the best traditions and spirit of the British working class movement, and against the common class interests of the British and Egyptian masses.

Egypt and the Sudan, as with all the other "protectorates and dependencies," must be freed from the bonds of Empire. Only upon the basis of complete separation can the Egyptian and colonial problems be satisfactorily solved; only then will the working masses get a chance to move towards their real liberation from the predatory clutches of imperialism.

* * * * *

The famous forged letter purporting to be signed by Zinoviev, MacManus and Kuusinen in the name of the Communist International is again brought to the front by the declaration of the new Ministry that the letter is authentic. On another page we print the personal repudiation of Comrade Zinoviev. Our Central Committee have already publicly repudiated any knowledge of the letter or its contents. We have asked to see the letter to verify its authenticity or otherwise, but have not yet received it. Meanwhile, it is passing strange that a government which believes the highly seditious document to be genuine refuses to take any action against the person or the Party involved. Not only is Comrade MacManus, one of the alleged signatories liable to prosecution, but, so also is the entire Communist Party. Why doesn't the government prosecute? The explanation is quite simple. The letter is a fake and a forgery. *Those who say it is authentic are liars. We dare the government to prosecute.*

A prosecution would reveal to the masses how capitalism refuses to rely *solely* on the ballot box to maintain its power. It would teach the pacifist I.L.P. the hollowness of "democracy," while a subsidised press is able to operate under the direction of international financiers. This letter is no isolated case. It is part of the stock-in-trade of capitalist politics. But, as Comrade Zinoviev remarks in his trenchant repudiation, "this weapon will become blunt from too frequent use." It only remains for the organised workers to learn the lesson. Collaboration of the classes leads to corruption. The workers cannot operate the capitalist machinery in their own interest, especially with permanent bureaucratic officials. It must establish, and man its own machinery and suppress every vestige of capitalist influence.

Declaration of Zinoviev on the Alleged "Red Plot."

THE letter of 15th September, 1924 which has been attributed to me, is from the first to the last word, a forgery. Let us first take the heading. The organisation of which I am the president, never describes itself officially as the "Executive Committee of the Third Communist International"; the official name is "Executive Committee of the Communist International." Equally incorrect is the signature, "The Chairman of the Presidium." The forger has shown himself to be very stupid in his choice of the date. On the 15th of September, 1924, I was taking a holiday in Kislovodsk, and, therefore, could not have signed any official letter.

All these things are, of course, trifles. The clumsiness of the forgery can best be seen by examination of the contents of the "document."

"It is time you thought of forming such a group, which, together with the leaders, might be, in the event of an outbreak of active strife, the brain of the military organisation of the Party. Go attentively through the lists of the military "cells," detailing from them the more energetic and capable men, turn attention to the more talented military specialists who have, for one reason or another, left the service and hold Socialist views. Form a directing operative head of the Military Section."

This, it is alleged, was written by the E.C.C.I. to the Central Committee of the British Communist Party. Of course, the thing is an absurdity from beginning to end. At present there exists no military section in the C.P. of Great Britain. The British C.P. has no need to bother itself with attracting "talented military specialists." It has more important tasks: the winning of the majority of the English workers by means of agitation and the propagation of the ideas of Marxism.

"The Military Section of the British Communist Party, so far as we are aware, further suffers from a lack of specialists, the future directors of the British Red Army."

This quotation from the alleged letter of the E.C.C.I. needs no comment. Everyone knows that the C.P. of Great Britain today has far more urgent business than the creation of a British Red Army. The British Communist Party, supported by the "Minority Movement" in the trade unions, is seeking to propagate the views of the Communist International among the masses of the ordinary English workers. There is not the least doubt that the C.P. of Great Britain is fulfilling this great task

with ever-increasing success. If this were not the case, the English bourgeoisie would not have recourse to such extraordinary methods as the forging of documents.

What is the meaning of the whole stunt regarding the alleged "letter of the E.C.C.I.?" And who is the chief culprit in this forgery? Apparently the *Daily Mail* played a great role in the whole affair. A telegraphic report states that "a copy of the document is in the possession of the *Daily Mail*, and we consider it our duty to publish it. Yesterday, at noon we sent copies to the other London papers, and somewhat later the Foreign Office decided to publish the document." It is evident that the *Daily Mail* is not quite innocent in this matter.

It is remarkable how the date was chosen. The "exposure" of the alleged letter of the E.C.C.I. took place at a time when it was impossible for our answer to arrive in time in England, as only a few days remained to the end of the elections. It is not difficult to understand why some of the leaders of the Liberal-Conservative bloc had recourse to such methods as the forging of documents. Apparently they seriously thought they would be able, at the last minute before the elections, to create confusion in the ranks of those electors who sincerely sympathise with the Treaty between England and the Soviet Union. It is much more difficult to understand why the English Foreign Office, which is still under the control of the Prime Minister, MacDonald, did not refrain from making use of such a white-guardist forgery.*

We, on our part, have proposed to entrust the examination of the whole affair regarding our alleged "letter" to the English trade unions, the General Council of which will appoint a commission which shall have access to all documents, and whose decision we will regard as final. I hope that by means of this proposal we shall best prove to all English workers and to all unprejudiced people in England, that we have nothing to fear from an investigation of this affair, and that the "document" attributed to us constitutes a forgery.

To-day we received news from fairly reliable sources that the forged letter originated in Polish circles. In Poland, apparently, there is a permanent group of enterprising people (who are probably closely connected with the Polish counter-revolutionary spy service), who supply similar "documents" to those foreign governments who, for any reason, require them.

A strange state of affairs! It suffices when any bourgeois statesman of Europe or America—let us say, Mr. Hughes—finds

* This letter was written when MacDonald was still Prime Minister.

himself in a difficult situation, if this or that "letter" of the Executive of the Comintern, alleged to be signed by us, is immediately placed at his disposal. This "letter" is solemnly published, and the press of a certain camp raises the necessary alarm.

It would seem, therefore, as if the Executive Committee of the Comintern take a pleasure in writing letters which are very convenient to statesmen of the type of Hughes, and Curzon. And in a strange manner, these alleged "letters"—like eggs at Easter—fall into the hands of the respective bourgeois ministers, precisely when they need them in this, or that political campaign against their "own" working class, or against the Soviet Government.

The parliamentary elections in Germany are approaching. It will be a terrorist election, in the sense that the German government, to the advantage of the Social-Democrats, is throwing almost the entire staff of the Communist Party, and thousands of the best workers who sympathise with the Communists into prison. We shall not be surprised if some days before the German elections one or the other bourgeois ministers of Germany likewise at the most appropriate time, received from somebody a "letter" of the Executive Committee of the Comintern, which will be worded precisely in the way in which the enemies of Communism require it.

Nevertheless, this weapon will become blunt from too frequent use. We are convinced that the two frequent abuse of forged "letters" of the Executive of the Comintern by the statesmen of Europe and America will result in this weapon of lies finally losing its point.

Moscow, 27th of October, 1924.



Unemployed Organisation and the Working Class Movement

IN the latter part of the year 1920, and the beginning of 1921, Unemployed Committees sprang up like mushrooms in every part of the country. Many of these Committees, based on soup-kitchen-charity ideas were inevitably forced by economic conditions to line up with the more revolutionary Committees in organising mass demonstrations to Guardians or Parish Councils, to force an out-door scale of relief.

This form of enthusiastic mass activity presented a new problem to the authorities, and for a time they gave way before it. The Poor Law machinery groaned and creaked beneath the weight of the unemployed demands, but yielded a scale of relief, that, compared to the present rate of maintenance, was exceedingly high.

The unemployed consciously or unconsciously, finding this form of activity brought results, began to use it in other directions. Miners locked-out in 1921 found masses of unemployed rally to support them in their fight against the employers. Mass demonstrations to public bodies to secure the release of political prisoners, etc., became the order of the day, causing consternation to law and order, and reactionary Labour leaders.

During this period the militants amongst the unemployed had formed the National Unemployed Organisation. This attempt to co-ordinate the unemployed activities nationally was a welcome sign, but unfortunately, the objects of the co-ordination were not always clearly understood.

CAPITALISM TURNS FROM DEFENCE INTO ATTACK.

Then was witnessed a new phase. With a relief scale that certainly satisfied the majority, activities lost their enthusiasm; demonstrations ceased to be large and militant, and less results were obtained. The Poor Law authorities began to consolidate the ground they had been intimidated into conceding; the authorities began their systematic brutal attacks upon the unemployed in every town and city: leaders were arrested and jailed upon the slightest pretext. In line with this attack, the capitalist press played its part in "proving" that the unemployed agitation was

directed from "Moscow," and Lord Mayors' funds, etc., did much to stupify the revolutionary activity of the unemployed.

The best elements of the unemployed then turned to fresh avenues in an endeavour to maintain their organisation. Approaching the Labour Party and Trade Union Congress, they sought contact and recognition for their splendid activities. To the disgrace of both the political and industrial Labour movement, recognition was refused. The unemployed were sent away empty-handed; scorn was poured upon their solidarity to the Labour movement, and their claims to become an integral recognised part of the working class movement were ignored. The unemployed had to remain an Unemployed Organisation with no visible connection with the rest of the workers' organisations. This ended the second phase.

MISTAKES IN ORGANISATION.

Then occurred the *voltface*. The unemployed turned in still another direction. The formation of "joint councils of employed and unemployed" was pushed by the leadership, and found expression amongst a rank and file disgusted with the official Labour movement, and seeking some fresh outlet to strengthen their organisation. This experiment in organisation, tried for a considerable time, was at last judged a failure, and a mistake.

Whilst affiliation or representation of local Committees to Trades Councils was sought by some Committees, the leadership favoured joint councils, with the result that contact with Trades Councils was not encouraged.

During this phase, the unemployed everywhere consistently helped the employed in strikes and lock-outs, but the new forms of organisation, *i.e.*, joint councils, defeated this practical solidarity, and widened the breach between the organisations of the employed and unemployed.

A definite lack of co-ordination was witnessed throughout the whole organisation. Instead of experiments with "joint councils," there should have been an organised, sustained agitation for unemployed recognition by the whole of the Labour movement. The result was, that to all intents and purposes, the unemployed were seeking recognition and contact, but the enthusiasm was all for "joint councils," and not for close contact with Trades Councils.

FAILURES BRING REACTION.

The N.A.C. was in constant change, and difficulties of meeting to review the state of affairs, especially with the provinces, had to be met. The changing leadership had vague ideas of the path to be trod, and allowed Committees in many instances to

operate their own form of organisation. In an endeavour to find a way out of their numerous difficulties, the leadership allowed (and in this way fostered) talk of the One Big Union to become prevalent in the organisation, until quite a number of the unemployed dreamt of their organisation gradually enrolling employed members, until they superceded the present Trade Unions by a One Big Organisation of employed and unemployed.

The failure of "joint councils" and "One Big Unionism," inevitably reacted upon the mass of unemployed and their organisation. Apathy was rampant, and in this dilemma, further attempts were made to establish contact with the employed's organisations. This ended the third phase in the life of the Unemployed Organisation, now known throughout the country as the N.U.W.C.M.

The National March to London in 1922-23, coming as it did at this time, despite its achievements, can hardly be described as a success. Instead of co-ordinating the activities of the unemployed, which was extremely necessary, it drew active members away from the provinces, to tramp the country on a widespread campaign drawing the attention of Parliament to unemployment. However necessary this was, the provinces could ill-spare the active members who embarked upon this campaign, and it certainly had a disastrous effect upon the already scattered organisation.

SPASMODIC ACTIVITIES ARE FRUITLESS.

Unemployment Sunday in the midst of this chaotic state of affairs, had little or no effect upon the country. Only a section of the Labour movement realised that the unemployed were organised and seeking recognition, but it was a one-day attempt towards recognition, and was not sustained.

National weeks of agitation, demonstrations held simultaneously in all parts of the country, had all been tried, but all ineffective, owing to the lack of a sustained agitation for recognition and contact being pushed from the centre.

With the termination of the National March, further attempts were made to establish contact with the organised workers' movements. Again a N.U.W.C.M. speaker addressed the Trade Union Congress. He received respectful attention, and they passed a hardy resolution . . .

Assistance continued to be given to all striking or locked-out workers; some committees obtained representation on Trades Councils, and some sort of contact with Guardians, Parish Councils, and City or Urban Councils. The first Labour Government

was returned on the definite promise that they alone could deal with unemployment, and some definite results accrued from the joint committee of the Trade Union Congress General Council and the National Unemployed Workers' Committee Movement, by the issue of the Unemployed Workers' Charter. Yet the ending of the fourth phase showed a tremendous gulf betwixt the employed's and unemployed's organisations.

LESSONS TO BE LEARNED.

This is a brief summary, not at all complete, yet it will, I think, show the upward and downward trend of the Unemployed Organisation since its inception in 1921. From this review many important lessons can be learned.

It shows that despite the splendid practical assistance rendered by the unemployed to all sections of the workers, politically and industrially, there remains a huge breach between the unemployed and organised employed. It proves that simultaneously with these exhibitions of working class solidarity, the leadership should have carried forward a sustained agitation for recognition and closer contact with the rest of the working class movement.

It explains why the organisation has not only decreased in numbers, but in strength—strength in compelling capitalism to regard it seriously as a menace, and its right to demand recognition from the Trade Union Congress and the Labour Party, and the Labour Government when it was in power.

It explains why the huge enthusiastic mass demonstrations such as were witnessed in 1921, are less easily obtainable to-day, and how enthusiasm, so essential for victory, has been deadened by the brutal attacks of the police, and the skilful reductions that have taken place in the standard of maintenance.

On the other hand, the authorities are not to be swayed easily by mass demonstrations should they be possible on occasions. Only force of organisation is likely to have any effect upon the authorities, and this cannot be obtained until there is contact with the employed.

THE PRESENT AND FUTURE.

The future demonstrations must be of employed as well as unemployed, which means that the workers' organisations must be brought into the fight. This is no easy task, as the employed and unemployed alike have, in a way, adapted themselves to unemployment.

Before advancing any future policy for the unemployed, it is necessary to briefly refer to the present situation. The effect of a Labour Government upon the unemployed was one of relegat-

ing their difficulties to the government, sincerely believing that they intended to legislate on their behalf. This political blindness caused the unemployed to accept the line of least resistance—legislation to revolutionary activity, which further weakened their organisation.

The 56th Annual Trade Union Congress met at Hull recently, but little progress was made towards making the N.U.W.C.M. a recognised part of the movement. At the first national Minority Conference, the N.U.W.C.M. received some attention, but despite this, the unemployed are facing the fifth winter of unemployment, unrecognised practically, with little contact with the workers organisations, and with a depleted membership, scattered and apathetic.

On the other hand, the N.U.W.C.M. has to face up to an employing class that has removed the servile Labour Government, and installed in its place a strong Conservative Government, which, as everybody is well aware, can be trusted to deal drastically with that disease of capitalism—unemployment, and the unemployed. The N.U.W.C.M. is facing an employing class, strong, not just because of a majority in Parliament, but strong in the sense, that it has learned many lessons from 1921 which it, undoubtedly, will utilise to defeat any attempts by the unemployed to attack its privileged position.

UNEMPLOYED CONTACT WITH WHOLE WORKING CLASS.

The main plank in the policy of the unemployed can be seen from this review. It is contact with all sections of the political and industrial workers' movement. The N.A.C. must immediately organise a sustained, intensified, agitation to force recognition by all sections of the Labour movement. This contact must not merely be propagated, it must become the most important activity of the organisation. Mass demonstrations must not cease; on the contrary, only contact with the rest of the movement can resuscitate and make effective any demonstration.

Leads from the centre, having this contact and unification for their object, must be given regularly. Discipline must be enforced from the centre to make these leads effective. A tightening up of the organisation is necessary to prevent the loose organisation as seen in the past, and stunts of any description must be severely dealt with. In addition more actual living contact must be obtained between the centre and local committees.

The agitation for unconditional affiliation to the Trade Union Congress, and the National Labour Party must be intensified. It must be conducted from the centre to the locals. Wherever poss-

ible this agitation must be conducted through the local sections of these two organisations (Labour Parties and Trades Councils) by the local Unemployed Committees.

The affiliation of the N.U.W.C.M. to the political and industrial "general staffs" of the workers' movements, should be made the concern of all working class organisations, and the shorter way to affiliation is from within.

CONTACT NATIONALLY AND LOCALLY.

Unemployed Committees must be instructed (there must be no freedom in this matter) to seek free affiliation to Trades Councils. All unemployed members who have contact with their Trade Union branches must be given a policy to operate in their branches, and to push forward from within, the affiliation of the N.U.W.C.M. to the Trade Union Congress, and the National Labour Party. In addition, Unemployed Committees must seek contact with local Labour parties.

The N.A.C. must seek contact with the central committees of Minority Movements, any national strike or lock-out, of the Communist Party of Great Britain, and the National Council of Labour Colleges.

To obtain this necessary contact, the N.A.C. should conduct through their local committees, systematic agitation to obtain representation, or affiliation where necessary, to all local Minority Movements, Strike Committees, Communist Groups, Parish Council or Guardian Labour Groups, local Labour Collège, Labour Groups on Rota Committees, and Co-operative Guilds, etc.

Where such groups are not in existence, it is the duty of Unemployed Committees to seek contact with individual Labour representatives.

The N.U.W.C.M. can be trusted to continue their support of the employed in strikes and lock-outs. This policy, will, however, if carried on simultaneously, bring recognition of the unemployed's activities, and strengthen their contact with the workers' organisations.

DANGERS IN REVOLUTIONARY POLICY.

The agitation in support of the Six-Point Charter, to be successful, must be carried on within the movement, *i.e.*, via the Trades Councils, Labour Parties, etc. With better contact obtained, the various workers' organisations, political and industrial, pushed by the N.U.W.C.M. can force even the present reactionary government to adopt the points contained in the "Charter" in the interests of the whole working class. This is

the path that the organised unemployed must take to make any progress.

There are certain dangers attached to this policy. (A policy that has no dangers in its operations cannot be revolutionary). It savours of tame constitutionalism to the rebel unemployed, but it is a step that is necessary to obtain recognition for the unemployed, and to bring them into the working class movement as an integral part.

Even as the day of a successful demonstration of only unemployed individuals is past, so is the day when even a revolutionary organisation like the N.U.W.C.M. can stand alone in the big issues that confront them. Some Committees will be submerged in the "officialism" of the Labour movement, or lose their identity in some activity of a section of the movement. That danger will have to be dealt with.

The gains, however, accruing from this policy will more than balance the losses, especially if past experiences have taught the unemployed anything. In the writer's opinion, the militant unemployed will not lose their identity by contact with the "official" Labour movement, but this contact will benefit, not only the unemployed, but the entire workers' movement, politically and industrially.

E. STANLEY.

In Memorium: Haan Tomp

(Estonian Communist, Shot by Court-Martial, November 14th, 1924.)

By CHARLES ASHLEIGH.

There, on a dark night, in a dark, lost land,

They took you out to die.

You, who faced the snarling curs of greed,

With a workers' battle-cry.

The hounds of profit ran you down to earth;

They took your life.

They took your life; but it belongs to us

Who share your strife.

It shall not always be a place of fear,

Your tear-swept land.

Comrade, sleep well. The Red Tide rises! Soon

The hour's at hand!

The Italian Crisis

BY ANTONIO GRAMSCI

[The final paragraphs of this article by Comrade Gramsci, translated from *L'Ordine Nuovo*, 1/9/24, deals with internal Italian Communist policy and have not been translated.

Senator Albertini is the famous editor of the Liberal *Corriere Della Sera*. Amendola is leader of the Constitutionals. The "cracking" of the Fascist party refers to the dissident movement headed by the poet Sem Benelli who has founded an "Italian League." Salandra, the ex-Premier, and Cadorna, the ex-Commander in Chief, are Liberals. The workers' parties are three, the Communists, of whom Gramsci is one, the Maximalists, as the Italian Socialist Party is called, and the Reformists (Unitary Socialist Party) to which Turati and Treves belong and Matteotti did once. The Liberals have been called "heraldic supporters" of the Fascist coat of arms owing to their present half-hearted attitude.—Editor.]

THE fundamental crisis of the capitalist regime, which began in Italy, as in all the world, with the outbreak of war, has not been healed by Fascism. Fascism, with its repressive methods of Government, has made very difficult, and, in a way, almost totally prevented, political manifestations of the general capitalist crisis: but it has not marked a cessation of it, and far less a renewal and development of the national economic life. It is commonly said, and we Communists also usually say, that the present Italian situation is marked by the ruin of the middle classes: this is true, but it must be understood in all its significance. The ruin of the middle classes is deleterious because the capitalist system is not developing, but suffering a restriction; this ruin is not an isolated phenomenon that can be examined, and have its consequences provided for, independently of the general conditions of capitalist economy. It is the crisis of the capitalist regime itself, which no longer does and never will be able to satisfy the vital needs of the Italian people, which does not succeed in securing for the great masses of Italians, bread and shelter. That the crisis of the middle classes is to-day to the fore is merely a contingent political fact, merely the *form* of the period which, precisely for that reason, we call Fascist. Why? Because Fascism arose and developed itself on the terrain of this crisis in its incipient phases, and because Fascism has struggled against the proletariat and gained power by using and organising the ignorance and sheepishness of the petite bourgeoisie, which was drunk with hatred against the working class for succeeding with the power of its organisations

in minimising the effects of the capitalist crisis in comparison with them.

FASCISM EXHAUSTED.

Fascism is exhausted, and near to death because it has not fulfilled any of its promises; it has satisfied no hopes and eased no suffering. It has broken the revolutionary rush of the proletariat, it has scattered the class trade unions, it has put down wages and increased hours, but that was not enough to secure even a restricted life to the capitalist system. Therefore there was necessary a worsening of the standard of living of the middle classes too, a robbery and spoliation of the petite bourgeois economy and for that purpose, the strangling of all liberty, and not merely the liberty of the proletariat, and for that purpose, a struggle not merely against the workers' parties, but also—and in a certain phase, especially—against all non-Fascist parties and all associations not directly controlled by official Fascism. Why has the crisis of the middle classes in Italy had consequences more radical than in other countries, and brought to birth and carried to power Fascism? Because in Italy, given the inadequate development of industry and its regional character, not only is the petite bourgeoisie very numerous, but it is also the sole class that is "territorially" nationalist. The capitalist crisis had assumed in the years after the war the form of an acute gangrene in the united state and had thereby favoured the reappearance of a confusedly patriotic ideology, and there was no other solution than the Fascist one, since in 1920 the working class had failed in its task of creating, by its means, a State capable of satisfying the national united needs of Italian society.

The Fascist regime is dying because it has not only failed to stop, but has assisted in accelerating the middle class crisis that began after the war. The economic aspect of this crisis consists in the ruin of small and intermediate businesses: the number of bankruptcies has multiplied itself rapidly in the last two years. The monopoly of credit, the fiscal regime, the legislation on rents, have ground to pieces the small commercial or industrial undertaking: a true and genuine passing of wealth has taken place from the small to the greater bourgeoisie without any development of the machinery of production. The small producer has not become a proletarian, he is only a permanently starving man, a despairing man without any hope for the future. The application of Fascist violence to force investors to direct their savings in a given direction has not had much fruit. What success it has had has only bounced the effect from one rank to another, increasing the discontent and distrust, already large among investors, with

the present banking monopoly, made worse by the tactics of *coups de main* to which the entrepreneurs are forced to have recourse in the present difficult circumstances to get any credit at all.

FASCIST FISCAL POLICY FAILS.

In the country, the history of the crisis is more closely bound up with the fiscal policy of the Fascist State. From 1920 till today, the average balance sheet of a tenant farmer or small proprietor has been worsened by a balance on the wrong side of about 7,000 lire for increased taxes, worsening of contract conditions, etc. The crisis of small business may be seen in its typical form in North and Central Italy. In the South there are fresh factors, of which the principal is the absence of emigration and the consequent increase in population pressure: this is accompanied by a decrease in the cultivated area and consequently in the crop. The crop of grain last year was 68 million quintals in all Italy, which was, on the national scale, above the average, but it was below the average in the south. This year the crop is below the average in all Italy and has completely failed in the south. The consequences of such a situation have not yet shown themselves in a violent manner because in the south are all the conditions of a backward economy, which prevent the crisis showing itself quickly in a fundamental manner. All the same, there have been in Sardinia grave episodes showing the discontent of the people with their economic hardships.

The general crisis of the capitalist regime has not been solved by the Fascist regime. Under Fascism the possibilities of existence for the Italian people have become less. A restriction of the means of production has taken place at the very time when population pressure grew worse owing to the difficulty of emigration to America. The diminished industrial machine has only been able to save itself from utter ruin by a decline in the standard of living of the working class secured by a decrease of wages, an increase of the day's labour and a higher cost of living. This has led to emigration of skilled workers which is an impoverishment of the human production forces that were our greatest national resource. The middle class, which had laid all its hopes on the Fascist regime, has been thrown in disorder by this general crisis, and has become itself the expression of the capitalist crisis of this period.

These general remarks will merely serve to remind us of the wide sphere of the present situation that has in itself no means of recovering economic health. The Italian economic crisis can only be settled by the proletariat; only by taking its place in the

European and world revolution can the Italian people recover the capacity for making proper use of its human productive forces and re-develop the national production machine. Fascism has merely delayed the proletarian revolution, not rendered it impossible, it has even enlarged and deepened the sphere of the proletarian revolution which, after the Fascist experiment, will have true popular support.

REGIME TOTTERING.

The social and political dissolution of the Fascist regime first showed itself on a big scale in the elections of April 6th, 1924. Fascism was put in a minority in the industrial zone of Italy, which is the place where the economic and political forces that control the nation and the State are to be found. The elections of April 6th, having shown how purely apparent was the stability of the regime, heartened the masses and determined a certain movement in their ranks. They marked the beginning of that democratic wave which culminated in the days immediately following the murder of Deputy Matteotti, and still characterises the present situation. The oppositionists had acquired after the election enormous political importance: the agitation conducted by them in journals and in Parliament, discussing and denying the legitimacy of the Fascist Government, worked wonders in dissolving all the organism of the State controlled and dominated by Fascism; it had its effect in the very ranks of the National Fascist Party and cracked the Parliamentary majority. From this arose the unheard of campaign of threats against the oppositionists and the murder of the Deputy. The wave of indignation aroused by the crime astonished the Fascist Party, which trembled with panic and lost its head: the three documents written in that agonising moment by Deputies Finzi, Filippelli and Cesarino Rossi, which came into the hands of the opposition, show how the heads of the Party themselves had lost all sense of safety and piled error on error. From that moment Fascism entered on its agony. It is held up still by the so-called "Heraldic Supporters," but it is held up as the cord holds up the criminal.

The Matteotti crime gave final proof that the Fascist Party will never succeed in becoming a normal Governmental Party and that Mussolini possesses nothing of the statesman or dictator except an external and picturesque pose. He is not an element in national life, he is a phenomenon of peasant folk-lore who will rank in history among the provincial Italian masques rather than among Cromwell, Bolivar and Garibaldi.

The anti-Fascist wave provoked by the Matteotti crime

found political expression in the secession from Parliament House of the opposition parties : the Assembly of the Opposition became in fact a national political centre, behind which the majority of the country organised itself. The crisis that had burst out on the moral and sentimental field thus acquired a sharp institutional character ; a state was created within the state, an anti-fascist government against the Fascist. The Fascist Party was unable to control the situation, the crisis had struck it full on, shattering the ranks of its organisation. The first attempt to mobilise the national militia failed totally, as only 20 per cent. answered the call : in Rome only 800 soldiers presented themselves at the barracks ; the mobilisation gave notable results only in a few agrarian provinces like Grosseto and Perugia, which allowed them to bring to Rome a few legions prepared for a bloody conflict.

TWO GOVERNMENTS.

The oppositionists are still the fulcrum of the popular anti-Fascist movement ; they represent politically a wave of democracy which is characteristic of the present phase of the Italian social crisis. From the beginning the opinion, even of the great majority of the proletariat, turned towards the oppositionists. It was the duty of us Communists, to try and prevent such a state of things consolidating itself permanently. For that reason our Parliamentary group took part in the committee of the oppositionists, accepting and bringing into relief the serious character that the political crisis assumed because of the existence of two powers and of two parliaments. If they had wished to do their duty as it was indicated to them by the movement of the masses, the oppositionists should have given a definite political form to the state of things existing outside, but they would not. It would have been necessary to issue an appeal to the proletariat, which alone is in a position to support a democratic regime. It would have been necessary to have deepened the spontaneous movement of strikes which began to appear. The oppositionists were afraid of being overturned by a possible workers' insurrection ; and for that reason they would not come out of the purely parliamentary terrain in political question, or from the terrain of the trial for the murder of Matteotti in the campaign for keeping the country upon the alert. The Communists, who could not accept a distrust in principle of proletarian action, and could not accept the form of a Party bloc given to the Committee of the Oppositions, were put outside.

Our participation in the first place in the Committee and our exit afterwards have had as consequences :

(1) They permitted us to pass the most acute phase of the crisis without losing contact with the great working masses. If we had remained isolated our Party would have been drowned by the democratic wave.

(2) We have broken the monopoly of public opinion which the oppositionists were threatening to gain. An ever-growing section of the working class is becoming convinced that the Opposition bloc represents a semi-fascism which wants to reform and make more gentle the Fascist dictatorship, without taking from the capitalist system any of the benefits which terror and illegality have secured to it in recent years by the decline in the standard of living of the Italian people.

The actual situation has not changed in the last two months. There still are in fact, two Governments in the country, which are struggling against each other for the real forces of the bourgeois state. The outcome of the struggle will depend upon the effects that the general crisis has inside the National Fascist Party, upon the final attitude of the Parties that form the Opposition bloc, Party.

(To be continued next month.)

YOUR CLASS AND PARTY NEED YOU.

There are some who, sympathising with, and appreciating the Communist position, will call themselves Communist without realising that the first duty of a Communist is to become a member of the Communist Party.

Therefore, **DO YOUR DUTY,**

JOIN THE COMMUNIST PARTY NOW

APPLICATION FORM.

I wish to be a member of the Communist Party. Please put me in touch with local membership.

NAME.....

ADDRESS.....

Fill in this form and give it to the comrade who sold you this *Review*, or to *Local Secretary*

Or to Albert Inkpin, Secretary, Communist Party, 16, King Street, London, W.C.2.

C. B. .

Gorki on Lenin—Trotsky on Gorki

[Translated from *Pravda* by Comrade W. Fisher for the benefit of English-speaking comrades. The circumstances under which it had to be done necessitated a somewhat free translation. The substance of the article, however, reveals some additional traits in Lenin's character hitherto unfamiliar to English readers.—Editor.]

IT is difficult," Gorky writes, "to portray Lenin with the pen." This is only too true; Gorky's attempt is a very weak one. The picture is formed of threads of many colours, and it is only now and then that a colour of real artistic value may be discerned. Far more of the threads show a banal psychology and a petit bourgeois morality, and the ensemble is not very presentable. However, since Gorky is the artist, the work must be examined carefully.

Gorky says truly that Lenin was the exceptionally perfect incarnation of will directed towards a particular aim. That was the fundamental trait in Lenin's character. But when Gorky adds "He is one of the righteous . . .," he introduces a discordant and distasteful note. This religious, sectarian, flat word, "righteous," does not fit Lenin. At one of the Soviet congresses a Christian Socialist—or some such creature—once sang a beatitude in honour of Lenin, who turned to those of us sitting near him and said, "What slosh this is!" The term was unexpected, but to the point, and quite fits Gorky's remarks.

The further we go, the worse things get. Gorky writes: "To me Lenin is like a legendary hero, who tears his burning heart from his bosom to light with it the path for others." How awful! This is a different tune, a song of the south, with tropical decorations, Bengal flares, gipsy orchestras. There was nothing of this in Lenin, the man of Simbirsk, Petersburg, Moscow, the world—the rugged realist, the destroyer of romanticism and false theatricality.

Further on Gorky writes: "He was as straight and direct as all his sayings." If this was so, then why make him rend his heart from his bosom? However, even this piece of characterisation is not very happy—it is far too straight and too direct. It is done by a swordsman, who hacks at mother truth from the shoulder. And it does not fit Lenin in any way. It is true that he was very simple in all his deductions, decisions, methods,

actions, when a matter of minor importance was concerned. But this in no sense means that he was straight and direct, or that there was anything rectilinear about his views. I remember a piece of characterisation by the novelist, Babelle. He speaks of "the complex curve of Lenin's straight line." This statement, although paradoxical and affected, is much truer than Gorky's. Lenin often proceeded by roundabout means. Moreover, "straight and direct" takes no account of Lenin's craft, his unequalled skill at tripping up his enemies, at enticing them, somehow or other, into a trap. His consciousness of aim by no means implies straightness or directness. One critic, who had been saying that Lenin had not only this consciousness of aim, but also great ability at manœuvring, argued with me when I said that he was hard as stone, rather than flexible. If Lenin often castigated doctrinaire directness, he did the same to vacillation. The essential thing about Lenin was that he always brought with him such a unity of purpose that one could not help thinking him the embodiment of that purpose.

LENIN, THE HUMOURIST.

Gorky remarks of Lenin's fascinating laughter, "It was the laugh of a man who saw the clumsiness of man's stupidity, and the contortionist cunning of the mind, and yet could laugh heartily at the childish naivety of simple people." This definition, though a little involved, is in the main true. Lenin laughed with the condescension of a man of gigantic superiority. He who laughed with Lenin did not always laugh at the same thing. But the masses always understood the cause of his smile, always laughed *with* him.

Gorky relates that Lenin learnt how to fish "with the finger" from the Italian fishermen at Capri. (To catch "with the finger" means to fish without a rod by tying the line to one's finger.) The fishermen said to him, "As soon as the line gives a jerk, 'Drin-drin,' pull!" When Lenin caught his first fish he cried, with the delight of a child, and the enthusiasm of a hunter, "Aha! Drin-drin!" This passion, this enthusiasm, this desire to achieve, to catch, to seize, this is not a dull characteristic of the "righteous" but a real part of the real Lenin. The fact that Lenin could shout with delight as he whipped up his fish explains his love of children, animals, nature, music. All that was elemental, primitive, that remained outside the workings of the mind, outside conscious aims, was dear to him. I think we may pardon many of the banalities scattered throughout Gorky's article for the sake of this fine picture of a great man.

“He fondled children carefully,” says Gorky. “He caressed them with very light and delicate gestures.” This is also good; it brings out a trait of manly gentleness, of consideration for the physical and mental personality of a child, strong and gentle—like his handshake.

In connection with his love of animals, I recollect the following little incident. We were at work in Zimmerwald on a commission for drawing up a manifesto. The meeting was in the open air, at a round table in a garden among the mountains. The proceedings were far from friendly. Lenin had come to a deadlock with the majority of the commission. Two very fine dogs, probably belonging to the owner of the place, came into the garden, and began to play near us. Lenin suddenly jumped up, and began to stroke the animals with that light and delicate gesture noted by Gorky. He glanced in our direction, as though inviting the commission to participate in this enjoyment. The commission, I seem to remember, looked at him in some doubt; they had not yet got over the effects of the arguments at the meeting. Lenin patted the dogs again, but more reservedly, and returned to the table. The strenuous discussion began again. Lenin refused to sign the manifesto as it was. It is possible, I think now, that the digression was necessary to enable him to weigh up the arguments and to come to a decision, but this was not worked out by pure reasoning; it was the result of a co-ordination of his conscious and sub-conscious minds.

THE ENTHUSIAST.

Gorky was delighted with Lenin’s “youthful enthusiasm, with which he imbued all that he did.” However, Gorky does not mention that this “youthful enthusiasm” was held in the iron vice of Lenin’s will like a stormy torrent between granite cliffs. This enthusiasm indicated “that exceptional vigour of spirit that is only characteristic of the man with an inflexible belief in his calling.” This is also true, but does not agree with the statement made by Gorky in another part of his article, where he talks of Lenin’s ascetic zeal.

Lenin laughed with great heartiness and often the desire to laugh would come upon him at some small meeting, even at times of great stress; he would sit and try to control his desire, only ultimately to burst out. His laughter was very infecting; after glancing at his watch, he would make a serious face and without looking up at the others, he would call the meeting to order.

“He could,” Gorky writes, “give the short exclamation, ‘Hm—hm’ an endless gamut of meanings, from bitter irony to

reserved unbelief : often it had a taint of sharp humour only possible to men of great penetration who know too well the devilish absurdity of life." This is quite true. It was in a way a kind of code of short signals with which he used to describe the greatest variety of feelings and disposition. Gorky describes Lenin's favourite pose. "Head thrown back, leaning a little towards the shoulder, fingers somewhere under his armpits behind his waistcoat. There was something exceptionally pleasant and amusing in this pose, something victoriously cocky ; at such moments he used to scintillate with pleasure."

This is quite good, all except the "victoriously cocky." Immediately after this we come across, "A grown up child of this damned world, a fine man who had to sacrifice himself on the altar of hate for the sake of serving the cause of beauty and love." Ouf! . . . Have mercy, Alexei Maximovitch! "A grown up child of this damned world." How it stinks of phariseeism! "Sacrifice himself" . . . untrue, discordant! Lenin never sacrificed himself ; he lived his life fully, he developed his personality to the end in the service of an ideal, an aim which he set himself freely. It was the cause of ninety-nine hundredths of mankind.

Gorky speaks of Lenin's solicitude for his friends' health, and so on. The constant reiterated requests made by Lenin, that Gorky should go abroad for the sake of his health, can be included under this head. There is no doubt that this insistence was dictated by a desire to give Gorky a chance of straightening out his views on politics, since he had been considerably confused by the politics of Russia, and showed signs of getting very deep in the mire, while abroad, face to face with capitalist reality, he would recover his bearings.

When Gorky comes down to politics he is as ignorant as a baby. He calls Lenin a "typical" intellectual. "Lenin, a man of iron will, was in all other respects, a typical intellectual." Gorky proceeds, "He possessed in the highest degree all the traits of the best type of Russian intellectual—self-restraint, often becoming self-torture, self-mutilation," etc., etc. Somewhat earlier in his article, Gorky writes that Lenin's heroism "was the ascetic zeal of an honest Russian intellectual-revolutionary, who honestly believed in the possibility of establishing justice and equity on this earth," etc., etc. The effect of these statements is disgusting! Gorky depicts this revolutionary athlete as an ascetic zealot, which is bad, and as a typical Russian intellectual, which is insufferable. This is a lie, a slander. Of course, Lenin imbibed the traditions of revolutionary intellectual radicalism, but he overcame them and only after this did he become **THE LENIN**. The phrase "typical

Russian intellectual," is terribly limited, while Lenin is the personification of broken-down restraints, especially the limitations of an intellectual. If it is true that Lenin absorbed the age-long traditions of Russian intellectual radicalism, then it is much truer that he imbibed the many-centuried pressure of elemental peasant discontent. The Russian moujik, with his hate of the "gentry," his economy, his business talent and shrewdness, lives in Lenin. However, Lenin has surmounted the limitations of the moujik, with his tremendous expanse of thought and strength of will. Lenin personifies the spirit of the young Russian proletariat and to be blind to this is to be blind to everything in Lenin.

Quite correctly, Gorky has stated that the fundamental trait of Lenin's character was his militant optimism. He adds, "This was not a Russian trait." There you are! How was it that Lenin with his fundamental traits of militant optimism and iron will was a "typical Russian intellectual"? Isn't this a wholesale slander of the Russian nation? The Russia of olden days found its political expression in the Kerensky rule. But a new Russian spirit has been born and without it the October revolution would have been impossible. Allow me to ask, Alexei Maximovitch, whether the Bolshevik Party is a non-Russian phenomenon? These proletarian underground workers, these partisans, these red commissars who day and night had their fingers ready on the triggers of their revolvers, men who now are red directors and managers, men who are prepared to lay down their lives to-morrow for the liberation of the Chinese coolies—this race, this tribe, this nation—do you wish me to ask whether it was some other than the Russian fire that produced them? They are Russian, born of Russia, and, please note, Russia of the twentieth-century is not that old provincial Russia, but a new Russia, international, with iron in its character. The Bolshevik Party is the elect of this new Russia and Lenin is its greatest sorter and teacher.

BOLSHEVISM AND CULTURE.

Just at this point we come to a region of hopeless confusion in Gorky's article. He recommends himself as a "doubtful" Communist, who doubts the "intelligence of the masses," especially the peasantry. He considers that they require external leadership. "I know," he writes, "that I will be laughed at for these thoughts by politicians. I know that many of the cleverest and most honest of them will laugh at me, not from conviction, but from duty." I don't know who of these "honest and clever" politicians will share Gorky's scepticism of the intelligence of the masses. Lenin was aware of the fact that the masses required leadership (but external?)

and Gorky is aware that Lenin worked his whole lifetime in creating a special organisation—The Bolshevik Party—for this particular leadership. Lenin called blind belief in the intelligence of the masses by the barbaric, but expressive word “tailism.” But he also detested complaints of the intellectual, who felt insulted that the masses were not created according to his exalted image. Lenin knew that the intelligence of the masses must come to conform with the objective trend of events—and history has shown that this has not been an unsuccessful occurrence.

Gorky writes that he differs with Communists on the question of the role of the intellectuals. He considers that the best of the older Bolsheviks educated hundreds of workers in the “spirit of social heroism and exalted intellectuality”! In other words, Gorky was reconciled to Communism only when it was in the stage of laboratory preparation of the intellectuals’ and workers’ forces.

Gorky reproaches Lenin with “interpreting the drama of life” too simply, and holds that this attitude threatens culture with death! When the Bolsheviks bombarded the Kremlin, when the sailors used to extinguish their cigarettes on valuable Gobelins, and soldiers made themselves extremely uncomfortable and unpractical leg-wrappings out of Rembrandts, Gorky finally became a bard of culture. How awful! the Bolsheviks will break all the historical pots, flower pots, etc., and other articles of culture. Lenin used to answer him: “We shall smash as much as is necessary, and if we smash too much, the fault will lie on the intellectuals who occupied undefendable positions.” Does this show narrowness?

Real culture is not in the painted pots of history, but in the correct organisation of human minds and hands. If any difficulties or obstacles are encountered on the path to this organisation, they must be swept away and destroyed, and if this necessitates the destruction of the pots and jars of ancient history, then we shall smash them without any plaintive sentimentality and will create new ones, immeasurably better. This was the way Lenin looked at these things: he reflected the attitude of the masses, and from him we must learn the same attitude.

TROTSKY.

Kislovodsk, Sept. 28th, 1924.

Revolutionary Significance of the General Election

BECAUSE the official Labour Party suffered a net loss of 42 seats, it has been concluded that the General Election of 1924 showed a great falling away of the working class from anything resembling class consciousness. Those Labour politicians particularly who think only in terms of seats in the House of Commons find the results disastrous. Seeking an excuse for this "loss of confidence" by the electors in the Labour Party they find it in Communism and the Communist Party which has, they argue, "frightened the moderate electors" back to the flag of reaction.

Do the actual figures of the voting show anything of the sort?

THE LABOUR AND ANTI-LABOUR VOTE.

The total vote for Labour candidates in 1924 was in round numbers, 5,551,000. During the previous election of 1923, it was 4,348,000.

The Labour vote, therefore, in one year, increased by 1,203,000 or 27½ per cent. Is this any indication of a stampede of terror?

Hardly, considering that the Anti-Labour Parties deliberately fought the election as a campaign against Communism.

During the early years of its existence the Labour Party had a tremendous difficulty in winning the mass of the trade unions over from their traditional Liberalism. The "Socialism" even of the I.L.P. was constantly objected to as an obstacle to the growth of the Party. Not until 1922 did the votes polled by the Labour Party exceed the total of its affiliated membership. The process of winning the trade unions over to Labour politics has been slow, but it has been sure.

The following table illustrates the growth of the Labour Party and its progress in electoral strength:

THE GROWTH OF THE LABOUR VOTE.

Year	seats contested	Seats won	Total votes	average per contest	average per seat won
1900	15	2	62,000	4,133	31,000
1906	50	29	323,000	6,460	11,137
1910 (Jan.)	78	40	505,000	6,474	12,652
1910 (Dec.)	56	42	370,000	6,607	8,809
1918	361	57	2,244,000	6,216	39,368
1922	414	142	4,236,000	10,231	29,830
1923	427	191	4,348,000	10,182	22,764
1924	514	151	5,551,000	10,798	36,758

Not only does this table show the steady rise of the Labour Vote (with the sole exception of the December election in 1910, when owing to financial difficulties and political deference to the Liberals, the Labour Party was unable to poll its full strength) but it demonstrates also several other things.

The average per contest shows that the growth in the total vote is no chance local symptom; its size in 1924 conclusively disposes of the "stampede" theory. The average per seat won shows how illusory is the number of seats obtained as a test of absolute or relative electoral strength.

Finally a comparison of the averages for the "Khaki" election of 1900, the "Win the War" election of 1918, and the "Kill Communism" election of 1924, shows a steady progress in the solidity of the Labour vote in the teeth of furious Imperialist propaganda.

It should be noted, too, as evidence of the illusionness of the number of seats obtained as a test of the "democratic will" that the average of votes per contest and per seat gained was lower in the election of 1923 which gave Labour the Government than in that of 1924 which registered its "defeat."

This worthlessness of the British electoral system as a test of the "democratic will" is made clearer by the following comparison of the total votes for and against Labour in the last two elections with the respective allocation of seats:

	1923		1924	
	Votes	Seats	Votes	Seats
Anti-Labour	9,858,000	416	10,863,000	455
Labour	4,348,000	191	5,551,000	151
Anti-Labour Majority ...	5,510,000	225	5,312,000	304

So that not only does Labour with an increased vote get a smaller ration of seats, but an anti Labour majority *reduced* by $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. gets a majority of seats *increased* by 79, or over 30 per cent.

To show how little evidence there is of any "stampede" of the "electorate" against Labour, take the following comparison of votes cast to voters on the register:

	Total on register	Labour votes	Anti-Labour Votes
1924	19,948,000	5,551,000	10,863,000
1923	19,173,000	4,348,000	9,858,000
Increase	775,000	1,203,000	1,005,000
Increase per cent.	4.0 per cent.	27.4 per cent.	10.1 per cent.

Which shows that for all the loss of seats the Labour votes increased not only absolutely and in proportion to the number of votes cast, but also in much greater proportion than the increase of the electorate.

To finally demonstrate the worthlessness of the British elec-

toral system as a "democratic" test take the following table of comparisons :

Comparisons, 1923-1924 :

Percentage of voters on register polled	1923	1924
By all Parties	74.0	82.2
" Labour	22.6	27.8
" Conservatives	26.8	39.5
" Liberals	22.4	14.9
Anti-Labour Vote	51.4	54.4
Percentage of total votes actually cast :—		
Labour	30.6	33.8
Conservatives	39.0	48.0
Liberals	30.3	18.1
Anti-Labour Total	69.3	66.1
Percentage of seats obtained :—		
Labour	31.4	25.1
Conservatives	42.5	68.0
Liberal	26.0	6.5
Total Anti-Labour	68.5	74.5

The Conservatives, it will be seen, with less than half the actual votes, and only two-fifths of the possible votes have well over two-thirds of the seats. The Anti-Labour Parties with only a little more than half the possible votes, and less than two-thirds of the actual votes, secure nearly three-quarters of the seats.

The Anti-Labour Parties with a reduced proportion of the votes cast, secure a large increase of seats. The Labour Party while increasing its proportion both of the actual and possible votes, suffers a heavy decrease in its proportion of seats.

Thus a definite reduction in the opposition to Labour is converted into an increase in the Parliamentary voting strength against it.

And (as a final word on the "democracy" of the business) it should be noted that in no single instance during these two elections did the proportion of actual votes or of the electorate correspond with the seats allotted to either party.

LABOUR LOSSES.

So far we have dealt with the results quantitatively. The question now arises how is the Labour vote distributed and what charges can be inferred from any detail transfers of votes and seats. Take first the seats lost. The total of these was 64. In only twelve cases was the Labour vote less in the election of defeat than in that of victory.

These twelve (with their respective reductions of vote) were :

Barnard Castle	(— 19)	Northampton	(— 410)
Ipswich	(— 33)	The Wrekin	(— 532)
Swansea, W.	(— 72)	Whitehaven	(— 678)
S.E. Essex	(— 150)	Maldon	(— 1,006)
N. Salford	(— 263)	Frome	(— 1,250)
S. Norfolk	(— 306)	Harrow	(— 4,572)

As these were the only cases in which the Labour seat was lost with a *decreased* vote, it is here, if anywhere, that we should find the evidence of a stampede of electors away from Communism. Harrow, the worst case on the list was never a Labour seat at all. It only figures on the list by virtue of the fact that Oswald Mosley elected as an Independent joined the Labour Party after election. It has never before been contested by a Labour candidate as such, and the vote of 9,507 for the Labour candidate is quite creditable—in fact so surprisingly good as to prove the reverse of a “stampede.”

Out of the twelve places in this list, eight are at least partly, if not mainly, agricultural. Only in two cases were they predominantly industrial. Finally, only in one instance out of the twelve is there a Communist group of any sort anywhere near. Thus the direct effect of Communist agitation upon the result is imperceptible.

Of the total of 64 seats lost by the Labour Party, there were lost :—

In three-cornered contests	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	14
In straight fights	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	50

If we deduct from the straight fights the seven cases in which the Labour vote was decreased, we get a total of 43 seats whose loss was clearly due to the united capitalist front against Labour.

In the 14 cases where Labour lost the seat in a three-cornered contest, it obviously had been treated to a lucky win last time; the five instances in which the Labour vote decreased being evidently due to personal considerations.

In the seven cases in which the Labour vote decreased in a straight fight it is noteworthy that every case was that of a wholly or partly agricultural area.

THE LABOUR GAINS.

Compare with these cases of Labour loss, the 22 contests in which Labour scored a gain :

	Total vote	Average
1924	297,704	13,532
1923	222,047	10,093
Increase	75,657	3,439

The distribution of these gains is worth while noting as follows :—

Yorkshire, 6; Scotland, 4; Midlands, 3; North East, 3; London, 3; Lancs, 2; Eastern, 1. Total 22.

Thus the areas with the greatest density of population give the greatest relative advance of Labour.

The comparative distribution of Labour seats area by area illustrates this point :—

POSITION OF THE LABOUR PARTY BY AREAS.

	Labour and Communist	All others	Total seats
Scotland	26	45	71
Yorkshire	24	33	57
London	20	42	62
Lancs and Cheshire	18	62	80
North-East	16	12	28
Wales	16	19	35
W. Midlands	11	39	50
E. Midlands	9	37	46
Greater London	7	31	38
South West Counties	2	39	41
Eastern Counties	2	30	32
North-West Counties	1	5	6
Southern Counties	—	45	45
Ulster	—	12	12
Universities	—	12	12
	<hr/> 152	<hr/> 463	<hr/> 615

From this it will be seen that the allocation of Labour members is in substantially exact correlation with the greatest concentration of population and industry. Proportionately the highest average is held by the North-East, which has a majority of Labour members of four. But it should be remembered that an equally great proportion of Labour members to total representation could be obtained by drawing the boundaries of areas differently.

For instance the West Riding of Yorkshire taken separately has a clear Labour majority—23 Labour members against 20 anti-Labour. Glasgow and South Wales each show a similar result.

But most important for us are the movements at the last election. The following table of Labour gains and losses by areas will make these clear :—

LABOUR GAINS AND LOSSES BY AREAS.

	Gains	Losses	Net balance
North-East	3	1	plus 2
Yorkshire	6	5	plus 1
W. Midlands	3	3	—
Universities	—	1	minus 1
London	4*	6	" 2
North-West	—	2	" 2
South-West	—	2	" 2
South	—	3	" 3
Wales	—	3	" 3
E. Midlands	—	4	" 4
Eastern	1	6	" 5
Lancs and Cheshire	2	9	" 7
Greater London	—	7	" 7
Scotland	4	12	" 8
Total	<hr/> 23*	<hr/> 64	<hr/> 41

* Including one Communist.

With this table should be compared the fact that cases of Labour defeat with a decline of votes from 1923 were distributed : Eastern Counties, 4; and one each in the North-Eastern, North-West, Lancashire, East Midlands, West Midlands, Greater London, Wales and South Western.

Taken by industries the Labour victories may be approximately allocated as follows :—

Miners, 3.1 per cent. ; Iron and Steel Workers, 22 per cent. ; Textile Workers, 15 per cent. ; other workers, 32 per cent.

As evidence of the solidarity of the Labour vote, we may take this comparison between 1923 and 1924. In the 404 cases in which a seat was contested by official Labour candidates in both elections, the Labour vote was :—

1923	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4,266,682
1924	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4,920,203
Increase	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	653,521

Thus of the total increase in the Labour vote more than one-half was a positive increase obtained in previously contested areas. A further set-off against the gains in votes from new candidatures exists in the six cases where a Labour candidate was opposed in 1923 and unopposed in 1924.

THE COMMUNIST VOTE.

No account has been taken in the above given statistics of voting of the eight cases in which Communists stood as candidates without official Labour endorsement. These must be treated in a separate category since in every case they had to struggle against the additional handicap of official Labour opposition (direct or indirect). The results in these eight cases were :—

In Battersea (North), S. Saklatvala, defeated in 1923 as an official Labour candidate, increased his vote from 12,341 to 15,096 and won the seat in 1924 as an unofficial Labour candidate.

In Bethnal Green, J. Vaughan, increased his vote from 5,251 to 6,024—despite the stigma of “unofficial.”

In Greenock, Geddes' vote was decreased from 10,355 to 7,590 by the intervention of an I.L.P. candidate, who polled 5,874.

In West Birmingham, Dr. Dunstan contesting a seat previously contested by an official Labour candidate, polled 7,158 as against 9,983 by his predecessor.

In Rusholme, W. Paul, polled 5,328 as against 5,366 secured by him as the official Labour candidate a year before.

In Dundee, R. Stewart, polled 8,340 as against the 10,380 previously polled by Gallacher.

In Nottingham, E. and in Streatham, Tom Mann and A. Wall polled 2,696 and 3,204 votes respectively, in divisions never before contested by Labour.

The total vote for the six divisions contested both in 1923 and 1924, was an aggregate of 52,656, and 49,536 respectively. The loss in the aggregate is thus less than the votes lost by the intervention of the sabotage candidate in Greenock.

The whole series of Communist candidates suffered the full bitterness of the official Labour hostility and the decline recorded for them as against those of 1923 gives the measure of the evil thus done. It proves that the only symptom of "stampede" away from the Labour standard is that created by the official Labour Party itself. If we add to the above totals the votes for Ferguson (Kelvin Grove); Newbold (Motherwell), Price (Gloucester City), and Wilkinson (Ashton), with those of their official Labour successors in 1924, we can set out the full results thus:—

	1923	1924
Ashton	6,208	7,451
Battersea, N.	12,341	15,096
Bethnal Green	5,251	6,024
Birmingham, W.	9,983	7,158
Dundee	10,380	8,340
Greenock	10,335	13,464*
Gloucester	8,127	8,005
Kelvingrove	11,167	12,844
Motherwell	8,712	12,816
Nottingham, E.	—	2,696
Rusholme	5,366	5,328
Streatham	—	3,204

* Combined Labour vote.

The various fluctuations in these votes give (if allowance is made for the improvement in the general Labour average, a measure of the influence of Labour central authority over the disciplined trade union vote. The two constituencies in which the Communist improved his votes are chiefly General Workers areas. Where the vote was that of more compact and traditionalised trade unionists, the official Labour opposition or approval made the difference.

THE CONCLUSION FROM THESE FACTS.

From the whole of the above facts and comparisons certain conclusions can be drawn.

The most obvious is the general conclusion that the Labour Vote consists mainly of that of the trade unions (with their women-folk) and that this has now been completely detached from its one-time loyalty to the Liberal Party. That it has also been won almost entirely from Liberalism itself to its new orthodoxy of Labourism also follows from its steadfastness in the teeth of the most vigorous and unprincipled anti-Socialist campaign on record.

A second conclusion supplementing this is that of the utter unreliability from the Labour standpoint of the middle class and would-be middle class vote. It is safe to say that the majority of Labour losses were due to the defection of this type of voter or to the fact that greater numbers of these were roused to vote for Reaction than ever.

A third conclusion is that Labour's weak points are (1) the agricultural workers; (2) the general workers' areas in the larger towns (*e.g.*, London, Liverpool, Manchester, Leeds, Bristol, Cardiff, Swansea, etc.), and (3) the whole cotton area. In each of these cases the backwardness is co-relative with a quantitative or qualitative backwardness of trade unionism.

A fourth conclusion is that the Labour solidity is more the result of a chrySTALLISING class sentiment than that of any positive merit in the Labour leadership or programme. Both were as weak and confused as they could well be.

A fifth and final conclusion is that while the mass of Labour supporters are by no means revolutionary, they contain, as a mass, a much higher revolutionary potentiality than ever. The peaks of revolutionary enthusiasm are lower than they were in (say) 1918, but the shallows are correspondingly higher. The average of class consciousness is more widely diffused. This (taken in conjunction with the wholesale move of the Liberal middle class over to the Tory Party) means that the political lines of class cleavage are more clearly drawn than ever. If, as seems inevitable, the victorious Reaction follow up their political success with an industrial offensive, the development of class consciousness in the massed areas of proletarian concentration may proceed at a rate such as to astonish everybody.

The Communist Party may look forward to the future with every confidence. The official Labour Party will for some time be able to mobilise Labour solidarity to its disparagement, and it will probably have to face a period of acute persecution at the hands of the triumphant Tories. But the latter will neither desire nor be able clearly to discriminate between Communists proper and the militants of trade unionism; and the former will be unable for ever to pursue a policy of conciliation of a capitalism that is at once too strong and too hard-pressed to have any need or desire for conciliation.

We are not far from the period when class antagonisms will ripen into open and conscious conflict; and when that state of things exists, the pre-conditions will have arisen for the mass recruiting of the Communist Party.

T. A. JACKSON.

Leninism in Theory and Practice

THIS 100-page booklet, which has just been published by our French brother Party, is the reprint of a series of lectures on Leninism delivered in Moscow by Comrade Staline, the General Secretary of the Russian Communist Party.

It gives the main features of Leninism in tabloid form, easily digestible, and each point is illustrated by a suitable quotation from Lenin's writings.

For the toiling masses of the world to-day, there is but one hope: the proletarian revolution, the world revolution. Leninism springs from the proletarian revolution. Leninism is Marxism in the epoch of imperialism and the proletarian revolution: it is at once the theory and the tactics of the proletarian revolution in general, and the dictatorship of the proletariat in particular.

The extraordinarily pugnacious and revolutionary spirit of Leninism may be ascribed in part to the above facts: but it is also due to the fact that one of the outstanding and most important features of Leninism lay (and lies) in the struggle against the opportunism of the Social-Democrats, of the Second International. The complete defeat and exposure, in theory and in practice of the Social-Democrats and reformist Labour leaders of all shades, is an *absolutely necessary* condition of victory over capitalism.

CAPITALIST CONTRADICTIONS.

The imperialist epoch of capitalist development is characterised by three great series of "contradictions" within the framework of capitalist society. The *first* is the ever-growing antagonism between capital (organised in great trusts and monopoly combines), and Labour. The old methods of trade union, co-operative and parliamentary struggle against the domination of capital are hopelessly insufficient. The *second* is the antagonism of the different groups of imperialist finance-capital, operating through the machinery of the various capitalist states, and their struggle for markets, raw materials, fields for investment and the export of capital, etc. This struggle carries within itself always the germs of imperialist war. The *third* is the antagonism be-

tween the few big imperialist "civilised" nations and the many small nations, and the hundreds of millions of the exploited, "backward" colonial peoples.

This last point is of pre-eminent importance for the workers in a great imperialist country like Britain. British imperialist capitalism gains its power to maintain its domination over the workers at home by its exploitation of India, Egypt, Mesopotamia, etc. But it is just there that the chain of capitalism is weakest, just there that it is most susceptible to attack. Just there it must be attacked, relentlessly and uncompromisingly.

"Our "Socialist"-imperialists, our J. H. Thomas' and our Thomas Johnstons' should be confronted by the workers with these words of Lenin's :

"The centre round which should form the education and internationalism of the workers in an imperialist country must be the propaganda and the active support of the right of the oppressed peoples to their complete independence from the exploiting country. Without this, "internationalism" does not exist. We can and must expose as an imperialist and a scoundrel every Socialist in an imperialist State who does not carry out this propaganda. The right to independence of the exploiting country is an absolutely necessary demand even though until the coming of Socialism it may only be possible in one case in a thousand."

It is impossible in a short notice, to give anything like a complete idea of the wide range of Comrade Staline's booklet. But it is to be hoped that ways and means will be found of issuing an English translation within a very short time.

Every militant worker, and most certainly every Party member, should have this booklet. We all need to soak ourselves in the spirit of Leninism, in the spirit that made the Bolshevik Party, if we are to build a real Bolshevik Party, a mass Communist Party, in this country. Comrade Staline's booklet offers the simplest and best introduction to the subject.

LENIN, THE STRATEGIST.

We cannot do more here than refer to the chapters on the Party as the advance guard of the proletariat and to the *method* of Leninism—the *testing* of the theories of the Second International by experience, not merely by academic discussion: the ruthless *criticism*, not merely of the deviations of the Social-Democrats, but of the shortcomings and failures of the revolutionary working class Party itself.

Lenin has been described by Losovsky as "the great strategist of the class struggle." Revolutionary strategy consists in the

determination of the direction of the working class attack in a given historical period, and the consequent necessary disposition of the revolutionary forces during that period. Tactics is a subordinate part of strategy, consisting in the employment of all the possible means and forms of class struggle and working class organisation in order to secure, in any given immediate situation, the maximum possible results necessary for the preparation of the final strategic victory. Tactics may vary a great deal during a simple period in which the strategic direction remains the same.

One of the chief features of Leninist strategy is the utilisation of the "reserves" of the revolution. The reserves of the revolution may be the peasantry or the exploited petty bourgeoisie, the revolutionary movement in the colonies, etc. These are the direct reserves of the revolution. There are also *indirect* reserves, such as the conflicts between the various imperialist States which may be used to weaken the enemy and to gain time for the proletarian revolution.

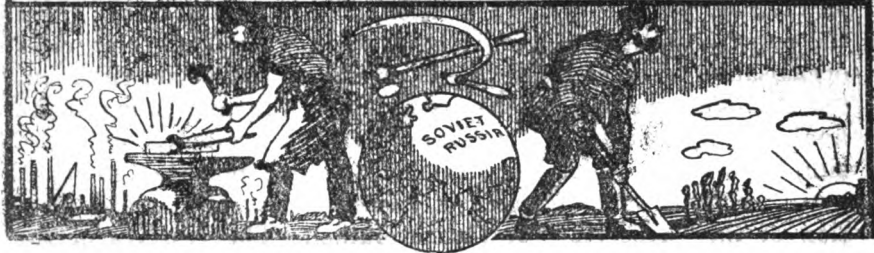
In concluding this notice, it will be as well to insist chiefly on the importance of the revolutionary and nationalist movement in the "backward" countries exploited by British imperialism: for that movement, or rather movements, is the chief "reserve" of the British revolution.

Until we, the revolutionary vanguard of the British working class, know how to make use of this, our chief "reserve" (and we have fallen lamentably short in the past) we will never lead the workers to victory in this country.

G. A. HUTT.

* *Le Léninisme théorique et pratique*, by J. Staline. (Paris: *L'Humanité*. 2 francs.) On sale at the Communist Bookshop, 9d.

INTERNATIONAL REVIEW



SWEDEN.

The Hoeglund Group and the C.P.

It is now possible to judge the final results of the Party split in Sweden. Taken as a whole we can say that these results mean a complete victory for the Communist International.

In its fight against Hoeglund, the Communist International appealed to the Party membership by means of a referendum. Hoeglund did not recognise this referendum, he even went so far as to issue a proclamation to the members of the Party forbidding them to take part in it. Hoeglund had the whole official Party apparatus in his hand and controlled the Party press. In spite of this the Executive of the Comintern succeeded in having the referendum carried out among the whole Party. Out of 8,000 party members, no less than 6,064 took part in the referendum. The overwhelming majority, 5,282 of the Party members recorded an affirmative vote, that is, for the Communist International, 123 voted against it, 477 refrained from voting and 188 declared themselves "neutral." Out of the 283 local organisations of the Party, no less than 215 took part in the referendum.

To-day, the section of the Communist International in Sweden has over 6,000 Party members, while the Hoeglund group has only about 1,500.

A further indication of the relative strength of our Party compared with the seceded group is the press. In the split we have succeeded in capturing almost the whole Party Press: The section of the C.I. has retained the following papers: two

daily newspapers, one of them being *Politiken*, the Central organ of the Party; two papers which appear three times a week; two papers appearing twice a week; the weekly paper of the Youth League and the monthly magazine of the women. The Hoeglund group was only able to deprive us of one paper which appears three times a week. After the split, Hoeglund founded a new daily in Stockholm.

The Results of the Elections.

The results of the parliamentary elections prove beyond doubt that we have been able in the split not only to retain the overwhelming majority of Party members, but also the entire mass influence of the Party. In the elections held in September, our Party polled 65,283 votes, while on the other hand, the Hoeglund group polled only 24,619 votes. Our section obtained four seats, the Hoeglund group only one.

In judging this result one must bear in mind that the Party split took place immediately before the parliamentary elections, and was used against our Party by the whole bourgeois, social democratic and syndicalist press. In the split Hoeglund retained not only the official electioneering apparatus, but also the funds which had been collected for the elections. He enjoyed the full support of the entire bourgeoisie, as well as of social democracy, while our section was regarded as the enemy and was opposed in the most brutal fashion. A complete united front, from the extreme right to Hoeglund was set up against our Party, which made use of the intervention of the

Executive of the C.I. It was declared that our Swedish section was not a Swedish Party, that it was at the service of a foreign power, and that the representative of the Executive Committee is now behaving in Sweden in the same way as did formerly the "Russian provosts," the one-time instruments of foreign suppression over the Swedish people.

Our Party has lost two seats out of six, but not because there was a reduction in the vote recorded, but only because Hoeglund instructed his followers to vote for the social democrats. For the rest, the results of the elections have shown with brutal clearness the fraudulent character of Swedish democracy. The proportional representation system works entirely against us. Even a Liberal newspaper, the *Dagens Nyheter*, of 5th October, declared that the system of proportional representation works in the interest of the great parties, as the social democrats obtained a seat for every 7,000 votes polled, the Peasants' Union for every 7,900, the Democrats for every 8,600, the Liberals for every 16,500, and the Communists for every 17,700.

The figures as to the Party membership, the party press and the election prove beyond dispute that the Hoeglund group is an impotent sect, and that the Swedish section of the Communist International is in reality the Communist Party of Sweden.

J.P.

CHINA.

Manifesto of Women's Section Comintern.

The new pressure of Anglo-American imperialism proves that Anglo-American capitalism is putting forth every effort to regain control over China.

In order to achieve this end it was necessary for Anglo-American capital to cripple the national revolutionary movement, and to nip the Communist movement in the bud. Anglo-American capital is not prepared to yield up voluntarily the rich resources of the country and the opportunity of exploiting the cheap labour power, especially that of women and children.

Of very great importance in order to form a picture of the exploitation at present obtaining, is the report of a commission set up by the administration in Shanghai to investigate conditions of child labour. According to this report, in 275 factories in Shanghai, and its surroundings, there are employed, 175,000 persons, of whom 44,000 are men and boys above 12 years, 106,000 are women and girls above 12 years, while there are 4,500 boys and 18,000 girls under 12 years. The children are already accepted in the factories at the age of 6 to 7 years. As regards the other industries, they represent the same picture—everywhere women and children constitute the majority of the employed. In 500 large and medium factories there are employed 34,000 grown men and youths, and 99,000 adult women and girls in their teens. In the same factories there are employed 4,500 boys and 17,000 girls. In the cotton industry there are employed in 38 of the largest factories, 23,000 men, 61,000 women and 7,500 children. In the silk industry, nearly 50 per cent. of the children employed are under 12 years. The conditions of work are very severe. Thus, for instance, they work over 12 hours a day; while women and children are allowed to do night work. The inevitable results are: sickness, disease and infantile mortality, which devour many victims and thereby weaken the Chinese proletariat.

Just at the present moment, when the militarist-capitalist struggle for the control of the world market is being fought out, precisely now with the foreign intervention against the national revolutionary movement in China, it is one of the most important tasks for the Communist Parties of England, America and of the Western countries in general, to call the attention of the women proletariat to the danger which threatens the national revolutionary movement in China and the Kuomintang Party from Anglo-American capitalism.

Our comrades, the Communist women of Western Europe, must summon the broadest masses of the female proletariat to active support of the national revolutionary movement of China, and against international imperialism. Our women comrades must also call upon the women of other proletarian organisations, as for instance, the co-operative societies,

etc., to render support to the slogan, "Hands Off China!" The working women and the peasant women of Soviet Russia know that the struggle of the Chinese people against world imperialism is part of their own struggle, and they, therefore, stand at the side of the fighting Chinese proletariat. They are joining the "Hands off China" League in masses, and their example must be followed by the proletarian women of the Western European countries.

THE SOVIET SOLUTION OF THE PROBLEMS OF NATIONALITIES.

(The autonomous republics of the Soviet Union—National languages, instruction and the Press.)

The principles of national policy, proclaimed by the October Revolution, in its declaration of the Rights of the Peoples of Russia, are strictly applied. The Civil War has hindered us from applying these systematically, but where it has been possible, we have put first the national problem, and its solution has, to an appreciable extent, facilitated our victory.

The cultural level and the economic situation of the different peoples in the Soviet Union, vary from the nomadic patriarchal life and feudalism to a highly developed capitalism. Their geographical and ethnographical situation is also very different. The result is a diversity in the social constitution.

We have at this moment the following national States forming the allied Republics :—

(1) R.S.F.S.R. (Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic), comprising three Republics and ten autonomous territories.

(2) The Ukraine.

(3) White Russia.

(4) The Federated Republic of Soviets of Transcaucasia, which comprises in its turn the Republics of Azerbeidjan, Georgia and Armenia.

The R.S.F.S.R. embraces the autonomous Republics :—

- (1) Tartar.
- (2) Bashkirs.
- (3) Kirghiz.
- (4) Turkestan.
- (5) Osétie.
- (6) Ingouchétie.
- (7) Daghestan.
- (8) Crimea.
- (9) Bouriate-Mongolia.
- (10) Yakute.
- (11) Korelia.
- (12) Germans of the Volga.

The autonomous territories of the R.S.F.S.R. are as follows :—

- (1) Tchouvaches.
- (2) Mari.
- (3) Votiaks.
- (4) Kalmouks.
- (5) Souriens.
- (6) Khobardins-Balkans.
- (7) Kara-Tcherkesses.
- (8) Tchetchentsi.
- (9) Adigoi.
- (10) Oirat (or Altai).

A provisional decree provides for the division of the Republic of Turkestan in its separate national States. The two popular Republics, Bokhara and Khiva, adhere formally to the Soviet Union.

There are institutions of national minorities living upon territories of the Union. These minorities are :—

- (1) Jews.
- (2) Poles.
- (3) Letts.
- (4) Finns.
- (5) Esthonians.

The national struggles of old Russia will soon be overcome. The anti-Semitic pogroms are a thing of the past. All the nationalities are equal.

In the national Republic there is no "Russification." The mother language is always the language of the State. The same with instruction. By approval, courses are held in the Russian language in all the schools, even in the provinces where all the population never spoke other than Ukrainian. There are now Ukrainian Universities. Some of the people who never had any national literature, have developed one since the Revolution.

Popular instruction has made in the Orient, remarkable progress. A few years ago, 94 per cent. of the Kirghiz and 99 per cent. of the Tukomans were illiterate. They are emerging rapidly from their obscurantism.

Communist Universities of the Orient exist at Tashkent, Kazan and Moscow. Sixty-two nationalities are represented.

The Oriental University of Moscow has 1,500 students. The Occidental Communist University of Moscow comprises nine national schools, including Letts, Esthonians, Lithuanians, White Russians, Rumanians, Jews, Germans, Poles and Finns. In many of the big towns the Soviet and Communist schools have national sections.

One of the most important acquisitions of the liberated nationalities is their press. The peoples of the Orient under the old regime never had periodic press, or any literature apart from religious literature. The nationalities of Central Russia were a

little more fortunate, but even their press, although mediocre, was habitually interfered with. There exist 108 national journals, eight journals appearing in the Kirghiz language and 18 in the Tartar language. The press of the nationalities constitutes 20 per cent. of the entire press of the Soviet Union.

The State Library edits books in the most diverse languages. The number of works printed in languages other than that of Russian, has increased this year by 114 per cent. in comparison with the past year. It has been decided to publish the principal works of Lenin in the several national languages, and the Congress of Soviets has voted the necessary credits.

Book Review

SKILL IN WORK AND PLAY. By T. H. PEAR, Price 4/- net. Methuen & Co., 36, Essex Street, London, W.C.

For a couple of decades considerable research and experimental work has been applied to industry, the names of Taylor and Gilbreth being especially associated with such studies. During the war an impulse was given to this experimental work under the Industrial Fatigue Research Board, and the National Institute of Industrial Psychology. Today, there is quite a large movement associated with the problem of psychology in industry, with the inevitable theorists. Professor Pear is one of these.

The background of this movement is not difficult to see. It is the old question of time-saving in capitalist economy. So intense is the scramble for profit in industry that professors, like the author, have been driven to carry out their experiments in various fields of human activity outside industry. Thus Professor Pear is obliged to study piano-playing, skating, cycling, golf, etc., for muscular movements, and, by *analogy*, suggest methods for training in industry.

The most important part of this otherwise abstract and technical book is the chapter on Training in Industry. Here we see the Professor breaking against the old rock in capitalist economy. The worker in industry to-day is more and more becoming an automaton with no say in the control and direction of industry. He is bereft of "ideals." Even the technical acquisitions of the "foreman" are only a means to an end, viz., getting a living. The objective, always in peril with insecurity, merely produces "robots."

Industry, for the large mass of the workers, can only find its soul when private aggrandisement with its exploitation gives way to a new order under working class control. Only then will the industrial psychologists be able to realise fully their ideals in industry. And that will be under Communism. Under Communism more so than to-day, technical skill, and experimental work will be an important factor in industry. The present craze for technical skill in itself, is not an evil; the evil is its perversion to-day for profiteering interests.

T.B.

The Forum

Under this heading readers of the "The Communist Review" are invited to send in letters or contributions on specific questions relating to the working class movement. The Editor does not guarantee publication, nor accept responsibility for the views expressed when published. No M.S.S. returned unless accompanied with stamped addressed envelope. All contributions should not exceed 750 words, be written in a clear hand, and signed.

PARTY RECRUITING.

Notes on "Unconscious Conversion to Communism.

Have you a friend or workmate who you think would be likely to respond if a real effort were made to bring him into the movement? You want to bring him along, but you are doubtful about the right way to get to work. Well, these notes are written to throw out a few helpful suggestions.

Many years ago, a writer said: "The proper study of mankind is man." By that he meant, the first duty of men was to try and understand other men, so that, out of this understanding, appreciation and sympathy would become more extensive. In order, however, to attain this end one had, as it were, to try and get inside other people's mentality, try and think their thoughts and get their outlook on life.

As this advice was, in our opinion, good, let us try and take the motto to heart and apply it, for we think it is a useful way of obtaining the results we want.

The capitalist class took this maxim to heart and put it to practical use long ago. In current jargon, our masters and their intellectual hacks have made a serious study of what is called "human psychology." Out of their studies they have learnt fairly well how to arouse, suppress or direct what is known as the "mob mind." They know how humanity in the mass is likely to act under given circumstances, what appeals to it and what is repugnant to it; and being anxious above all things to maintain their position of dominance, they have set out to allay discontent by creating for the worker when he is away from his work an environ-

ment which, while preventing serious thought, is yet sufficiently attractive to appeal strongly to those who naturally look for something in the way of amusement to compensate them for the dreary monotony of their deadly toil.

Our masters have power, money, influence; their hacks have knowledge, facility of expression and the power of perversion developed to the last degree. All these factors are brought into play as occasion demands, and as the interests of the moment dictate. Behind these, and working with them, there is law, tradition, religious dope, and, when necessary, force. There is also the blind acceptance by masses of people of conventional standards of what is right and wrong; and above all, there is that deadly thing, the inertia of tired minds in tired bodies responding promptly to light reading, light amusement, light recreation of any kind, but instinctively recoiling from anything else.

And knowing all these things, the boss caters accordingly. He knows that "all work and no play makes Jack a dull boy," also that when men have no compensations for hard work and poor living they are likely to become discontented and dangerous, and he therefore supplies that which is needful to fulfil the double purpose of providing idle recreation and of stopping serious thought.

For light casual reading, the press grinds out its daily amount of "sport"; it supplies sensations, stunts and pictures, concentrates on murders, big swindles and spicy divorces; it puffs the cinema, the lingerie sales, the latest limelight actress, or the "sane" trade union leader who by "sheer merit, honesty and thrift has risen from engine-

cleaner to Minister of State." Along with this, it sedulously cultivates respect for law and order; and where respect is not to be had, it inculcates fear. By many subtle means it fosters the spirit of servility to the institutions of Monarchy and "Society," and all the while it is teaching these things, there is a steady under-current of hostility to all combinations of workmen, and a continued attempt to split the workers among themselves.

Other methods are used as well. There is the silly novel for the silly mind; the muck novel for the neurotic, the Scouts and Girl Guides for Honour, Glory and Implicit Obedience, the enticements of the army for the lad who is "down and out," the pleasantly painful Sunday afternoon, with its brief brotherly discourse for those whose souls want saving, and for others there are the cinema, the billiard halls, the big fights, Capt. Coe's finals, and as a last resort the pleasures of the local "monkey parade."

No one can deny that these methods have been successful, and that the cause of Communism suffers very seriously thereby. The real reason that they are successful is due to the scientific application by our masters of two methods: first, the mis-education of the children of the poor, and secondly, the provision of interests of some kind for the worker when he is no longer a slave to the machine. It would appear that this success is likely to continue for a long time longer, unless we can devise some method, use some means, whereby we are able to interest the worker in our cause.

The question arises, how can we emulate the example set by our masters? We have none of their wealth, and only a small press. We cannot resort to wide advertising stunts. We cannot organise enticing displays in the open, for this means money beyond our command; and, in addition, at present we take very little advantage of such things as May Days, where much good might be done.

But while we are not in the advantageous position of our enemy, we yet have certain opportunities not available to them, which if used, would cumulatively bring big results

to us. First of all, we have the important opportunity of constant daily association with members of our own class; we have personal knowledge of what life means to a worker; we have, in countless cases, suitable soil in which to plant our ideas if we will only do it. Further, we have on our side—despite the attempts to retard it—the slow swinging of many advanced workers to the left, and the growing readiness to listen to Communist speakers. There is also the widening recognition that the Press is hostile to working class interests; a growing suspicion of the "benevolence" of capitalism as manifested mainly through its religious and political channels, and a doubt as to whether, after all, the Parliamentary machine can do much.

These tendencies show the development of a mentality which is vaguely groping and feeling its way from accepted standards. This development is, of course, largely unconscious, but it exists, due primarily to the worsening of industrial conditions. It is a good field in which to work, and it is up to us to take full advantage of it.

Try and make a study of the matter. Do not waste time on the kind of human material which past experience has shown to be impossible of approach. Do not appeal to the cringing or the servile mind, to the boastful "individualist" or the "superior" person, or to the man whose interests are best served by opposing yours. On the other hand, do try and get into contact with the man of independent spirit who is willing to fight rather than be suppressed, who has a keen sense of justice, and is prepared to back his views by action if necessary. Get alongside the man who is not swayed by current cant, the man of enquiring disposition, the man who is in his union of his own accord and not because of pressure from his mates. These are the types worth following. You will find them in every workshop.

Just one example. Among them you are bound to find men who read novels. Recommend to them that type of novel which both educates and interests at the same time. What about the fine works of Jack London, Frank Norris, Ernest Poole, W. L. George, Galsworthy, Tressady, Welsh, etc? The reading of these would

probably have far more influence at the beginning than all the talking you could do. They teach in a highly interesting way the nature of the class struggle; they arouse sympathy with the bottom dog; they lay bare the workings of the capitalist system; and any ordinary intelligent man who reads them is never the same as he was before. After this, you could get on to other stuff—economics, workers' histories, the weekly paper, and the general literature of the movement. Do not, however, start by offering such works as "Capital" or a thesis on the 21 points. If you do, the chap will wonder what it is all about, and after a little while return the book to you with a yawn. Go softly, step by step, remembering that the human mind is subject to evolutionary development provided the right road is taken with it. So study tactics. Don't be afraid of making a mistake, but start!

The above is just a hint in one direction of how work could be done. You could ally with this personal chats; and if the chap is promising, them do their own thinking as much as possible, but be ready to answer

difficulties and offer helpful suggestions whenever you can. Remember invitations to meetings. Always let that success, like genius, consists in an infinite capacity for taking pains. Masses of workers can be interested in our cause if we each individually do our bit.

A closing word. The great danger is apathy. There is too much belief in the inevitability of Communism through the blind operation of what is called the "economic factors." Alongside of this, there are numbers of comrades who apparently want exciting times—elections or strikes—before they will begin to work. To work, if only in spurts, is to be welcomed, but the better man is he who recognises that as a member of the Party he is under an obligation to help it, and who, in sunshine or snow, in exciting or depressing times, in the limelight or out of it, quietly and persistently does his work. He does it because he is really interested in the movement, and wants to help all he can. Comrades, take the tip!

F. VICKERS.

