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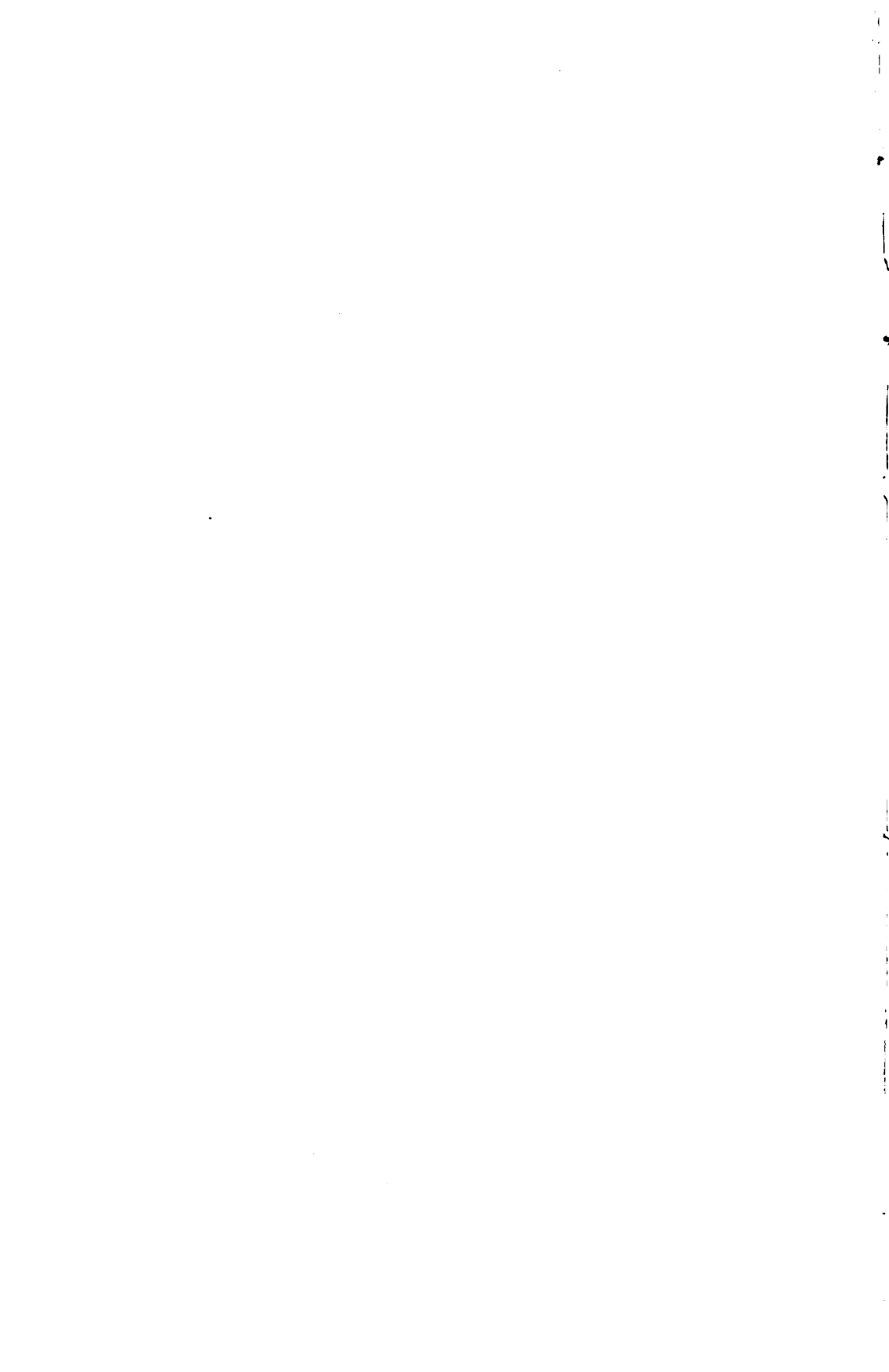
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THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN
16, King Street, Covent Garden, W.C.2



Review of the Month

The Secret Conference

JUDGING by the press of the country, one of the most important political events last month was the "secret" conference held by the Communist Party. This important meeting of delegates, representing the various branches of the Party, was so secret that its time and place had been publicly announced in the *Daily Herald*, *The Communist*, and other papers several weeks prior to its being held. It is simply amazing how the sleuths of the daily press are able to discover things! While *The Star* was able to whisper to its readers that the Reds were meeting in secret, *The Evening News* supplied its customers with a long report of the opening speech of the conference, sent in by its representative, who had been invited to attend the opening session.

Every political organisation in the country discusses its internal affairs behind closed doors. What seems to be discretion and good sense when practised by the Coalition, Conservatives, and Liberals, becomes a plot when indulged in by the Communists.

The main features of the Party conference have already been duly reported in *The Communist*. As was to be expected, the big questions were the United Front and the problem of Labour Party affiliation.

In certain quarters it was hinted that the fight on the United Front would wreck the Party. There was no fight on this question at all; on no point was there such unanimity. The delegates discussed the tactic from two angles. It was analysed as a tactic, and the methods of applying it were also discussed. The delegates supplied a number of highly important reasons why the tactic should be adopted. It is only in a conference where many minds see many points, that one can realise how far-reaching in its influence, is the United Front. In a conference it becomes a problem with many sides. Not only does it influence our policy; it must transform the tactics of our temporary allies inside the Labour movement, and it must react upon the policy of the ruling class in its attitude towards the masses.

We must confess that one or two delegates seemed to imagine that by a Single Front was meant a single front with the Labour Party. It cannot be over-emphasised that the tactic involves co-operation with every political group, Left, Centre, and Right, in the working class movement. It means *unity of action*, against the employing class, with the masses through every industrial section of the organised proletariat.

The need for such a policy was tragically evident on Black Friday. To-day it is needed more than ever.

It must be admitted that, at first sight, it would seem the critics of the extreme left are quite right when they say that it is difficult for sincere revolutionists to unite with certain Labour leaders, who are only famous because of their treacheries and betrayals. But the central point of the United Front policy is not so much unity with

the leaders as it is unity with the masses in action. It is necessary in order to unite with the masses to reach them through the leaders. It may be possible to affect a United Front from below during a struggle. In preparing for a big fight we will be compelled to negotiate with the leaders. We must not be afraid to do this. If the leaders agree to a united mass struggle, it will lead to success in the skirmishes and struggles against capitalism. No group in the working class movement, no matter how sectarian it may be, can reasonably reject such a proposal. If the leaders refuse to co-operate in a fight against the employing class they at once stand naked as traitors. Thus the United Front which makes *action* the test of sincerity, is a policy that will show the masses who are their friends and enemies.

Already the Red International of Labour Unions has approached the Amsterdam International of Trade Unions, with a plea for uniting to organise a big struggle on international lines. The proposal has been abruptly turned down by the Amsterdammers. This clearly illustrates that whoever is responsible for breaking the present Labour front, it is certainly not the R.I.L.U. Whether the moderate leaders join the United Front or whether they reject it, the fact remains that the working class can see plainly that the Communists are at least doing their very best to serve the cause of Labour.

Practical Policies

ONE thing stood out very clearly at the recent Conference of the Communist Party. The delegates had no time for windy theoreticians. They demanded policies that could be put into operation immediately in order to show the masses that the Party was eager to participate in their everyday struggles. Had anyone dared to do, as was once the habit with many of us, to show how a perfect structural industrial organisation could be erected—but without any hope of ever attracting the masses—he would have been howled down. Faced with the engineering crisis, the unemployed, the results of Black Friday, and the critical international situation, the Conference sought to find ways and means to discover a line of action that would interest the masses. In this connection the tactic of the United Front offers a method of approaching the political and industrially organised workers of the country. The Conference stated most emphatically that the Party E.C. must do everything in its power to find the best methods of getting every group in the Labour movement together in order to discover some practical programme for joint action.

Our contemporary, the *Labour Monthly*, in its March issue puts forward a splendid suggestion regarding the united labour front, which ought to be taken up by every journal in the working class movement. It calls for a National Conference to prepare a united resistance against the capitalist attack. We agree that such a conference is overdue, and we pledge ourselves to offer every assistance in that direction. The suggestion thrown out by the *Labour Monthly* might be taken up by the *Daily Herald* and pushed forward.

The Rand Strike

SOME day the real and inner story of the splendid struggle of the Rand miners will be told in the pages of the COMMUNIST REVIEW. So far, with the exception of a splendid article in *The Communist* and some shorter contributions which appeared in other left wing papers, the case for the South African workers has been distorted with characteristic maliciousness by the capitalist press. Even from the fabrications of Fleet Street, one may gather that the Rand workers were forced into the struggle by the reckless attack of the mine owners. The workers were compelled to fight under such conditions that it looked as though their real enemies were the propertyless members of the black race, instead of the savage propertied interests of the "superior" white race. The press have recorded conflicts between the white and the black workers. What we have not been told is that the strikers did not attack the blacks *because of their colour*, these were only molested because the white mine owners used them as scabs. The strikers not only opposed the negroes who tried to break the strike, they also took steps to prevent white workers from blacklegging.

The capitalist class in S. Africa is faced with the terrible fact that the racial feuds which have so long weakened both the white and black wage earners, may be ended some day by an industrial mass organisation which will include all workers irrespective of creed or colour. In order to render impossible such a consummation the mine owners provoked a struggle between skilled and unskilled workers, which in the Rand meant a conflict between black and whites. It was hoped that by creating strife between these two groups that the *class struggle* would be turned into a *racial struggle*. Here we observe the malicious cunning used by the capitalists in their onslaught upon the conditions of the skilled workers. But why should we be surprised? Capitalist-imperialism, like every ruling power that preceded it, is only safe so long as it divides its enemies by sowing antagonisms among them.

The Communists stand for working class unity. Our creed is not the creed of white men alone. It is a creed that is based on class differences. We seek to marshal the propertyless masses of the whole world. There is no colour or racial distinction for us. We do not believe in the imperialist historical theory of superior and inferior races. So long as capitalism lasts, the disinherited masses must meet upon a basis of class unity and equality, to organise the requisite power to smash the propertied system.

Black, Yellow and White

WHEN we remember that capitalism is rapidly transforming the members of the coloured races into highly exploited wage-slaves, we see the urgent need for Communists to carefully study the growth of revolutionary tendencies among the black and yellow workers. Elsewhere in this month's REVIEW we publish two very important documents issued by the Egyptian proletariat and the rebel negroes of America. These two daring announcements completely justify the attitude adopted by the Communist International two years ago. All over the world the subject races are rising against imperialism. In India, Egypt, as in China, the so-called inferior peoples are proving their capacity

as organisers in their political demonstrations against the predatory policy of European and American capitalists. The Communist International, unlike the political parties of Socialism, is not afraid to proclaim its sympathy by word and deed, with the rebellious "backward" races. Every racial group and every subject nation that opposes capitalist imperialism, finds in the International Communist movement a valiant ally. We make no attempt to hide this important part of our work. When the Churchills and Curzons contend that we are actively engaged in assisting certain subject peoples to destroy British Imperial power we readily plead guilty. We are opposed to international imperialism, and the Communist International has publicly proclaimed that it will render assistance to every oppressed racial group or subject nation that opposes any of the large capitalist states.

The attitude of the leaders of the Second International in their dealings with the coloured races does not differ very much from that of the usual imperialist statesman. People like Mr. J. H. Thomas and Mr. Henderson always view the problems of native races and subject nations from the usual "superior" standpoint of the "great" white race. This explains why the moderates of the Labour Party are not trusted by the Indian and Egyptian rebels.

In America, South Africa, etc., it is the Trade Union leaders of the Amsterdam International who energetically oppose the organising of the black and yellow proletariat along with the white masses. The Amsterdammers don't seem to understand that in China and Japan the yellow workers have recently given evidence of their remarkable ability as organisers of Trade Unions and of their determination in conducting big industrial struggles. In India, Egypt and America, the black wage earners are organising. Thus the time is not far distant when even the whitest of the superior whites will be forced to admit that the blacks and the yellows have much more intelligence than the subsidised historians and venal anthropologists of the jingo capitalist states would have us believe.

Russian Famine

NOTHING in the deplorable history of British imperialism can equal its cold blooded refusal to assist in fighting the famine in Russia. The reason for refusal is based on the cynical assumption that Russia should be left alone. Had the Downing Street ghouls adopted that policy four years ago the famine would not have found Russia so ill prepared to combat it. For the benefit of our readers we reproduce elsewhere in this month's REVIEW the report on the famine drawn up by a distinguished American Committee. This Committee has no contact with the Labour Movement and it has no reason to defend the Soviet Government. Yet in its report one can see the blasting effects of Tsarism on agriculture. One can see what the war meant to Russian farming methods when the soil was stripped of men and horses. One can realise what the Churchill policy has done. Since 1917 the Czecho-Slovak soldiers, Denikin's, Kolchak's, and Wrangel's armies have played their murderous part in and about the famine region. It is difficult to imagine how disastrous was the destruction of railroads, great bridges, water tanks, coal mines, oil wells, etc.

The cumulative effect of these things has intensified the horror of the famine a thousand fold. Our Government committed most of these crimes, and now it has the black-hearted audacity to withhold help, on the ground that Russia should be left alone.

The report of the American Mission to the Far East is sold by the thousand in America. It ought to be widely distributed in this country too. What we lack in Britain is an energetic publication department to organise the printing of such things as the American report. There are various important reasons, of course, why it has been silently ignored in this country: it is, indirectly, one of the most scathing exposures of Churchill's policy ever written. This, however, is only a reason why it ought to be published and sold as cheaply as possible.

The cover design of the REVIEW this month is based on the work of a well-known French artist, who will be glad to know that his brilliant gifts are thus able to draw attention to one of the world's greatest tragedies.

Washington and the Future of China

By ARTHUR ROSENBERG

MR. WELLINGTON KOO, the parade diplomat of the Peking Government, has transferred the field of his activity from Geneva to Washington. The very clever and worthy Chinese was representing his country in Europe in the League of Nations. For some time he even presided over that estimable institution, and thus proved how high a Chinese can rise nowadays within the circles of international diplomacy if he only understands to swim with the stream. Mr. Wellington Koo, further, participated with solemn mien in the decision on the Upper Silesian question. Now he is to participate in the settlement of the Chinese question, and it is perfectly clear that he will have very much less to say in the Chinese question than he did in the Upper Silesian problem. Curiously enough, just twelve days before the opening of the Washington Conference, a very unpleasant accident happened—the Chinese Government had to admit its insolvency. The Chinese Government has not paid the interest on its American loan which fell due on the 1st of November. To put forward demands in the name of a bankrupt Government is not a very enviable position.

The international position of China, in view of the political dismemberment of that gigantic country, will in fact be extremely difficult. China passed through its Revolution ten years ago. The Chinese middle class at that time overthrew with surprising rapidity the feudal monarchy of the Manchus. The Chinese bourgeoisie was, however, unable to retain political power. In Peking there is a clique of reactionary generals who style themselves the Government of China. Further, in each province of China there is a military

governor with some thousands of soldiers. The chief steals precisely in the same manner as his subordinates, and the military governors are fighting one another. The Peking Government has no authority outside Peking. The Chinese Republic serves only as a cloak for a brutal, corrupt, and confused military rule. Only in one part of that country, with its 400,000,000 population, is there a really republican, democratic government, namely, in the big South China City of Canton, where Sun-Yat-Sen is at the head of an independent government. The military governors at all events pretend to recognise the Peking Government as the supreme authority, while Sun-Yat-Sen has openly declared war on the Peking militarists. The citizens of Canton declare that it is their intention to liberate the country from military rule, and to establish a united democratic Chinese Republic. Sun-Yat-Sen was the most prominent spiritual leader of the first Chinese Revolution. He opposed the militarist development, and was striving with his friends of Canton to bring the Chinese Revolution to a successful issue. Sun-Yat-Sen was supported in the first place by the students and generally by the young intellectuals who have grasped the idea that only together with the workers and peasants of the country will they succeed in defeating the Reaction. Thus Canton is giving a new impetus to the Chinese Revolution. At Washington, Mr. Wellington Koo is representing the Peking Government. The Canton Government is naturally disliked by the International capitalists because the Chinese Radical Democracy is just as much opposed to the foreign exploiters as they are to the internal oppressors. At Washington the Peking Government has been recognised as the actual representative of China. To this Sun-Yat-Sen answered that he will consider as null and void all the decisions of the Washington Conference regarding China.

The prevailing chaos in China has been very clearly utilised by the Japanese. The Japanese set one governor or ruler against the other, and thus obtained very valuable concessions. For Japanese capital, influence in China is an absolute necessity, because in Japan during the last few years industry has greatly developed. Japan has neither iron nor coal, while China, on the contrary, is very rich in mineral wealth, the exploitation of which in most cases has hardly yet begun. The Japanese are striving to obtain from China the raw materials which they require for the development of their industries. Further, they desire to utilise China as a market for their commodities.

After the victory over Russia, the Japanese in the first place gained the peninsula Liau-Tung, where the Russians had built Port Arthur. At the same time the Japanese obtained the railway line which crosses Southern Manchuria. During the world war the Japanese exploitation of China made great headway. Japan then seized Kiao-Chow from the Germans, and in addition it laid its hand on the railways and mines of Shantung. By such means the Japanese succeeded in actually annexing huge Chinese provinces with a population of many millions east and south of Peking. Notwithstanding the bitter opposition of the Chinese population, which does not wish to be swallowed by Japanese capital, Japan has since

the end of the world war obtained still more and more new positions of power in China.

In opposition to the Japanese aspirations for economic predominance in China, America puts forward the policy of the open door in China. Through this open door any one is to be able to enter China in order to do business undisturbed. What American capital really means by the open door is obvious from a proposal which recently was put forward by America. According to this proposal, American, English, French, and Japanese banks, which are interested in China, should jointly establish a big consortium. All the loans obtained up to the present by China from individual states should be taken over by this consortium. China would then have no longer the separate foreign groups of capitalists as creditors, but united world-capital. The international group of banks would thus establish its guardianship over the economic life of China. It is obvious that in such a fraternity the American capitalists as the strongest would predominate. Thus the open door does not mean free competition, but the replacing of Japanese predominance in China by that of America.

The Peking Government regards American predominance as the lesser evil since America is further off than Japan, and because the American capitalists would carry through their plans in a milder form than the Japanese. America would, if she had her own way, still keep up appearances in China, while Japanese militarism desires to trample down China as it did unfortunate Korea. Wellington Koo, therefore, declared in Washington that China demands unconditional political independence, that China must have control over her own railways, i.e., the Japanese must give up the railways of Shantung and Manchuria. Wellington Koo further demands that the concessions lately granted to foreigners in China should be annulled. This, too, is directed against Japan. It is true the bankrupt gentlemen of Peking by themselves matter little, but the American capitalists like to hear these voices. Hughes, if he wishes to snatch from the Japanese their Chinese booty, can pretend that America, acting unselfishly as usual, appears now as the protector of the suppressed Chinese people. Meanwhile the directors of the American China banks are laughing in their sleeves.

It is the duty of every Communist to see that a Communist Review is in the local library

Dynamics of Social Change

Theory as a Guide to Action

By R. M. FOX

WHEN we are living in the midst of a period of great social tension, it is difficult to, as it were, stand back and observe the salient features of the change which is taking place. So it is worth while looking at the background of social development in order that we may see the movements of our own time in better perspective.

The change from feudalism to the modern commercial system is often greatly simplified for textbook purposes, but students of social history know that it was a long and tortuous process.

It can, however, be divided roughly into two periods.

The first was when the rising commercial class was pushed on by circumstances to feel out vaguely after some new type of social organisation which would harmonise with the developing productive forces of the time. Often this involved acting with great reluctance against long cherished traditions and established usages. The epoch of *laissez-faire* did not leap out in all its splendour, fully developed and equipped, like the Goddess of Wisdom in the old Greek myth. All through the eighteenth century the tradition of governmental regulation haunted the minds of the rulers and prevented any great breach with the past. Old methods were only dropped in a shame-faced manner when new conditions made them quite untenable. Even so late as 1756 the Weavers' Act, regulating wages was passed, though conditions proved too strong, and it had to be repealed in the following year. In so far as the old ideas of regulation were abandoned it was done reluctantly, in response to the pressure of circumstances and without any clear theory.

The second period began when the philosophers constructed out of the change which was going on under their eyes a theory which justified and systematised the whole process.

If we take a wider sweep the same generalisation holds good. With the rise of the merchant class, the self-centred feudal towns and the manorial courts went down. This class pushed out blindly against the existing monarchical, and the remnants of feudal, political relations. The whole of the political conflicts during the Stuart period exhibit the restless urge of the increasingly powerful merchants against royal dominance and the hampering restrictions on commerce. It would have puzzled the Parliamentarians in the early stages of the conflict to define their position; they were in the grip of forces which drove them forward. Yet we see that when a certain degree of development was reached, political philosophers were thrown up who justified their actions and supplied them with the theory needed. The political theory of Hobbes, in spite, or perhaps largely because of his reasoned defence of despotism, was the first real break with the old feudal conception of Divine Right.

He attempted to rationalise absolutism instead of leaving it enshrouded by the hazy and golden mists of tradition. Locke came along with his theory of the right of the people to revolt if the ruler did not carry out his part of the "social contract," and so supplied an effective justification for the "Glorious Revolution" which had resulted in the Whig Oligarchy bringing William of Orange to the throne while the Stuarts finally went out. The theorists, we have seen, always came after the event. Only when a movement has developed to that point when it shows its tendencies with sufficient clearness can the political thinker take it up and make a complete well-rounded system of it. Yet it is indisputable that when the stage of theoretical justification is reached in the development of any movement it swings forward with a tremendously increased momentum. When Locke gave the Whigs their contract theory they were completely satisfied. They lost their timorous, uneasy hesitancy. The self-questionings ceased, and they sat firmly in the saddle, convinced that they were right. The value of a theory to a movement is that it gives confidence, and indicates the line to be pursued.

Let us turn to the more concrete example of the Industrial Revolution. The old regulations on commerce and industry lingered while the rising manufacturing class chafed under the chains. Then thinkers like Adam Smith and Bentham came and brought a message to those who were rattling the shackles without knowing how to loosen them: "Children," they said, to the dull practical men, "this is the real meaning of what you are trying to do. This is your task. We have given it a shape for you; we have made it into a system with principles that you can work to."

So the Captains of Industry in the early part of the nineteenth century found themselves and their mission. They were no longer worried by the growing divergence of practice from current theory.

"Yes," they replied, "this is right. It is what we have wanted all the time." Then they gathered up their strength and went forward confidently, resolutely. No more hesitation, no more shamefacedness. They were working to plan. The brutality and ruthlessness of early factory conditions has passed into legend, but it was only the result of the rising industrialists having a clear vision of their task. "Regulation of wages"—it must go! "State Paternalism"—out with it! "Care of the poor," "Collective responsibility"—down with it all; it is against the system.

"Cold! hard! cruel!—not at all. We are building our system, and we have the plan now." So rose the class of industrial magnates.

Bearing in mind this general process let us turn to the struggle of the working class for economic freedom. Chartism represented the early, blind crude attacks and uneasy protests of labour. It had no clear plan. But there was social irritation, and because of this the attention of thinkers was called to the problem. They peered at the struggle, and saw Labour—a blind giant—wielding its hammer, many of the blows falling wide of the mark, because, properly speaking, there was no mark then.

“What is it that you are trying to make?” they asked.

And Labour replied slowly: “We do not know yet. Somehow we must go on. We feel that things are not right. But for the future—who knows? We have no plan.”

Through all the turmoil and confusion of the Chartist struggles, under the smashing blows of the conflict, a shape began to emerge—clumsy, rough hewn with blurred outlines—but, for all that, a shape. It was the task of the theorists to examine this thing which was in the process of formation. Their duty was to work on it, and to make the lines clearer. They made many mistakes. Sketches were begun, and then the outlines grew weak and faint. They made blurs, rubbed them out, and began again. They were busy; all was ferment and experiment. The early attempts which were made to systematise all these aspirations and activities, and to provide a theoretical foundation for the new movement are well described in Max Beer's *History of British Socialism*, under the heading, “Economics of Anti-Capitalism.” This work was crude and patchy, though often it showed flashes of shrewd clear insight. The writers had not the knowledge or experience; society had not developed far enough, for the rising working class movement to receive full theoretical expression. But they all helped to prepare the ground. Then as the Industrial Revolution went on, and the working movement began to crystallise more definitely, the theorist of the working class appeared. Karl Marx, the man who has been admired and detested more than any other man in history, accomplished the same task for the working class that Locke and Bentham did for the sections who had risen to power in the past. Not only did he supply historical theory as they had done, but he fulfilled the same function in the field of economic theory for the workers as Adam Smith and Ricardo had done for the rising capitalists. By years of patient labour, by studying countless factory reports, blue books and documents relating to mines and every branch of industry; by studying the Chartist activities, and by taking part in the struggles around him, he used his comprehensive mind and genius to marshal the necessary facts and to draw from them those brilliant generalisations which have remained ever since as the unshaken theoretical expression of the International Labour Movement. Superficial critics have accused Marx of plagiarism, the gnats have buzzed about the lion's mane, but in Marx's own work may be found pages of references to books whose value he acknowledges. So far from this being a point against his work, it is a valuable aid to his case. He never claimed to have invented a fancy scheme all by himself to show how clever he was. He drew directly from the life around him, and others had been working in the same field before he came. All that happened was that he saw farther and better than they did, and so was able to relate all this knowledge into a complete theoretical system.

As he worked, the shape was emerging more clearly by means of the struggle itself. The two things were complementary to each other; different sides of the one developing whole. Then he was able to turn to those who were striving and to present them with the guiding light of his theoretical knowledge:—

"Look!" he said, "you have been working blindly up till now, but this is what you need. Here is your outline and your firm central idea. Now you can work to this."

Gradually, as this knowledge penetrates the ranks of labour, the toilers turn back to their crude half shapes, holding their chisels more firmly and working to plan. As the guiding light grows stronger the movement goes forward more quickly and surely.

Having attained to that theoretical platform or vantage ground from which we can survey the field and know exactly where we mean to go, the next stage is the practical application of those principles which guide our activities. Only in one country, Russia, have the workers taken control, and it is here, therefore, that the first real advance as regards practice is being made. Lenin, like Marx, a much loved and much hated man, represents on the world stage the advancing proletarian revolution. His genius really lies in the practical application of those theories which guide the workers' movement. The Bolshevik method is one of firmness combined with flexibility. In their Marxian principles there is that central core of firmness as expressed in their dictatorship, in the Soviet system and in their insistence on class-consciousness, and in communal control of everything which, at the present time, they can conveniently manage. In meeting the capitalist world they are not afraid to be conciliatory when necessary. Their policy now is to dig themselves in and to retain what they hold.

Unlike the French Revolutionaries and those who set up the United States of America, they do not believe that they are making a perfect state for all time. They have not the same pre-occupation with perfect constitutions designed to stand for eternity. They believe in the Marxian evolutionary view of society. Therefore they are confident that what they have begun will be carried on. If the capitalist governments are foolish enough to believe that by securing concessions they can call a halt to social progress that is their business. The Bolsheviks know better, and so are able to concede detail points in almost a mocking fashion. The Russian Revolution is the first great change to be carried out under the influence of the Marxian view of history, and this enables those in control to go forward with a serenity which no other theory would give. These Communists of Russia, and elsewhere, are not doctrinaire maniacs who are so engrossed in Marxistic theory that they are unable to take their place in the common struggles of the masses. Marxism is only revolutionary when applied. Communist activity is Marxism in action.

These developments of theory and of action are full of hope for the workers everywhere. Judging by the analogy of previous revolutionary movements, the labour movement has the necessary intellectual equipment, and is sufficiently matured to be on the threshold of success. The whole world seems poised expectantly, waiting for the swing forward which Labour must make.

The Struggle in Scottish Coalfields

By A. RITCHIE

FOREWORD.

[The following article, written by one of the most active young rebels in the Scottish coal-fields, emphasises the almost insuperable task at present confronting those who are busily engaged in trying to rebuild the industrial organisation of the miners. The lamentable action of Thomas and Williams on BlackFriday was only a trifle worse than the conduct of Herbert Smith and Frank Hodges. In Scotland we see the same general features as those outlined by our South Wales contributor in his article in the REVIEW for January.]

AT the outset it is desirable that the writer of this article make his position clear. In no way must any statement be regarded as "official." Rather it must be taken as the viewpoint of one labouring, deep in the heart of the earth, daily at the coal face. It makes no pretence to be "a broad and generous survey of the whole situation"; it is, quite frankly, a "partial" view, fashioned by the circumstances of mining life, and dictated by the inexorable demands of the class struggle. In so far as it presents only one side of that struggle, i.e., the miner's side, yet it shows many points in common, however different the details may be, with the admirable analyses so brilliantly expounded by Comrades Newbold and Thomas. So that the reader may be able to appreciate the present position and future possibilities of the Scottish coalfield, a brief statement is necessary to show the relative positions of both colliery owners and miners. Firstly, we will look at the owners.

I.

The Owners

TWO names stand out amongst the numerous colliery owners in Scotland—Sir Adam Nimmo, K.B.E., and Mr. Charles Carlow, J.P.

Sir Adam Nimmo is the managing director of Jas. Nimmo & Co., Ltd.; he also sits on the boards of the *Fife Coal Co., Ltd.*, *Scottish Boiler & General Insurance Co., Ltd.*, *Shotts Iron Co., Ltd.*, *Yorkshire Insurance Co., Ltd.*, and is also *Chairman of the Scottish District Board*. In addition to many other virtues, Sir Adam is keen on the value of miner's thrift and the joys of a longer working day. . . .

Mr. Charlie Carlow is the leading light of the *Fife Coal Co.* (*Chairman and Managing Director*), *Director of the Edinburgh Collieries*, *Director of the North British Railways*, *Director of the Royal Bank of Scotland*, and *Chairman of Shotts Iron Co., Ltd.*

As aides-de-camp smaller fry are brought in to help carry on the good work of scientifically plundering the colliers. Mr. Thorneycroft, for example, whose favourite subject is the healthy character of mine workers, is *Managing Director of Plean Colliery, Ltd.*, and is also on the board of the *Lochgelly Iron and Coal Co., Ltd.* Whatever difference of opinion the owners may have on other matters, all are presently agreed on the urgent need that exists for re-establishing the coal trade—at the miner's expense. Many and varied are the suggestions put forward by these "honourable gentlemen of the coal trade." One is from "Howie's," of Ayrshire, and recommends that the men agree to work five days per week (which would be guaranteed) if—oh, yes, there was an IF in it—they would accept *four days' pay for five shifts' work!* This method of openly announcing their intentions to reduce the status of the collier to that of the serf not meeting with the success which the masters thought it certainly deserved, was replaced by the time-honoured custom of drastic reductions in the ton rates. No colliery has escaped; every miner at present employed in Scotland is working at highest pressure; fatigue and physical exhaustion are the only barriers that prevent still further decreases in the standard of life.

Before investigating how far, by these tactics, the owners have been able to regain their lost markets it might be as well to see just how near to the workhouse they really are. Take a few of the leading concerns. The Fife Coal Co., Ltd., started off in 1895 with a capital of £120,000. By the year 1921 it had grown to £1,642,206. According to P. J. Dollan, they have handed out in bonus shares:

1898	...	...	£300,000
1900	...	...	£183,750
1920	...	...	£408,131

During the war they paid in dividends:—

1914	...	...	40 per cent.
1915	...	...	25 per cent.
1916	...	...	35 per cent.
1917	...	...	25 per cent.
1918	...	...	27 per cent.
1919	...	...	25½ per cent.

177½

Thus from 1914 to 1919 the shareholders received in hard cash £177 10s. per £100 invested. Taking bonus shares into consideration this company, for the ten years ending 1918, has paid 300 per cent. on original capital.

The Lochgelly Iron and Coal Co., Ltd., has done very well. For instance, the following figures show:—

£140,000 5 per cent. Preference Shares.
£21,000 Ordinary Shares.

For the ten years ending May, 1918, a dividend of £200,000 was paid on Ordinary shares. There was a reserve of £150,000,

and a carry forward of £48,000 undistributed profits. Had you been fortunate enough to possess £1,000 shares in 1910 you would have received by 1918 £987, and could presently sell out at over £2,000. Another unit of the "ruined" coal industry is the Wilson, Clyde Coal Co. In 1914, its Ordinary capital was £180,000. It has distributed:—

Bonus Shares.

1916	£90,000	} 20 per cent. with bonus=45 per cent.
1920	£135,000	

From 1915 to 1920, 147½ per cent. was paid. Or take the Shotts Iron Co., Ltd. We know that its capital was £315,665, Ordinary shares £200,000, but only £75,000 paid up. Nevertheless, it has divided the following:—

Bonus Shares.

1916	...	...	£25,000
1919	...	...	£100,000

1914 to 1920, Dividend of 170 per cent. paid, and £300,000 put to reserve.

From the foregoing it will be seen that with the help of their unemployment dole these poverty-stricken coal magnates and poor shareholders may yet pull through.

II.

The Fight for Markets

HAVING succeeded in defeating the organisation of the miners to the point where effective resistance ceased, the owners then set about regaining their lost markets. To accomplish this, as has already been indicated, enormous reductions in rates were imposed. Some idea of the downward slide can be gathered from a comparison of prices for free on board coal between the beginning and end of last year:

Prices at Glasgow, f.o.b.—Jan. 1921, 55/- and 47/6 per ton.

Prices at Glasgow, f.o.b.—Oct., 1921, 29/- and 30/- per ton.

For best splint.

Prices at Glasgow, f.o.b.—Jan., 75/- per ton, Oct. 30/- per ton.

The lock-out in this country gave the American coal exporters a chance. Coal was rushed across the Atlantic to Europe in huge quantities. Up the Baltic to Petrograd, all over the North Sea and Mediterranean Ports, and even into Constantinople, Alexandria, Suez, Bombay, and Singapore. In South America they were for a time supreme.

So far as Scotland is concerned, American competition has been ousted. Many of the former markets are again in the control of the British coal magnates. This, however, cannot be regarded as a permanent state. America will come again, and next time will come with a better understanding of the problem to be dealt with. Competition will be keener, and both European and American colliers will suffer in consequence. Arising out of this rivalry of competitive

groups, and the attempt to depress still further the standard of life in the various countries must arise the real International Miners' Union. Real organisation is born of the struggle. Up to the present time no real economic need has presented the circumstance that would provide the opportunity for bringing the different national sections of the miners together into a real fighting organisation. That time is not far distant, and it will be up to the Communists on both sides of the ocean to make the most of it. An International Miners' Federation is the next logical step in the miners' battalion of the world-wide class struggle.

III.

The Scottish Miners

SCOTLAND is supposed to be one district, with one Scottish National Miners' Union controlling the field. In reality, however, there are some half-a-dozen unions—not including the sectional unions—presently catering for mine workers. The strongest of these are Lanarkshire, Fife, Ayrshire, Lothians, and Stirlingshire. Each of these unions has its own rules, agents, secretaries, presidents, etc., etc. The only co-ordinating link is a National Executive Committee, many of whom are full, or part, time officials. In this assembly Communists are not welcomed with open arms. Our Fife comrades, Kirker, Bird, and Lamb, were refused admission into the Executive. For years one Miners' Union for Scotland has been talked of; committees have even been appointed at our Annual Conferences to draw up the rules to govern such an organisation in the coalfield, but, so far, it has gone no further than to provide a topic for discussion.

On this question Mr. J. C. Welsh (author of *The Underworld*), Vice-President Lanarkshire County Union, recently stated that attempts had been made to form one union, but had been unsuccessful owing to the active opposition of officials in Ayrshire Union. Here one can easily see the vested interests of official unionism, with all its sectional boundaries and bureaucracy, using every artifice and device to maintain using its salaried position to weaken the organisation. Delegates to conferences have voted for the abolition of the County Union, and the setting up of one union, and it is well known that the general body of the miners favour the proposal. In Scotland, however, in spite of the protests of Mr. Duncan, Graham, M.P., to the contrary, the miners are ruled by a small coterie of permanent officials who do very much as they like. An instance of this is the overwhelming vote in favour of a five-day-a-week policy, taken months ago, and now quietly shoved into some pigeon hole out of the way by the salaried bureaucrats. From time to time unofficial committees have attempted the task of co-ordinating the activities of all who desired and worked for a change in the unions. At the present time many of our best men are scrapped, unable to obtain work in the pits here; some have shifted to other districts, and at the first favourable opportunity they will again get to work to build up the movement that will transform the present Federation into an Industrial Union of Mine Workers.

As an indication of our methods on these committees, one might cite the holding up of the ships at the Glasgow Docks during the lock-out. This was successfully carried through by linking up the miners' unofficial committees with the dockers' committee, and forming a joint board of both sections. Inside the branches these groups are already showing signs of being able to influence policy. Every fresh election places more of the rebel element in local control. In the establishment and maintaining of these groups, and the conducting of vigorous campaigns inside the branches, lies the future hope of better and more efficient organisation. That something of a very definite character must be done to hold the men together no one who has witnessed the actual slump in union contributions can doubt.

It is impossible to say, at the moment, what the numerical strength of the various county associations are, but pre-lock-out returns show Lanarkshire with 50,000 members; Fifeshire with 20,000 members, and the other districts with something less than half these numbers among them.

Big debts were contracted during the stoppage. Lanarkshire has a debt of about £40,000, Fifeshire £30,000, Stirlingshire (owed by branches) £30,000, Ayrshire (branches) £20,000, whilst the smaller districts have also their share of debt.

From the foregoing it will be evident that a big task lies in front of the Scottish miners. To rebuild and recast the organisation, to profit by recent bitter experiences, and to eliminate many weaknesses in structure and leadership is the next step of the miners in Scotland. We are watching with keen interest the same development in South Wales and England. And it is time we all met to discuss a policy for Britain.

IV.

Wages

THE Scottish "basis" dates back to 1888, and was then fixed at 4/- per day. In July, 1914, wages stood at 75 per cent. above the 1888 rate; roughly stated it worked out at about 7/- per shift. Under the precious agreement now operating the minimum under which it is supposed no one can be made to work is 110 per cent. over the 1888 rate. As an example of how wages may fall rapidly the following table is interesting:—

July, 1914	...	...	Wages 75.00 above 1888 basis.
Sept., 1921	...	...	Wages 262.50 above 1888 basis.
Oct., 1921	...	...	Wages 246.00 above 1888 basis.
Nov., 1921	...	...	Wages 141.90 above 1888 basis.
Dec., 1921	...	...	Wages 136.44 above 1888 basis.

Since the "settlement" every month has witnessed a fall in miner's wages. The writer sent out recently a request to the secretaries of unofficial groups asking for a statement of wages actually being paid in their districts. The response was a revelation. In several cases skilled miners were working five days for sums ranging from £2 to as low as £1 4s., and this, as Sir Adam Nimmo

stated recently in Glasgow, is the only industry paying an "economic wage" in the country. There is no sentimental humbug about the colliery owners. They are acting as their class interests dictate. They must if they wish to survive; it remains for us to act in a like fashion.

V.

The Future

AS has already been shown, the owners, by ruthlessly crushing the miners, by lowering wages, and by intensifying production, have been able to regain a great many of their former markets. Having, as they believe, settled the M.F.G.B. for some considerable time, they are now turning greedy eyes on the seven hours day. In all probability the increasing of the hours of labour will be the next move made in the interest of the coal barons. Against a return to the old hours every nerve will be strained. On this question the Scottish miners will fight even if they do so alone. Every active man has felt the benefits of the shorter working day. Although the pace is hard, one is not quite so exhausted; more reading is done, and more time is devoted to other pursuits than that of digging coal and making roadways. With might and main must we resist the lengthening of the working day. Bearing this in mind the rank and file conference instructed the Executive of the unofficial movement to get to work immediately to draw together the active members of the branches, and to devise the line of best resistance. When this has been agreed upon, manifestoes, leaflets will be issued to the miners in every district, and a general campaign arranged in the villages and branches. Whatever policy may be urged as expedient, and of immediate importance, no steps can be taken which have not some direct bearing upon the ultimate objective, namely, control of the industry by the miners through their own organisations. Realising the importance of "control," and having already agreed on the policy of working inside the unions, it is now up to us to secure such deletions and amendments in the constitution and rules as will facilitate its speedy accomplishment. If, however, revision of rules is to be brought about in our lifetime, then the sooner the rebels stop *talking* about discipline, and begin to *act* in proper disciplined fashion the sooner shall the job be done. If our policy is to work "inside" the unions we must recognise the obligations imposed on us by that policy. It is not merely a question of the unions having certain obligations to members, but of members having definite duties towards the union. In several of the collieries extreme difficulty is being experienced in finding men who are prepared to accept the responsibilities of local branch officials, or to act on pit committees. The future depends now on the part played by the class conscious miners and their conduct in the work-a-day affairs of his fellows. The man who is too self conscious, or too cowardly to accept or contest the positions in the branches and lodges of the unions has no cause nor reason to grumble if these posts are filled by reactionaries. A closer association of all who are active is needed. A definite line of policy to be

pursued nationally, both in regard to election of officials and alterations of rules, is also badly required.

The alternative to developing rank and file control of the union is the creating and maintaining of a tyrannical bureaucracy of "sane" trade union officials, like J. H. Thomas, etc. At the close of the coal dispute Mr. J. R. Clynes in the "House" openly stated that "the worst body of men very often, and the men least capable of forming a true judgment in their own interests, are the masses of the workmen themselves, and I would urge upon them not merely to have greater faith in their appointed leaders, but to place in their hands the exercising of greater authority." "Greater authority" to impose "agreements" upon the rank and file, against the expressed wish of the masses is what they are after, and only the massing of the live members can stop it. The raising and coordinating of rebel groups is the most important job at the moment inside the trade union movement.

VI.

Leadership

TOO little attention has been paid in the past to this aspect of the class struggle, and for this neglect the miners are, to-day, paying in blood and sweat to maintain Capitalism. No one who has seriously studied the mass movements of the workers can gainsay the importance of leaders (for good or ill) at very critical periods of history. Take, for example, Mr. Lloyd George and the miner's leaders in 1919. It will be remembered that after the Armistice the Miners' Federation succeeded in concentrating the attention of its members on nationalisation of the mines, with control by the miners as the main proposition. At that very moment the men were in a fighting mood, and full of confidence in the power of combined effort to wrest almost anything from the owners. In addition the army was in a state of great unrest; with this combination anything might have happened. The Prime Minister, fully appreciating all that was at stake, set to work to destroy the revolutionary character of the miner's demand. Here was a time when real leadership did matter; probably the most critical period in Capitalism's history, in this country at any rate, had been reached. The trade unions demanding control of industry, the mass organisations of the proletariat definitely challenging the "rights" of capital, and the whole mass psychology, for the time, decidedly in favour of the change. Had an intelligent Communist policy been to the fore; had the leadership of the unions been in the hands of men of revolutionary courage and purpose, what might have happened we leave our readers to imagine. Note, however, what did occur. The paid politicians and pressmen of Capitalism immediately set to work. The "community" and the "rights of society," etc., etc., were played up for all they were worth, and at the proper moment an offer was made to conduct a full enquiry into the whole case. That offer, and the acceptance of it by the miner's leaders, together with the setting up of the Coal Commission in the King's Royal Robing Room, completely and absolutely changed

the whole character of the struggle. No longer was it the vital issue of "*Control*." What was discussed by the miners was how much "Sankey" would decree regarding increased wages. Thus, what had early promised to be a first-rate economic struggle, working within a revolutionary situation, finally petered out in a mere ordinary cross table argument. From the aggressive demand in 1919 for the control of the mines, to the wholesale debacle of the last few months proved, as it never had been proven before, the need for clear sighted and single-minded and courageous leadership of the masses. The miners were out manœuvred by the Prime Minister, not due to the position he held, but because of Mr. D. Ll. George's profound knowledge of mass psychology. He had the daring, the initiative, and the strategy. He stepped boldly and confidently where the Smillies, Smiths, and Hodges groped and bungled. Great movements may thus be switched from issues which fundamentally challenge the whole system to the lesser issues of immediate things. Only by diverting the central authority (the M.F.G.B.) from the main issue could the general body of miners be reached. The comparatively easy manner by which this was so successfully accomplished must surely have caused even Mr. George to wonder. On the basis of "payment by results" one may claim without prejudice that if the "brilliant" Mr. Frank Hodges is worth £600 a year to the miners, then the Prime Minister deserves all he gets and more from his Capitalist employers.

Slowly, but nevertheless surely, we are learning the value of real leaders. It is no longer a matter of oratory that counts. It is policy and results obtained in actual wages and general labour conditions that entitles one to hold the positions of trust and responsibility in the mining world. If the Communist Party is to obtain the leadership of the unions they must prove that their policy is better suited to conduct the class struggle in a work-a-day world than those presently in control. This work may be commenced now by demonstrating in branches, pit committees, delegations, etc., that Communism is, not a far-away-some-day-maybe-to-be-realised utopia, but something here and now that battles in every emergency of the class struggle. In the Clyde Valley we have doctrinaire Marxians who can learnedly expatiate on the sociological implication of scientific socialism, but who are terrified at the implications of a united Labour front and its slogan of "back to the masses."

It is a big task we Communists have in front of us waiting to be done, but that it can be accomplished no one who has witnessed the many changes, in structure and purpose of the unions will doubt.

In conclusion let me say that the Scots colliers realise that only a fringe of the problem can be handled by them. Compelled to fight, meantime, as a district, and anxious to make the most of it, they nevertheless understand that in the long run only the union can satisfactorily deal with the problem in the British coalfield. But even with that achieved they recognise the end is not yet. The International Federation of Mine Workers is within measurable distance; the circumstances of to-day are driving the miners to think

in wider and bigger terms. The opening up and exploitation of China's vast mineral deposits; the treasures of India; the coming of oil; the crushing of the German miner to an unheard of coolie level; the shootings in America, combined with the ruthless and merciless attacks at home are driving the forcible lesson into the head of the Scots miner that only in world unity can peace and prosperity be found.

To help him to see that his first duty is to stand by his union loyally in this period of crisis, in order that again he can renew the struggle against the enemies of the working-class is work in which every Communist must take part. How soon we may be precipitated into another struggle, involving bigger unions and greater masses, we do not know, but no matter when it comes, may we be there, and may we be ready.

GENERAL ELECTION

The Executive Committee of the C.P. has decided to contest a number of seats at the forthcoming General Election. Already the following constituencies have been decided upon. LEYTON (EAST), COVENTRY, DUNDEE, MOTHERWELL, GLASGOW (TRADESTON), GORTON (EAST), RHONDDA and probably WEST FIFE and WALTHAMSTOW

Money is urgently needed for these Contests

A minimum sum of £4,000 is needed to contest ten seats

The Executive Committee of the Party appeals to all avowed Communists to render assistance. The Party membership does not include any wealthy "money bags." The working class is the only class we can look to for any finance.

We appeal therefore for contributions from every reader of "THE COMMUNIST REVIEW."

Comrades this appeal is urgent. Our candidates are in the field and we must see that they go to the poll.

We are out to secure the return, for the first time in British History, of representatives of the revolutionary working class.

HELP IN THE FIGHT AND HELP QUICKLY

All monies to Electoral Committee, C.P.G.B., 16, King St., Covent Garden, W.C.

All monies will be duly acknowledged

Water, Water, Everywhere

By Wm. McLAINÉ

THE Inchcape Bell has sounded its warning to the mariners of Britain. According to the noble Lord who is chairman of the P. & O. Navigation Company, and many other concerns besides, the wages of those who go down to the sea in ships must be reduced. In his own words, "wages had been slightly reduced, but were still beyond what shipowners could afford to pay. There was no use mincing matters, wages afloat would have to come down if British shipping was to hold its own."

It would be a colossal task to follow Lord Inchcape through his connections with the various companies, maritime, insurance and others, and we shall have to be content with noting some of them and seeing—if it is true that British shipping cannot compete with that of other nations—what some of the reasons are.

P. & O. Steam Navigation Co.—In 1916 this Company purchased practically all the ordinary shares of the New Zealand Shipping Company, Limited. The holders of these shares received for each one, £10 of P. & O. fully paid deferred stock. These shares were originally £8. But in 1913 a £2 share was given free to every holder of an £8 share, and in addition a £10 free share was given to the holder of every four original £8 shares. These shares, it will be noted, are now part of the £10 P. & O. stock.

The Company purchased in 1917 nearly all the ordinary £1,000,000 £1 shares of the Union Steamship Company of New Zealand, and gave free, 10s. of P. & O. deferred stock and 30s. in cash for them. In October, 1917, the British India Steam Navigation Company, together with the P. & O., purchased the share capital of the Hain S.S. Company at the basis of £80 cash for every £10 share; and in 1918 the P. & O. and B.I.C. purchased the share capital of the Mercantile S.S. Company at a price of £1 for preference shares and £32 per ordinary share.

The authorised capital is now £6,649,853. In 1919 and 1920, £190,705 and £201,348 fully paid shares were issued to deferred stock holders by way of bonuses out of the reserve fund, representing distributions of approximately 6 per cent. in both instances. The profits of the Company have been: for 25 years to 1914-15, 10 per cent., with bonuses of 3 per cent. in 1896-7, 2 per cent. in 1898-9, 3 per cent. for each of the 11 years to 1910-21, 5 per cent. 1911-12, 1912-13, 1913-14, and 1914-15. For 1915-16, 1916-17, 1917-18 the dividend was 18 per cent. free of tax; 1918-19, 12 per cent. free of tax; 1919-20, 15 per cent. free of tax. The reserve fund is now £1,607,950.

The British India Steamship Company, which has been mentioned already, and of which Lord Inchcape is chairman, has a capital of £1,700,000. When the shares of this Company were

purchased by the P. & O., payment was made at the rate of £33 6s. 8d. in P. & O. deferred, and the same amount in P. & O. preference for each £50 share. In 1900 a bonus of 100 per cent. was paid in cash. Dividends, for 12 years to 1913, 7½ per cent., and in 1912 and 1913 2½ per cent. bonus was paid in addition. In 1914-15 the ordinary shareholders received 10 per cent., for the four years to 1918-19 12 per cent., and for 1919-20 13 per cent., free of tax.

It will be seen that Lord Inchcape and those associated with him have not been doing so badly these last few years; but his companies are only a part of the whole mercantile marine, and other companies have done as well. We will look at just a few:—

Cunard S.S. Co.—Capital, £7,000,000. Dividends: 1912 and 1913, 10 per cent. each; 1914 and 1915, 20 per cent., including a bonus of 10 per cent.; 1915 and 1916, 10 per cent., plus a bonus of 10 per cent. in fully paid war loan stock; 1918, 10 per cent. and a bonus of one new share free for every one ordinary share held. To pay out this bonus they took £1,250,000 from the reserve fund; but there is still £1,250,000 in the fund.

Cairn Line, Ltd.—Dividends: 1912, 1913 and 1914, 10 per cent. each; 1915, 30 per cent.; 1916, 20 per cent.; 1917, 15 per cent.; 1919, 10 per cent.; 1920, 10 per cent. The apparent decline in the dividends in the last two years mentioned is due to the distribution of bonus shares which make the dividend look smaller when it may not be so. Bonus share distributions: March, 1917, 10 per cent.; December, 1918, 7½ per cent.; December, 1919, 100 per cent.

Manchester Liners.—Capital, £1,000,000. Dividends: 1914, 6 per cent.; 1915, 15 per cent.; 1916, 25 per cent.; 1917, 25 per cent.; 1918, 25 per cent.; 1919, 15 per cent. In 1919 a share bonus of 100 per cent. was distributed.

The profits that have been made during the last few years by shipping companies have been amazing. Early in 1917 Mr. Dundas White, M.P., said, in the *Statist*, that in 1913 shipowners with ships of the capital value of £200,000,000 made £20,000,000 profit, equal to 10 per cent. on their capital, but in 1917 the same shipowners made £250,000,000, or twelve times as much. After deducting excess profits, the shipowners were left with about £135,000,000.

Lord Colwyn stated at a meeting, held at the Manchester Chamber of Commerce on March 9th, 1920, "Some of the shipping companies have made fabulous sums of money directly through the war. I have had three instances under my notice. One is the case of a man who in 1914 was worth one million and who had multiplied that six times over. Another case is that of a man who had three millions before, and has multiplied that between five and six times."

It is these people who were, more than anyone else, responsible for the blockade of Britain. They considered it quite right and proper to take advantage of the fact that some shipping had been sunk by submarines and that what was left was in great demand, to force up rates to any heights. They robbed the people during the

war, and gave themselves huge dividends, and bonuses. Now the robbers claim that it is impossible for the industry to pay its way. The chief trouble is that the giving of bonus shares has made the capital swell out of all proportion to its real value. If a company pays double the price for the shares of some other company, then they require double the profit to make the same dividend. If, on top of all that, the company that has been bought out has already given its shareholders a bonus of free shares, then the profit required to pay the same dividend is still greater. This is the gentle art of watering stocks. That kind of thing has been going on for years, and yet the noble Inchcape moans about the impossibility of doing trade. Will Lord Inchcape be prepared to accept dividends commensurate with the capital paid in by his shareholders in order to assist in re-establishing trade on a sound basis; or does he want to continue making cent. per cent. at the expense of the forecastle?

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Investigation of Famine Conditions in the Region of European Russia

August 16th to September 13th, 1921

ORGANISATION OF THE RUSSIAN COMMISSION OF THE NEAR EAST
RELIEF.

FOREWORD.

[Considering the conspiracy that exists in this country regarding the Russian famine, we place before our readers the following report prepared by a Commission of American experts. This Commission was organised by capitalist assistance but its report is one of the most complete statements yet issued by a non-working class committee. We have been compelled to publish the American report because it has been systematically neglected by the "democratic" press of Britain. Even the Labour press has not given it the attention it deserves.

Several passages have been italicised by us.

Editor of COMMUNIST REVIEW.]

ON August 1, 1921, a party of Americans then en route from New York to Transcaucasia to make a survey of conditions in Transcaucasia for the Near East Relief came into possession of a quantity of new information respecting famine conditions in the Volga district of Russia, which greatly impressed them with the very serious need which might, if the reports received were substantiated, affect the lives of several millions of people in Russia. It was learned at the same time, that a movement was on foot in the United States to undertake a limited amount of relief work among the children and sick of the Volga district of Russia.

A Commission was formed, to be known as the Russian Commission of the Near East Relief, organised on August 12, 1921, as follows:—

Chairman: Albert A. Johnson, Director of the New York State Institute of Applied Agriculture.

Secretary: Paxton Hibben, Capt., F.A., R.C., a Secretary of the American Embassy at Petrograd, Russia, 1905-1906.

Treasurer: E. A. Yarran, Capt. A.R.C., Director-General of the Near East Relief in Transcaucasia; Frank Connes, official interpreter of the Supreme Court of the State of New York; John R. Voris, Associate General Secretary of the Near East Relief.

The purpose of the Commission in visiting Russia was formally stated as follows:—

OBJECT.—The object of the Commission is to assemble information as to economic conditions, and reputed destitution in

Russia, in co-operation with the Russian Government, with a view to placing this information, when gathered, before such American organisation or organisations as might be designated to represent the American people in extending relief to Russia; or if no such organisation be designated, to place the findings of the Commission before the American people through whatever channels may be available. The Commission understands that while this action has been taken in an emergency, and in order to take advantage of an unusual opportunity for investigation offered by the Russian Government, the Near East Relief in naming this Commission has no thought of projecting either its name or its operations into new territory.

EXTENT OF THE INVESTIGATION.

The Commission left Tiflis, Socialist Soviet Republic of Georgia, on August 16, 1921, returning to the same point after an absence of 27 days on September 12, 1921. The journey was made in a private car supplied by the Georgian Soviet authorities, without cost to the Commission. The itinerary followed was fixed by the Commission, without suggestion of any kind by the Soviet authorities of Russia, and was as follows:—

Aug. 16-17	Tiflis-Baku	515 versts
" 18-20	Baku-Rostoff-on-Don	1,325 "
" 21	Rostoff-on-Don-Voronejh	613 "
" 22	Voronejh-Moscow	552 "
" 28-29	Moscow-Roozaivka	578 "
" 29-30	Roozaivka-Samara	416 "
" 30	Samara-Novo-Semeykina	26 "
" 30	Novo-Semeykina-Samara	26 "
" 31	Samara-Syzran	129 "
Sept. 1-2	Syzran-Penza	296 "
" 3	Penza-Rtistschevo	148 "
" 3-4	Rtistschevo-Tavoljanka	97 "
" 4	Tavoljanka-Povorino	77 "
" 4	Povorino-Kalmyk	22 "
" 4	Kalmyk-Povorino	22 "
" 4-5	Povorino-Tsaritsin	343 "
" 6-7	Tsaritsin-Tikhorietskaya	502 "
" 8-11	Tikhorietskaya-Baku	1,154 "
" 11-12	Baku-Tiflis	515 "

7,295versts or 4863 miles

The following geographical subdivisions of the Russian Confederation were covered by the Commission directly, by personal observation on the spot:—

Autonomous Socialist Soviet Republic of Adjaria.
 Socialist Soviet Republic of Georgia.
 Socialist Soviet Republic of Azerbaijan.
 Autonomous Socialist Soviet Republic of Daghestan.
 Autonomous Socialist Soviet Republic of Gorsk.

States of:—

Stavropol	Tamboff	Samara
Kuban-Black-Sea	Ryazin	Saratoff
Don	Moscow	Tsaritsin
Harkoff	Penza	Astrakan
Voronejh	Simbirsk	

Information as to conditions in the following geographical subdivisions of the Russian Confederation was assured by personal questioning of inhabitants thereof:—

States of:—

Tula.	Vyatka.	Kursk.	Ufa.
Autonomous Socialist Soviet Republic of Chubask.			
Autonomous Tartar Socialist Soviet Republic (Kazan).			
Autonomous Socialist Soviet Republic of Kirghez.			
Socialist Soviet Republic of Turkestan.			

The Situation

In the estimation of this Commission the situation in Russia to-day is a very serious one. Its consequences may be far reaching and entirely unforeseen. It is not the province of this Commission to speculate on what these consequences may be, but the members of this Commission are profoundly convinced that a situation exists in Russia, due primarily to the famine, which impels the serious consideration of the rest of the world.

The districts affected by acute famine conditions are for the most part situated in the valley of the Volga river, comprising approximately 600,000 square miles of the principal grain growing territory of Europe. North to South, they appear to be the following:—

The 4 southern countries of the State of Vyatka.

The Autonomous Chubask Territory.

The Autonomous Tartar Socialist Soviet Republic of Kazan.

The Western portion of the State of Ufa.

The States of Simbirsk, Samara, Saratoff, Tsaritsin and Astrakan.

The north-eastern section of the State of the Don.

The districts include some 20,000,000 inhabitants, 85 per cent. of whom are peasant farmers. They are serious, diligent, sober and frugal people, among whom relatively few are communists or who even understand what is meant by communism, or "bolshivism," albeit many of these peasant communities have held their land for generations on a communistic basis of tenure. They are not as a rule in any way actively hostile to the present Government of Russia, but are on the other hand law-abiding people inclined to accept any established government. They regard the present Government of Russia as an established government, and anticipate no change.

The agricultural methods employed by the peasant farmers in this region are backward and inadequate, but by no means so primitive as those employed in Transcaucasia and Turkey. The old-fashioned three field system is in general use, and neither proper rotation of crops nor dry farming are in any way generally practised—indeed, dry farming is virtually unknown among them, though the need for it is obvious. Efforts are being made, however, by the Soviet Government to teach modern farming methods. This Commission inspected an agricultural education train which had been sent out from Moscow into the farming district. It contained special cars for lectures, practical demonstrations of agricultural

machinery of modern type and a certain amount of seed for distribution for experimental purposes.

The Soviet Government also conducts, with the machines at its disposal, tractor demonstrations, ploughing large tracts of land for the peasants without regard to field boundaries, employing for this purpose numbers of the larger type, old-fashioned English and Swedish five to eight plough tractors.

It is of course obvious that very little more can be done, practically, in the way of general agricultural education of the peasant farmers, until the principal obstacle of illiteracy has been removed. It should be added, however, that the farmers are eager for agricultural education and quick to adapt themselves to modern methods when the necessary machinery is made available.

Crop Conditions

According to statistics furnished by the People's Commissariat for Agriculture, in 32 Russian States exclusive of the Ukraine, comprising 853,931,178.85 acres, there are only 170,776,076.432 acres (22 per cent.) of ploughed land, while 31,378,352.62 additional acres are fit for cultivation but have not yet been put under the plough, while at the same time a considerable part of the 89,642,803.7 acres in the same area, now employed as pasture, might also be considered as land available for cultivation at need.

With so great a reserve of uncultivated arable land the question imposes itself why there should be a famine in Russia at all. Certain facts appear upon examination.

1. *In respect to Russia as a whole.*

Throughout Russia there has been a very marked falling off in grain production since the beginning of the war, and especially since 1916. Comparative figures in this connection are of little value since the acreage of Russia as a whole has been materially altered by the war and the terms of peace.

2. *In respect of 24 grain-producing States.*

In 24 States, taking the figures of 1916 as normal of the acreage planted in food products (43,516,042 acres), while in 1917 101.3 per cent. of this acreage was planted, in 1919 only 85.3 per cent. and in 1920 only 75.5 per cent. of this acreage were planted.

3. *In respect of the famine area.*

While in the famine area before the war some 37,762,000 acres, or approximately 10 per cent. of the total area were sown, in 1920 in the same area only about 18,886,000 acres were sown.

4. *In respect of the State of Samara.*

In Samara, the largest of the States affected by the famine, lying in the centre of the famine district, out of 37,772,000 acres of arable land of which only 29.8 per cent. (10,792,000 acres) were even normally under cultivation, in 1920 only 40 per cent. of this acreage (4,316,800 acres) were planted, or less than 12 per cent. of the total available arable land. In this State virtually all the land has been divided up among the peasants, of whom there are approximately 2,500,000 in the State, roughly 75 acres of arable land being thus allocated to each peasant family.

The striking figures in these comparisons are those exhibiting the small proportion of the land which had ever been cultivated, even before the war. In the State of Samara, for example, less than 30 per cent. of the arable land was under the plough even in normal years, while in 32 States of European Russia, only 22 per cent. of the land had been ploughed at any period.

This general lack of cultivation has, of course, two direct bearings on the present famine:—

(1) It is clear that there was, as a rule, no considerable reserve production of grain in Russia, even before the war, against possible famine years. It would not ordinarily be possible simply by placing an embargo on grain export to ensure a sufficient reserve of grain to tide over any famine period comfortably, because the grain export of Russia appears to have been merely the disposal of an excess product, not the ordered development of an industry either for self-protection or for maximum profit. If this is true as seems to be the case, in good years Russia exported large quantities of foodstuffs while in bad years famine conditions were the normal result of a lack of prevision characteristic both of the former national government and of the peasant farmers themselves.

Under these circumstances it is scarcely astonishing that the revolution in Russia worked no miracle in this respect, and famine followed as certainly adverse climatic conditions under the Soviet Government as under the former Imperial Government. *Not the form of the Government but lack of economic organisation was at fault.*

(2) *Even had it been the intention of the new Government to stimulate an increased production of the land, it was obviously powerless to accomplish this end because the agricultural equipment available in Russia had never been more than sufficient to cultivate more than about 30 per cent. of the arable land, and first during the war and later owing to the economic blockade of Russia it was not only impossible to add to this equipment, but impossible also to maintain the equipment already existing in a state of repair. In a word, since 1914 Russia's agricultural production had been slowly undergoing an inexorable process of enforced attrition. It was inevitable, therefore, that when a bad year did arrive, the suffering would be the more intense and the powerlessness of the country to help itself the more evident. That is the case to-day.*

To this result various factors have contributed.

1. *Former limited peasant land tenures.*

Before the war the average holding of the peasant family (whether owned or rented is immaterial) was about 8 acres. By the system then in vogue the peasant holding, say, 8 acres of a landlord, was compelled to cultivate a similar amount for his landlord, in lieu of rent. When, however, by his industry and frugality a peasant had been able to increase his holdings—increasing also the amount of land he must cultivate for his landlord thereby—a point was automatically reached at which he must make a very considerable new capital investment in agricultural machinery if he was to continue to increase the land under his cultivation. This additional capital investment the Russian peasant was rarely ever able to make, and in consequence instead of leasing more land and

cultivating it himself on a larger scale, with modern farm machinery, he leased or purchased more land and then sublet it, thus becoming not a large tenant farmer but a small landlord. The significance of this fact lay in its automatically keeping cultivation down to the small farm stage—sickles, scythes, hand binding, threshing with flails, etc.—thus employing a vast number of persons for a relatively inconsiderable grain production, and so keeping two-thirds of the arable land of the country uncultivated. A peasant family rarely held over 25 acres and in very few instances were the peasants equipped, singlehanded, to cultivate even that much. Merely increasing the peasant holdings to 75 acres per family therefore benefited neither the peasants themselves nor the population of Russia as a whole since neither farming implements, draught animals nor even man power were available to put the additional land allotments under the plough.

This fact is cardinal, for taken in conjunction with the war, which limited the imports of Russia to war materials, and the economic blockade, which cut them off altogether, it makes clear the reason why the division of the land among the peasants failed to increase production of food products in Russia.

On the contrary, the figures just cited reveal that food production in Russia has actually decreased since 1917. This also is readily accounted for.

2. *Inability to increase agricultural equipment.*

For seven years the imports of agricultural machinery, spare parts for repairs, tractors to take the place of draught animals used for war purposes and power machinery to replace the loss of man power due not only to the losses by war, but to the fact that some of the most densely populated sections of Russia have been ceded to other countries—Poland, Roumania, Latvia, Lithuania, etc.,—by the terms of the various peaces entered into by Russia have been negligible. In this period the depreciation of any agricultural machinery, even with the best of care (which in Russia it has not), is so great as to render it virtually useless, and the loss from the sum total of agricultural machinery existing in 1914, when open importation ceased, is of necessity and has actually been in rapid progression year by year as the material for repairs has not been available. It is the opinion of this Commission that Russia to-day is in need of at least 500,000,000 dollars worth of agricultural machinery, and that without a very considerable immediate importation of machinery, cultivation in Russia, never more than 30 per cent. of the arable land and in 1920 only about 75 per cent. of that, will dwindle with the greatest possible rapidity. The consequence of this upon the food supply of Europe needs no definition.

In a third paragraph, the Commission lays stress upon the destruction of agricultural equipment resulting from the civil wars that have been carried on in the regions now suffering from famine. It insists further that the real cause of the famine is the drought.

4. *Droughts of 1920 and 1921.*

In 1920, the very year of the cessation of civil war in the famine area itself—and while war was still in progress with Poland

on the north-west and with the Wrangel armies on the south-west—a drought said to have been as severe as that of 1911 further reduced the output of an already reduced area of cultivation in a country whose losses of man power had been vastly in excess of any other country in Europe during the European war and whose armies still demanded the bulk of the youth of the country for services at the front. In the Fall of 1920, in the State of Samara, it was found possible to put under cultivation only 1,483,900 acres out of a total of 37,722,000 acres of arable land in that State; and owing partially to the drought of that year and to the shallow ploughing, a direct result of the lack of draught animals and shortage of man power, only 44 lbs. of grain were harvested per acre instead of the usual output of 934 lbs. per acre for Fall planting.

In April of this year a still severer drought made itself manifest in the whole Volga region. The following table of comparative climatic conditions between this year and the average of the previous 17 years, in the State of Samara, in the heart of the famine district furnishes the details:—

Average temperature (centigrade) of the air			
	April	May	June
Average of past 17 years	5	13	15
1921	9.18	19.3	24.0
Average temperature (centigrade) of the soil			
Average of past 17 years	6	17	25
1921	13	25	32
Average rainfall (millimetres)			
Average of past 17 years	21	38.8	46.9
1921	1.7	0.3	5.1
Evaporation (millimetres)			
Average of past 17 years	55	128	136
1921	88	213	281

These figures require no comment. The results of excessive heat and lack of moisture are obvious to anyone visiting the famine country. The land is parched. All vegetation has been burned up. In the few fields where any grain has appeared at all, the sparse and stunted plants would not pay cutting save in the event of a desperate lack of food; in this instance these plants have been carefully cut, even one by one, and what few grains of wheat, rye or barley they bore have been painstakingly harvested by hand.

This spring due to the causes above set forth, only 2,832,000 acres were sown in the State of Samara, and the product on account of the drought has been only 120 lbs. per acre, as against a normal of 1,334 lbs. per acre for Spring sowing. The total grain produced in the State of Samara this year has been approximately only 70,000 tons, while the minimum food requirements (14 ounces per day per person) are 339,406 tons and the seed requirements 539,600 tons, a total of 939,006 tons of grain for this one State, leaving a deficit of 669,006 tons, in Samara alone.

The Seed Problem

While it is necessary that the peasant farmers of the Volga region shall eat until next year's crop shall be harvested, it is quite as essential that there shall be a crop next year to be harvested; and without seed grain this is of course, impossible. It must be

borne in mind that the seed problem in Russia to-day is but one of several problems which it is the purpose of this Report to present and which combined, constitute the present problem of Russia as a food producing country, not alone for Russia, but for the whole of Europe. The immediate food problem has been presented. Famine conditions now exist in a territory comprising some 20,000,000 inhabitants and which, in normal times, constitutes the grain reservoir of Russia. Mere relief sufficient to tide the inhabitants of the famine area over until next year is worse than useless. Unless at least the minimum acreage planted in the Fall of 1920 and the Spring of 1921 is planted again for next summer's harvest, another famine year must inevitably follow, and the situation a year hence be as bad as to-day, or worse.

It is the observation of this Commission that there is no tendency whatever on the part of the peasant farmers of Russia voluntarily to reduce their production to a minimum for any reason whatever. They are to-day, and they have been throughout, eager to cultivate the maximum land at their disposition and for the cultivation of which they still have equipment. This Commission is well aware that this finding may upset a preconceived idea of the situation in Russia to-day which is current abroad. It is, however, true that this Commission has seen the land being ploughed and sown in the heart of the famine area, in anticipation of a crop next year, when those who were ploughing and sowing the land in question were actually living on bread made of flour of acorns, "soosak," sunflower seeds and millet and when they were consciously facing a failure of even this inadequate form of nourishment by January 1st, 1922.

This Commission wishes to record here its conviction that the gradual decrease of the area of cultivation in Russia has been due to the causes hereinbefore set forth, namely, to the old system of land tenures which automatically limited the agricultural equipment of the country; to the inability of the peasant farmer for the past seven years to increase his agricultural equipment; to the depreciation and destruction of agricultural equipment, loss of draught animals and lack of man power due to war conditions; and, finally, to the droughts of 1920 and 1921; and that it has not been due in any appreciable measure to a voluntary reduction of production on the part of the farmers themselves, for whose industry and courage in the face of adversity this Commission has the highest admiration.

The seed problem, then, is a very vital one, for it is certain that if the seed is available it will be sown, and it is equally certain that unless at least the minimum acreage is sown this year, another famine year must follow this in Russia.

Now to sow the minimum acreage in the famine area—that of this year, which has proved so inadequate, namely 18,886,000 acres—will require some 944,300 tons of seed grain at the rate of 100 lbs. per acre which, by the prevailing old-fashioned and wasteful agricultural methods in Russia, may be regarded as a minimum. It is not the thought of this Commission that more than this minimum—say 1,000,000—need be sown; but it should not be lost sight of that grain production in Russia has fallen this year from pre-war

production, while in Samara, for example, only 40 per cent. of the normal acreage was sown for this year's crop.

Of this amount,—1,000,000 tons—according to Commissar Kameneff, Russia can furnish 162,000 tons. This figure may be questioned, since it is impossible in mid-August for Commissar Kameneff to know save by conjecture how much seed grain the Soviet Government might be able to collect from the remainder of the country for the benefit of the famine area. But even assuming this figure 838,000 tons of seed, grain would still be required to plant a minimum acreage in the famine area.

It is not a question of prolonging a state of starvation, but of getting out of the woods. According to Commissar Kameneff, at the rate of about 12 ounces of grain per day per person, 1,260,000 tons of grain will be required to feed the people of the Volga region for 10 months from October to next harvest. Of this amount, Russia, he claims, can furnish about one fourth, leaving 945,000 tons to be supplied from outside Russia, if at all. That it must be supplied from outside Russia is evident from the fact that starvation already exists in the Volga region.

The grain requirements of the Volga region would therefore appear to be 838,000 tons for seed and 945,000 tons for food or a total of 1,783,000 tons in all, to see the country through the next harvest and to have a reasonable assurance that next year's crop will not be merely the prelude to another famine.

It must be clear that the consequences of failure to furnish approximately this amount of grain, as a minimum, from outside Russia, are inevitable and may be stated briefly as follows:—

1. If less than the requisite amount of seed grain is available, there will perforce be a still further shrinkage of the acreage planted, with the unavoidable result of another crop shortage in 1922.

2. If, on the other hand, provision is not made that a sufficient supply of grain for food purposes be on hand, in addition to the supply intended for seed—and the peasants convinced that this has been done—either part of the seed grain intended for next Spring's planting will be eaten before the end of Winter, or a large part of the peasant population, seeing no hope of being able to live through the Winter in the famine area, will pick up their belongings and migrate. In the former event, the area of cultivation next year will be quite as surely reduced as if sufficient seed had not been secured, while in the second event by the time for Spring planting the area that can be planted will be reduced by the lack of man power to plant it, due to the migration of the farmers.

Conditions in Transcaucasian Russia

That portion of the former Russian Empire lying South of the Caucasus mountains, whose independence of Russia was declared on April 22, 1918, and which, as the three Republics of Azerbaijan, Armenia and Georgia led a precarious existence as sovereign States for some four years, is now formed into three Socialist Soviet Republics, Azerbaijan, Armenia and Georgia, and three Autonomous Socialist Soviet States, Adjaria, Avkhasia, and Nakhitchovan,

all federated with the Russian Federated Soviet Republic. From August 2, 1921, to August 11, 1921, this Commission had, before proceeding to Russia proper, made the following tour of inspection of this district:—

Aug. 2-4	Batum, Adjaria-Tiflis, Georgia	327	versts
„ 4-6	Tiflis, Georgia-Erivan, Armenia	249	„
„ 7-7	Erivan, Armenia-Etchmiadzin, Armenia	18	„
„ 7	Etchmiadzin, Armenia-Erivan, Armenia	18	„
„ 7-8	Erivan, Armenia-Alexandropol, Armenia	87	„
„ 9	Inspection of villages of Schoragul Plain	50	„
„ 10	Alexandropol, Armenia-Karakliss, Armenia	65	„
„ 10-11	Karakliss, Armenia-Tiflis, Georgia	142	„

1,001 versts or 668 miles

The conditions in this district had been found shocking, indeed far worse than present conditions in the Volga district of Russia. Especially was this true of the Socialist Soviet Republic of Armenia, which had been the battlefield of the Russian Transcaucasia and the Imperial Ottoman armies from 1914 until the break-up of the former army in the Fall of 1917, following the October Revolution. Into this district, during the military operations of the early years of the war, some 585,000 Armenian refugees from the Armenian vilayets of Turkey had poured and remained destitute from that time forward, succored only by such aid as was furnished by the American Relief Administration and the Near East Relief alone since July, 1920. The Near East Relief is now caring for some 25,000 children in former Russian Transcaucasia—housing, clothing, feeding, and teaching them—as well as doing a large amount of general relief through the distribution of clothing, the maintenance of soup kitchens and hospitals. The relief furnished by this American organisation is, however, far from adequate to meet the present needs of the situation created by the Turkish invasion of Armenia in November, 1920.

The immediate cause of the present acute famine situation in Armenia was the destruction of some 140 villages by the invading Turks, from which the populations were driven and whence all beasts of burden, agricultural and household implements and furniture were removed by the invaders. The evacuation of this portion of Armenia did not take place until April 2, 1921, too late for any extensive crop to be put in, even had the peasants had the draught animals and the implements to plough and sow the ground, which they did not have. Of the original 585,000 Armenian refugees from Turkish Armenia there remained some 280,000 still unassimilated among the villages of the Armenian Republic, a charge upon the meagre resources of the country. To this number, the Turkish invasion added some 120,000, making a rough total of about 400,000 homeless refugees now facing winter without food in Armenia. Of these approximately 50,000 are concentrated in the cities and towns of the country, while 350,000 are scattered through the rural districts where communications are difficult and where it will be very difficult to reach them with aid.

Of the 50,000 Armenians concentrated in cities and towns by far the greater part were actually in starving condition when observed by this Commission early in August. Children were lying dead in the streets and the sick and infirm were dying in

great numbers daily. Cholera had set in and was making havoc, partly due to the reduced resistance to disease of those suffering from hunger. There were 68 registered cases of cholera in Erivan and 141 in Alexandropol in the first week in August, and death was claiming 20 per cent. of those affected. A special train of physicians and nurses had been sent from Moscow to help fight the epidemic.

People's Commissar for Relief, Teffezarian, of the Armenian Socialist Soviet Republic, informed this Commission that the Armenian Government had sought to purchase grain in Persia, but that the Persian Government, fearing a shortage, had placed an embargo on the shipment of grain out of the country. He estimated that 5,000 tons of grain per month would furnish those actually starving with enough grain to sustain life—about 14 ounces daily. For the ten months until next harvest, this would be 50,000 tons of grain. It was his belief, in which this Commission does not share, that the Armenian Government would be able to obtain enough seed wheat from Persia to sow all the land which the peasants still possessed, agricultural implements and draught animals to sow, next spring. However, as only about 6,250 tons of grain would be necessary to plant the Schoragul Plain, the principal grain growing area of Armenia as now constituted (125,000 acres), this is possible.

In addition, People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs of Armenia, Ascanus Mooravian, appealed to the Near East Relief to furnish second hand clothing for the 400,000 homeless to see them through the rigours of the coming winter, and requested that organisation to establish soup kitchens in the cities and towns to take care of those now sleeping in streets, parks, box cars and under hedges, for whom no housing is available. Agricultural implements and tractors to replace the draught animals seized by the Turkish army are, of course, even more essential in Armenia than in Russia.

In the estimation of this Commission, the situation in Armenia is worse than the present situation in the Volga district of Russia. But it is also true, that in a few months, there will be little to choose between them. The situation in Armenia, however, is a smaller one and could be readily handled as an offshoot of any relief furnished Russia. This is especially true in view of the fact that there is now operating in Armenia a capable American relief organisation, the Near East Relief, through whose instrumentality whatever relief Armenia may require could readily be administered. In the opinion of this Commission this relief may be thus summarised:—

1. 50,000 tons of grain for food to enable the actual refugee population of Armenia to keep body and soul together until next harvest.
2. 6,250 tons of seed grain to enable the peasants of Armenia to sow at least a minimum crop next spring.
3. As much second hand clothing as can be obtained and shipped to Armenia, for general distribution.
4. A proportion—say 5 per cent.—of any agricultural machinery obtained for Russia to be allocated to Armenia.

SUMMARY OF THE SITUATION

Briefly, the situation in respect to the famine may be summarized as follows:—

1. In the district defined as the Volga region, with a population of some 20,000,000 people, between ten and twelve millions of people are now suffering from hunger, the result of a famine.
2. This famine has been the inevitable and logical outcome of (a) a lack of any system of maintaining a sufficient food reserve in Russia, and (b) the inability of Russia during the past seven years to increase agricultural production or to stem the unavoidable decrease in the agricultural production due to:—
 - (1) the relatively small amount of available agricultural equipment, owing to the former system of limited land tenures;
 - (2) the impossibility during the war and the economic blockade which followed the war to increase or replace this agricultural equipment;
 - (3) The destruction of agricultural equipment, draught animals and man power by seven years of war, and
 - (4) the droughts of 1920 and 1921.
3. According to the best available information, in order to enable the famine district to plant and harvest a normal crop next year and to enable the population of the famine district to remain on their farms to plant and harvest this crop, at least 1,783,000 tons of grain not now available in Russia are necessary.
4. In default of this aid, or the promise of it, there are now a very large number of people, probably as many as three millions, who have left their homes in the famine district and are to-day refugees wandering at random over Russia, seeking a food surplus to sustain them which does not exist in Russia, but which does exist in Roumania and Bulgaria.

Measures of Permanent Rehabilitation

It is the judgment of this Commission that however necessary certain emergency relief measures may be in meeting the crisis of the famine in the Volga district of Russia, and in preventing a harvest of wholesale death from starvation before another crop can be gathered, no measures of relief in Russia can accomplish any lasting good or insure Russia against an immediate return of famine conditions which do not have at their basis the purpose to enable the people of Russia to help themselves, by putting them in a position to achieve the economic rehabilitation of their country.

The Commission has confined its observations to food production and to matters related to food supply. It has not been concerned with industry, commerce or finance, and that fact must be borne in mind in considering the finding of this Commission as to the means of ending the present food shortage in Russia and of preventing a repetition of famine conditions. It may be, for

example, that the stimulation of the manufacture of agricultural implements in Russia would prove a sounder economic policy than their purchase abroad. With this, however, this Commission is not concerned; and its findings are confined to recording existing needs of which it has abundant and convincing evidence.

To accomplish any lasting good not only for the people of Russia, whether in the famine district or elsewhere, but also for the rest of Europe, the following essentials are immediately requisite in Russia. It cannot be too strongly emphasised that every day's delay in supplying these essentials to Russia is not merely a postponement of rehabilitation, but is the continuation in geometric progression of a process of economic and social disintegration which it cannot but be increasingly difficult to remedy. The grain producing country of Russia to-day is like a binder left standing in the open: for a short period it can easily be put into shape again; but after a time its deterioration is so rapid that it soon becomes worthless. It should be evident to anyone that when the grain producing country of Russia reaches the stage where the peasant farmers close their homes, pack their belongings and leave the country, action, if any is ever to be taken, is necessary without delay.

These essentials are:—

1. Food sufficient to enable the peasant farmers to live on their farms until next harvest is in, and to induce those who have left to return to their farms.
2. Seed sufficient to sow at the very least the minimum acreage of 1920, and if possible, of course, more.
3. Agricultural implements sufficient to cultivate the land, sow this seed and harvest the resulting crop in 1922.
4. Either draught animals to take the place of those which have been taken from the farms during the last seven years for use in the army, or have been eaten in the last few months by the hungry peasants, or in default thereof, tractors in sufficient numbers to do the work required.
5. Sufficient transportation to insure the rapid distribution of these things at the points where they are needed by the peasant farmers.

These items will be considered separately.

1. *Food.* The feeding of a million children will probably save a vast number of children from death. But it will not enable the working farmer to live through the coming winter sufficiently healthy to put in as large a crop as possible next spring, nor will it keep his draught animals from dying, nor will it induce those families which have left the country to return to their farms.

In considering the matter of food, apart from seed the former is the important item for without farmers to cultivate the land, another famine next year is inevitable, and such a result must be clearly foreseen as the outcome of insufficient provision of food to keep the peasants on their farms. To meet this situation, this Commission has in the foregoing estimated the food needs at 945,000 tons of grain. To this should also be added 50,000 tons, the minimum food requirements for Transcaucasian Russia

(Armenia), making a total of 995,000 tons of grain for food purposes.

2. *Seed.* Under the heading The Seed Problem in this report the matter of the seed requirements of the Volga region of Russia has been dealt with in detail. To plant slightly less than the pre-war acreage would require 1,850,000 tons of grain for seed. The desire of People's Commissar for Agriculture, V. V. Ossinsky, to sow more than the normal acreage, for which he would like to secure 3,960,000 tons of seed grain, is no doubt laudable; but in view of the shortage of agricultural implements and draught animals, it would be wiser not to attempt the entire regeneration of Russia in one season. If more self-support is the aim, however, and not simply sufficient aid to continue a state of hunger indefinitely, at least the 1920 acreage of 18,886,000 acres should be planted and at least 1,000,000 tons of seed grain provided for that purpose. Of this amount Russia hopes to be able to furnish 162,000 tons, leaving 838,000 tons as a seed requirement. To this may be added the 6,250 tons of the minimum seed requirement of Armenia, making a total seed requirement of 844,250 tons, or in round figures, 850,000 tons for seed and 995,000 tons for food, a total grain requirement of 1,895,000 tons. This amount alone would be necessary to *insure the return of the entire Volga region to its former position of the grain reservoir of Europe.*

3. *Agricultural implements.* The matter of the exhaustion of the existing supply of agricultural implements in Russia has already been considered. Since 1914, that is for 7 years, it has been virtually impossible for anyone in Russia to secure any new agricultural implements.

Moreover, repairs to the existing agricultural equipment of Russia, where spare parts of agricultural machinery were concerned were quite as difficult of securing as new machinery itself, while the blacksmiths who would normally make the minor repairs were among the first to be mobilised and the last to be released in an army in which cavalry plays so prominent a part. Of the more than 300,000,000 acres of arable land in European Russia, even before the war only about 266,000,000 acres had ever been under the plough at any time, while in the Volga district the average proportion of cultivation was only about 30 per cent. and the agricultural equipment, meagre and primitive as it always was, bore about this relation to the agricultural task in hand. With seven years of deterioration it is a wonder indeed that any of this equipment is left at all, and indeed little is. It is therefore vain to speculate on what could be done to save Russia from disaster by supplying the Volga people with seed grain, unless at the same time the necessary means of planting this grain are also made available.

4. *Tractors.* What applies to agricultural implements applies also, of course, even in greater degree to draught animals or power machinery. For while scythes and ploughs and harrows were not requisitioned by the army for war purposes during the past seven years, horses were. According to statistics furnished by the People's Commissar for Agriculture there was a reduction in the number of draught horses between 1916 and 1920 of 16 per cent.—that is, of course, not simply that 16 per cent. of the draught

horses had been withdrawn from the pursuits of peace, but that 16 per cent. of the draught horses of Russia had disappeared, largely due, of course, to the losses of war. This Commission has no figures as to what proportion of the remaining 84 per cent. of the draught horses of Russia are still on the farm. Relatively few are in the cities, for under the present Government private carriages, racing stables, hunting mounts, and horses for pleasure riding have disappeared. On the other hand, however, it has been the observation of this Commission that the shortage of farm horses is very serious indeed, and that, in point of fact, one of the principal causes of the gradual reduction of grain production year by year has been the increased shallow ploughing, the inevitable result of a shortage of draught animals. The average depth of furrow to-day in the Volga district is 5 inches, which in default of very rich land and fertilizer is a certain forerunner of lessened crops. There is and can be no reasonable cause of this save a shortage of draught animals. With the enormous sacrifice of draught animals now taking place in the famine area, both by their starvation and their use as food, perhaps one of the most serious results of the present famine in the Volga district of Russia may be the loss of the few remaining draught animals in that territory. For while one good year may serve to put an agricultural country on its feet in the matter of grain production, draught horses, unlike wheat, cannot be raised in one year.

Two things are clear in respect of the draught animals in the Volga district of Russia: (1) there were never at any time more than about one-third the number necessary to cultivate all the arable land; (2) there are to-day scarcely one-half this number and by next Spring there will not be anything like so many available for the planting and harvesting of the 1922 crop.

Under these circumstances there is but one solution of the question: tractors. This is appreciated by everyone with whom this Commission spoke of the matter. There are to-day in Russia, the property of the Soviet Government, and in use for demonstration purposes, and to cultivate the national land, a number of tractors—mostly old-fashioned, out of date machines. There should be at least 2,000, and in order that the programme of rehabilitation which is here being considered may be carried out successfully, there must be at least 1,500 tractors sent to the famine district of Russia with the seed wheat of which mention has been made above. The tractors in question can remain the property of the central Soviet Government, of the local State Soviets, or of the communities themselves, as may seem expedient. The important thing is that *the war consumption of draught animals must be replaced on the farm by something*. We are not here considering small, intensive farming land holdings, where specialized high-value crops are raised as in France or Belgium, where wine grapes or sugar beets or similar crops are cultivated; but land like that of the Dakotas or Minnesota, where cultivation must be on a large scale or not at all.

5. *Transportation*. This matter, in many ways crucial in respect of the famine situation in Russia, has not been previously considered. Yet it is obvious that unless the supplies considered in this programme of rehabilitation for Russia can be got *promptly* to those who require them, they will be useless.

The transportation problem in Russia to-day is vital. No other one phase of the economic life of the country has suffered from the war as has the transportation system. The problem of rail transportation in Russia to-day is a twofold one, and comprises two elements of difficulty; (a) Fuel and (b) Locomotives. These may be considered separately.

(a) Fuel. According to Prof. George Lomanosoff, Director General of Russian Railways under the Imperial Government and subsequently under the Kerensky Government and to-day, under the Soviet Government, occupying the important post of Chief of the Russian Commission for the purchase of Railway Supplies abroad, there are now in Russia 1,750 locomotives, idle for lack of fuel. In view of the handicap under which Soviet Russia is labouring on account of the shortage of locomotives, this enforced idleness of so large a portion of the locomotives that there are in Russia is, to use the expression of Prof. Lomanosoff, "disheartening." But the reasons for it are not, after all, far to seek.

There are three types of fuel used in the Russian railway system: "mazoot" (oil residue), coal and wood. North of the Gomel-Kalooga-Moscow-Nijhny Novgorod-Kazan-Samar line, wood is burned. South of this line and west of the Moscow-Ryazan-Voronejh-Novocherkavsk line, coal is burned; while in the remaining south-eastern section, including the whole of Transcaucasia to the Persian frontier and even beyond, the fuel used is mazoot.

This division, however, is elastic, so that when there is a shortage of one kind of fuel the other two fields can, by an appropriate redistribution of their respective fields, absorb, for a time at least, the field in which the shortage occurs. Thus in case of a shortage of coal, for example, the southern part of the coal-burning territory would be normally absorbed by the mazoot field while the northern part would similarly, be taken care of by the wood-burning field. But it is self-evident that unless Russia possessed a triple complement of locomotives adapted to the use of each of these fuels (which is not, of course, the case), any such enforced readjustment would be certain to throw out of use a considerable number of locomotives adapted to the consumption of one kind of fuel and to put a corresponding strain on the locomotives adapted to the other two kinds of fuel. It goes without saying that alterations could be made in the locomotives at need; and this has, naturally, been done.

But the salient fact in the Russian situation to-day is that there is a shortage, not in one field only, but in two: the oil and the coal fields. It is neither possible nor is it desirable to adapt all the locomotives of Russia to burn wood. There are bound to be, therefore, a certain very considerable number of locomotives which, under the circumstances, are useless for lack of fuel. The reasons for this fact are not far to seek.

1. The mazoot shortage is of long standing, and is due to the fact that the oil wells of Baku, in the Socialist Soviet Republic of Azerbaijan, which formerly produced 15 per cent. of the oil output of the world, have produced little or nothing since 1917, owing

to the disturbed conditions of that country. *Occasional bombardments of the oilfields by Denikin's Caspian fleet, served to leave the oil wells in a state of ruin.* What machinery had not been willfully destroyed had so deteriorated from neglect and from careless handling by those unfamiliar with its use that it was and is of no value. From May, 1920 to date, the Soviet Government of Russia had profited of the reserve supply stored in reservoirs in Baku, for fuel purposes; and what additional supply of oil has been required, has come from the smaller field of Crosnaya, in the autonomous Gorsk Republic, north of the Caucasus mountains. This latter field is not and will never be adequate to the needs of Russia. As far as oil fuel is concerned, there is but one solution, namely: new machinery and technical experts for the Baku field. Neither are at present available in Russia.

2. *The coal shortage in Russia is of much more recent origin than the shortage of mazoot. It dates primarily from the operations from the Denikin army in and about the Donets coal basin in 1919, seconded by the operations, never actually in, but against, the Donets coal basin by the Wrangel armies in 1920. It is difficult to escape the conclusion that the choice of Taganrog in the Donets coal basin as Denikin's headquarters, and of the Donets coal basin itself as the immediate objective of the Wrangel armies, were not altogether fortuitous. The "basin," lying north of the Sea of Azoff and in the valley of the Donets river, comprises some 10,000 square miles and produced, before the war, 25 millions and 30 millions of coal annually. When Denikin's effort at the reconquest of Russia failed, he left this district, which had been the centre of his military operations, a ruin.*

So far as both mazoot and coal shortages are concerned, it should be clear from the above that no action of the Soviet Government of Russia, alone, can solve the problem which these shortages make every day more vital to the entire transportation system of Russia. What is required, primarily, as in the case of the agricultural redemption of the country, is new machinery to replace that destroyed by war or deteriorated through seven years of Russia's isolation from what were the sources of supply of machinery in Russia, even before the war. The transportation question is a very grave one for Russia, and the fuel element in it is the gravest, because it affects other industries as well as transportation.

(b) *Locomotives.*—The Russian guage is, as is generally known, five inches wider than the standard guage. Throughout the entire war, therefore, any locomotives, which may have been captured from other countries by the Russian armies have been useless. From 1914 on, Russia was condemned to continue the operation of their railway transportation system with what locomotives she had on hand at that time.

At the height of the war, the Russian military front was some 2,000 miles in extent, and it was necessary to supply an army of unprecedented dispersion virtually entirely by rail. The strain which this placed upon the Russian railway system was so great that in 1916 both Moscow and Petrograd were left for considerable periods without food owing to the congestion of the railways devoted primarily to supplying the armies. The need for additional locomotives was seen, and a mission was sent to the United States

to order them. The revolution, however, intervened, and these locomotives were never delivered to the Soviet Government of Russia. Recently, 700 locomotives have been ordered in Germany, to be delivered by the end of February, 1922, together with a considerable quantity of spare parts, tyres, boiler tubing, and other material for the repair of the locomotives now in Russia. One thousand locomotives have also been ordered in Sweden, of which 50 are to be delivered this year and 250 each succeeding year until complete delivery has been made. At present, however, there is an acute shortage of locomotives in Russia, which greatly complicates the handling of the famine situation by the Russian Soviet Government. Every important railway junction visited by this Commission—Rostoff-on-Don-Moscow — Ryazan-Roozaivka-Rtisch evo-Tikhorietskaya—was cluttered with useless locomotives in every stage of disintegration, which were being used to furnish spare parts to locomotives in slightly better condition, being kept in service by dint of great economy and ingenuity.

This Commission would fail of its duty, however, did it not record that the limited train service which is attempted under these trying circumstances is surprisingly well-conducted. Trains leave on time and generally speaking arrive on time. The great continental expresses which link Russia with Transcaucasia, Transcaspia, Turkestan, and Siberia, and those which connect Petrograd with Rostoff-on-Don and Odessa, run regularly. Yet the railway roadbeds throughout Russia are sadly in need of repairs. *In the district where Denikin's army operated scarcely a station or a water tank is left standing, and there is not a single bridge, even including the great railway bridge over the Don at Chir, which has not been damaged or blown up. Yet all of these bridges, left behind by the retreating Denikin armies in this condition, have been very skilfully repaired or replaced by wood construction in default of structural steel. The need for structural steel in Russia to-day, to make these repairs permanent, is stupendous. According to Prof. Lomanosoff, if no impediment is placed in the way of Russia's purchase of Railway supplies abroad, the railway system of Russia can be put in pre-war condition by January 1, 1927.*

Transportation in Relation to the Famine

Nevertheless, despite the handicaps of lack of fuel and locomotives and of damage to bridges and other equipment resulting from the civil war as well as of the normal wear and tear upon tracks and roadbeds, this Commission is convinced that whatever rail handling may be necessary to deliver the required grain supplies to the famine district to put that district upon its feet once more, can and will be furnished by the railway workers of Russia with such equipment as they now have at hand. Of this the Commission has the personal assurance of President Yereshoff and Secretary Starenko of the Railway Trainmen's Union of the Tsaritsin area, comprising 6,000 railway workers, with a radius of 250 miles of Tsaritsin.

It would undoubtedly, however, be of great advantage and would furnish an additional assurance of success if, in the event the quantity of grain essential to the rehabilitation of the famine district were to have to be moved, its shipment could be accompanied

by some 30 of the locomotives of Russian gauge which were built in the United States in 1917, if these locomotives are still available. The Russian Soviet Government would be very willing to pay for the same.

In supplying the Volga district with the grain it requires, the following routes could be employed, with Tsaritsin as the field base of distribution on the Volga, the river distribution to be effected by Volga steamers, of which there are a great number now available:

1. *Out of Novorossisk:*

(a) For loaded trains: Novorossisk-Ekaterinodar-Tikhorietskaya-Gniloakssayskaya (altitude 525 ft.)-Ssarepta-Tsaritsin. 504 miles. Grade gradual.

(b) For returning empties: Tsaritsin-Voljskaya-Likhaya-Rostoff-on-Don-Tikhorietskaya-Novorossisk, 622 miles. Heavy grade between Tsaritsin and Krivamoorghinskaya.

2. *Out of Rostoff-on-Don.*

(a) All rail.

(1) For loaded trains: Rostoff-on-Don-Botaisk-Tikhorietskaya-Gnilackassayskaya (altitude 525 ft.)-Ssarepta-Tsaritsin. 345 miles. Grade gradual.

(2) For returning empties: Tsaritsin-Volkjskaya-Likhaya-Novocherkavsk-Rostoff-on-Don, 340 miles. Heavy grade between Tsaritsin and Krivamoorghinskaya.

(b) Partly by water.

By the Don. Transshipping direct to river barges in Rostoff harbour, by barge to Kalech-Donskaya, by the Don river.

By rail. From Kalech-Donskaya-Voljskaya-Tsaritsin. 48 miles. Heavy grade. Krivamoorghinskaya.

By either of the two rail loops, out of Novorossisk, or Rostoff-on-Don, 3 trains can be dandled daily, 50 cars each, a total of 2,700 tons daily. In addition, and simultaneously, the Don can be used so long as it remains ice-free, in conjunction with the short haul from Kalech-Donskaya to Tsaritsin. By this route 5 additional trains can be handled daily, carrying 4,500 tons, making a daily total so long as the Don is open of 7,200 tons, and daily thereafter, by the all-rail route chosen 2,700 tons. The Don freezes about December 15.

From Tsaritsin, the distribution should be by the Volga to the following sub-centres of distribution: South of Tsaritsin; Cherny yar; North of Tsaritsin; Kamystschin; Saratoff; Syzran; Samara; Simbirsk; Kazan. From these sub-centres of distribution, the peasant communities themselves can fetch the supplies allotted to each even after the Volga is frozen, using sledges on the ice.

It is self-evident that by effecting the distribution locally, according to the need of those who remain on their farms, a powerful stimulus will be brought to bear to keep the peasant farmers on their land where they will be in a position to put in the maximum possible crop next spring and an inducement will be created to those who have already left to return to the land.

SUMMARY.

In the opinion of this Commission 1,845,000 tons of grain sent into Russia *now*, through the Black Sea, and using either Novorossisk or Rostoff-on-Don as a base and Tsaritsin as a field base, and employing the Don River as long as the climate will permit, will make the difference between existing famine conditions this year and a duplication of the same conditions next year, with all that this implies of loss in grain production and in human life, and a return of the Volga region to a state of full production within two years at most, with the saving of Armenia from starvation, into the bargain.

It is recognised, that even under the most favourable conditions, it would require a minimum of six months to deliver the amount of grain in question at points along the Volga where it could be fetched by the peasant farmers themselves. This is not, however, a matter of vital concern. What is vital is that a plan of action shall be decided upon as quickly as possible, and a beginning made to put that plan into effect. The peasants of the Volga wait, even in the face of death, the execution of such a plan once they have reason to believe that a definite effective plan of relief is actually to be carried out.

One point, however, should be emphasised, namely: it should be evident even to the most casual thinker that if a supply of grain is to be sent into Russia for the relief and rehabilitation of the famine-stricken inhabitants of the Volga region, it should be delivered to the Volga region, and not elsewhere. It will only embarrass the Soviet Government and risk a miscarriage of the enterprise, to have the supplies intended for the Volga famine sufferers merely delivered at some port or relief offered to the starving of the Volga region administered in Moscow or Petrograd.

A second item of cardinal importance must be emphasised, namely: so far as the furnishing of seed grain to enable the Volga farmers to sow a proper crop next year is concerned, it is essential that both the agricultural implements and the traction power necessary to breaking and sowing the land shall also be furnished the peasants. This means that about 2,000 small, two-plough tractors with full equipment, must be sent into Russia *with the seed grain*. This would cost about \$1,700,000.

ADDITIONAL SUPPLIES DESIRABLE.

The survey conducted by this Commission has revealed a vast need in Russia of a number of other articles of primary necessity which it may be well to mention here.

1. *Clothing.* Throughout Russia there is evidently the greatest need of clothing. It is not necessary that this clothing be of any elaborate kind, but it is necessary that it should be fairly warm. Reclaimed army uniforms and shoes; army blankets; the plainest and most durable of overalls; sweaters; heavy underwear; women's stockings. These would suffice. If a shipment of this sort of material could reach Russia before winter, many lives would undoubtedly be saved.

2. *Medical Supplies.* There is an almost total lack of medicines and hospital supplies of all kinds in Russia. The daily toll of

death from lack of ordinary medicines and the needless suffering due to lack of anaesthetics seems to this Commission a senseless inhumanity accomplishing no beneficial result, political or otherwise.

3. *Common tools.* It is not even necessary to supply the wooden handles of such tools as saws, hammers, hoes, picks, shovels, axes, etc. The Russians are very skilful in making wooden articles of this nature; what they require is the metal parts.

4. *Building materials.* In addition to the above, there is required throughout Russia such articles as nails, hinges; plumbing supplies of all kinds, pipe; ordinary household articles such as pots and pans; sheet tin; window glass; kerosine stoves, etc. Cities like



Specially drawn for "Communist Review."

Rostoff-on-Don, Tsaritsin, Samara, Alexandropol in Armenia and others that have suffered from war destruction must be virtually rebuilt.

5. *Structural steel.* Mention has already been made of the need for structural steel in rebuilding bridges and large buildings destroyed during the civil war. This need is virtually limitless.

6. *Electric power machinery.* One of the declared purposes of the Russian Government is to "electrify Russia." It is a plan

to be encouraged, and it now has the popular imagination enlisted in its favour. What it requires to be carried out is electrical machinery and technicians.

Under the headings "Co-operation of Soviet Government" and "Willingness of Soviet Government to Pay," the Commission expresses the opinion that one can count upon the good faith of the Soviet authorities for the repayment of the advances made to them, and points out particularly the guarantees represented by the natural wealth of Russia. It finishes up with the following recommendations and conclusions.

RECOMMENDATIONS.

In view of the expressed willingness and the ability of the Soviet Government of Russia to pay for what it requires, this Commission recommends:—

1. That a Commission be empowered without delay by the Congress of the United States, or, if this should be deemed inadvisable, by the American Relief Administration, or any similar organisation or group of organisations, American or international, of sufficient size to accomplish the work in hand, to obtain 1,845,000 tons of grain and to deliver the same to the farmers of the Volga region and those of Armenia, the delivery to be effected under the joint control of an American or an International Commission and the Soviet Government of Russia.

It is the thought of this Commission that such an amount of grain should be regarded as a loan from the United States, or from those who supply it, to the people of the Volga region and of Armenia to be repaid in kind on demand at a rate proportionate to the current market value of the grain in question, repayment to cover a fixed period of years and to begin in 1925.

2. That the United States Government facilitate under the Act of Congress authorising the formation of associations for export trade, the formation of an association of the American manufacturers of agricultural machinery and tractors, for the purpose of supplying to Russia \$500,000,000.00 worth of agricultural machinery and tractors, as a commercial enterprise.

3. That a similar association of the American manufacturers of locomotives and railway supplies with which might be associated the manufactures of bridge iron and steel, with a similar purpose in view, the amount of railway supplies, locomotives and bridge iron and steel required for the rehabilitation of the Russian railway system to be fixed by a joint Commission of technical experts.

4. That the United States enter into a trade agreement with Russia on the general lines of the trade agreements reached between the Soviet Government of Russia and the Governments of Great Britain, Sweden, and Italy.

CONCLUSION.

It is not the thought of this Commission that the above recommendations are to be regarded solely as a matter of business, though in the estimation of this Commission they are good business. There is a vast humanitarian element in the present situation in Russia. A sober, industrious, fundamentally honest and intelligent people, numerically greater than the population of the United States, has suffered cruelly from the war, and the after effects of

the war. In the creation of the circumstances which have brought about their suffering, the United States has not been altogether guiltless. It has been a party, with other nations, in maintaining an economic blockade of Russia which has made it difficult when not impossible for the Russian people to work out their own salvation—a great people, struggling blindly, perhaps, but very earnestly towards the light of a new day in human liberty.

There has been a wrong here which is not in harmony with the high ideals of the brotherhood of man which are at the foundation of our own institutions. The hour has come to repair this wrong by aiding in guiding towards civilisation a vast population in grievous peril of going astray.

For the Commission:
(Signed) PAXTON HIBBEN,
Secretary, Russian Commission
of the Near East Relief.

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Programme of the African Blood Brotherhood

[One of the outstanding features of the modern international political crisis is the militant attitude of the so-called backward and inferior races. One of the most active negro organisations in America is the African Blood Brotherhood. As the COMMUNIST REVIEW seeks to supply its readers with all information regarding the forces that are at present struggling against international imperialism, we publish, without comment, the programme of the African Blood Brotherhood. This organisation is growing more powerful every day in America. It publishes a monthly organ, THE CRUSADER, and is arranging to issue a weekly paper, THE LIBERATOR.

Editor of the COMMUNIST REVIEW.]

A RACE without a programme is like a ship at sea without a rudder. It is absolutely at the mercy of the elements. It is buffeted hither and thither and in a storm is bound to flounder. It is in such a plight as this that the Negro race has drifted for the past fifty years and more. Rarely ever did it know exactly what it was seeking and never once did it formulate any intelligent and workable plan of getting what it was seeking, even in the rare instances when it did know what it wanted. It is to meet this unfortunate condition and to supply a rudder for the Negro ship of State—a definite directive force—that the following programme adopted by the African Blood Brotherhood is herewith offered for the consideration of other Negro organisations and of the race in general.

There is nothing illusory or impractical about this programme. Every point is based upon the historic experience of some section or other of the great human family. Those who formulated the programme recognised (1) the economic nature of the struggle (not wholly economic, but nearly so); (2) that it is essential to know from whom our oppression comes: that is, who are our enemies; and to make common cause with all forces and movements that are working against our enemies; (3) that it is not necessary for Negroes to be able to endorse the programme of these other movements before they can make common cause with them against the common enemy; that the important thing about Soviet Russia, for example, is not the merits or demerits of the Soviet form of Government, but the outstanding fact that Soviet Russia is opposing the imperialist robbers who have partitioned our motherland and subjugated our kindred, and that Soviet Russia is feared by those imperialist nations and by all the capitalist plunder-bunds of the earth, from whose covetousness and murderous inhumanity we at present suffer in many lands.

Africa

Our Motherland, Africa, is divided by the Big Capitalist Powers into so-called "colonies."

The colonies in turn are parcelled out to white planters and capitalists, some of them colonists, others absentee landlords. To

this end the free life of the African peoples have been broken up and the natives deprived of their lands in order to force them to work, at starvation wages, on the lands of these white capitalists. These planter-capitalists have settled down in our country to exploit the riches of the land as well as the labour of our people.

But our people were not tamely submissive and had to be subjugated. They refused to be exploited and rebelled and fought the invader in an unequal struggle. The invaders, armed with weapons of modern technique, and precision, as against the primitive and old weapons of our forefathers, were finally able to subdue our people. But not until many a "British square" had been broken and many a sudden disaster suffered by the forces of all of the invading capitalist Powers.

HOW WE WERE ENSLAVED.

And the fight is not yet over. A people living in oppression may be compared to a volcano. At any moment it may rise like a giant and run its enemies into the sea. To prevent this eventuality the capitalist planters, with the aid of their home governments, have organised "Colonial Armies," formed and equipped according to methods of modern technique. And to conquer our militant spirit and win us to slavish acceptance of their dominance they brought in the white man's religion, Christianity, and with it whisky. By the white man's religion our people's militant spirit was drugged; with his whisky they were debauched. The white man's treachery, the white man's religion and whisky had as great a part in bringing about our enslavement as the white man's guns.

But in order to more intensively exploit our rich motherland and the cheap labour power of an enslaved people, it was necessary to bring into our land certain machine industries and certain material improvements, like railroads, etc., and to-day we may witness, especially in the coast cities of Africa, the steady growth of modern enterprise. With the introduction of industrial equipment the African has learned to wield the white man's machines, his guns, his methods, and with the possession of this knowledge has grown a new hope and determination to achieve his freedom and become the master of his own motherland.

HOPE NEVER MORE JUSTIFIED.

Indeed, the hope of the Negro people to free themselves from the imperialist enslavers was never more justified than at present. The home governments of the planter-capitalists are weakening day by day, and are trembling under the menace of the Proletarian Revolution. The oppressed colonies and small nations are in constant rebellion, as witness the Irish, Turks, Persians, Indians, Arabs, Egyptians, etc.

While the interior of Africa is as yet barely touched by predatory Capitalism, the tribes fully realise the danger they would be subjected to should the enslavers penetrate more into the interior. Under the leadership of the more able and developed Negroes in the coast district, the tremendous power of the Negro race in Africa could be organised. Towards this end we propose that every effort shall be bent to organise the Negroes in the coast districts, and bring all Negro organisations in each of the African countries into

a world-wide Negro Federation. The various sections of the Federation to have their own Executive Committees, etc., and to get in touch with the tribes in the interior, with a view of common action. The Supreme Executive Committee to get in touch with all other peoples on the African continent, the Arabs, Egyptians, etc., as well as the revolutionists of Europe and America, for the purpose of effecting co-ordination of action.

Labour organisations should be formed in the industrial sections in order to protect and improve the conditions of the Negro workers.

No opportunity should be lost for propagandising the native soldiers in the "colonial armies" and for organising secretly a great Pan-African army in the same way as the Sinn Fein built up the Irish Army under the very nose of England.

Modern arms must be smuggled into Africa. Men sent into Africa in the guise of missionaries, etc., to establish relations with the Senussi, the various tribes of the interior, and to study the topography of the country. The Senussi already have an "army in existence," a fact that is keeping European capitalist statesmen awake o' nights.

Every effort and every dollar should be spent to effect the organisation of a Pan-African army, whose very existence would drive respect and terror into the hearts of the white capitalist-planters, and protect our people against their abuses. Remember: **MIGHT MAKES RIGHT—ALWAYS DID AND ALWAYS WILL.**

America

Whatever interest the capitalist displayed in the Negro was always motivated by considerations of cheap labour power.

It was early recognised that the Negro people were the most enduring in the world, and when the New World was discovered the rich exploiters organised expeditions to enslave our people and forcibly carry them into New World lands, there to build empires and create wealth where otherwise none would have been possible. This is the history of most of the Negro populations in foreign lands.

THE CAUSE OF THE CIVIL WAR.

In the United States, as is well known, the Negroes but a few decades ago were exploited according to the most crude and primitive system of exploitation; chattel slavery. This chattel slavery prevailed in the South, while in the North the modern capitalist method of exploitation (wage slavery) prevailed. The two systems could not exist side by side and therefore the so-called war of liberation, in which Northern Capitalists and their retinue, in a smoke of idealistic camouflage, went to war against feudal capitalists in the South in order to decide supremacy between the two systems in the Americas. Northern Capitalists won and chattel slavery in the South was abolished with lurid speeches and glamour about Liberty, Democracy, etc.

But the Negroes were not to have even the comparative liberty which the great Capitalist Czars tolerate under the wage-slavery system. They were scrupulously disarmed, while their former

owners with their henchmen remained armed. To repress all Negro aspirations for real freedom and suppress all desires to better their condition, secret murder societies like the Ku Klux Klan were organised by the former owner class who tortured and murdered secretly in cold blood thousands of defenceless Negroes and many whites wherever the humanitarian instincts prompted them to champion the Negroes' cause. And the victorious Capitalist "Liberators" of the North not only did not move a finger to enforce justice but suppressed the facts of this terrible persecution of the Negro and his few white friends. Through years of terror exercised by these white cracker societies the Negro again became totally subjugated, and Peonage is the lot of many to-day in the Southern States, while many are lynched or massacred each year. Lately the New Negro has come upon the scene and in response to his rebellious spirit and that of the exploited in general, we see the resurrection of the Ku Klux Klan.

NEGRO MIGRATION.

As a result of continued oppression and maltreatment in the South, many thousands of Negroes have managed to escape to the North, and to-day every big Northern city has a large Negro population.

The comparative freedom of the North is propitious for great organisations and cultural activities, and it is here that the vanguard and general staff of the negro race must be developed.

A GREAT NEGRO FEDERATION.

In order to build a strong and effective Movement on the platform of Liberation for the Negro People and protection of their rights to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," etc., all Negro organisations should get together on a Federation basis, thus creating a united centralised movement. Such a movement could be carried on openly in the North, but would have to be built up secretly in the South in order to protect those members living in the South and to safeguard the organisation from premature attack. Within this Federation a secret protective organisation should be developed—the real Power—to the membership of which should be admitted only the best and most courageous of the race. The Protective organisation would have to function under strict military discipline, ready to act at a moment's notice whenever defence and protection are necessary.

LABOUR AND ECONOMIC ORGANISATIONS.

Millions of Negroes have come North and are employed as labourers and mechanics, etc., in the various industries and capitalist enterprises of the North. Being unorganised, they are compelled to work at the meanest jobs and under the worst conditions. When depression in industry appears they are the first to suffer. The white workers, through their labour organisations, have not only compelled the capitalists to give them more money and a shorter workday, but also partial employment during slack times. And when better times arrive, the white workers, through their organisation, are ready to take full advantage of the situation. Negro workers, wherever organised in Labour Unions, have improved their living conditions, won shorter hours, more money and

steadier employment, as witness the sleeping car conditions, the Negro Longshoremens in Philadelphia, etc. And since the strength of a people depends upon the degree of well-living by that people, we must by all means strive to substantially improve the standard of living, etc. All worth-while Negro organisations and all New Negroes must therefore interest themselves in the organising of Negro workers into Labour Unions for the betterment of their economic condition and to act in close co-operation with the class-conscious white workers for the benefit of both.

NEGRO FARMER ORGANISATION.

The same principle applies to the small Negro farmers and farm labourers. They must get together to resist exploitation as well as to protect themselves against peonage and other injustices. Wherever co-operation with white farmers is possible it is of course desirable.

CO-OPERATIVE ORGANISATIONS.

There has developed among our people the naive belief that permanent employment, better conditions, and our salvation as a race can be accomplished through the medium of Negro factories, steamship lines, and similar enterprises. We wish to warn against putting too great dependence along this line, as sudden financial collapse of such enterprises may break the whole morale of the Liberation Movement. Until the Negro controls the rich natural resources of some country of his own he cannot hope to compete in industry with the great financial magnates of the capitalist nations on a scale large enough to supply jobs for any number of Negro workers, on substantial dividends for Negro investors. Let those who have invested in such propositions tell you whether they have obtained either jobs or dividends by such investment.

The only effective way to secure better conditions and steady employment in America is to organise the Negro's Labour Power as indicated before into labour organisations. Every big organisation develops certain property in the shape of buildings, vacation farms, etc. In prosperous times they may even develop co-operative enterprises such as stores, etc., but such enterprises must be co-operative property of all members of the organisation, and administered by members elected for the purpose. Under no circumstances should such property be operated under corporation titles written over to a few individuals to be disposed of at their pleasure. But experience has proven that such enterprises can only exist when the oppressed class is well organised. Without adequate organisation an industrial crisis like the present would sweep them off their feet. But where backed by adequate organisation the co-operative idea can be worked to advantage. Unlike the corporation, which lifts a few men on the shoulders and life-savings of the many, the co-operative is of equal benefit to all.

Alliances

There can be only one sort of alliances with other peoples and that is an alliance to fight our enemies, in which case our allies must have the same purpose as we have. Our allies may be actual or potential, just as our enemies may be actual

or potential. The small oppressed nations who are struggling against the capitalist exploiters and oppressors must be considered as actual allies. The class-conscious white workers who have spoken out in favour of African liberation and have a willingness to back with action their expressed sentiments, must also be considered as actual allies and their friendship further cultivated. The non-class conscious white workers who have not yet realised that all workers regardless of race or colour have a common interest, must be considered as only potential allies at present and everything possible done to awaken their class-consciousness toward the end of obtaining their co-operation in our struggle. The revolutionary element which is undermining the imperialist powers that oppress us must be given every encouragement by Negroes who really seek liberation. This element is led and represented by the Third International which has its sections in all countries. We should immediately establish contact with the Third International and its millions of followers in all countries of the world. To pledge loyalty to the flags of our murderers and oppressors, to speak about alliances with the servants and representatives of our enemies, to prate about first hearing our proven enemies before endorsing our proven friends is nothing less than cowardice and the blackest treason to the Negro race and our sacred cause of liberation.

It is the Negroes resident in America—whether native or foreign born—who are destined to assume the leadership of our people in a powerful world movement for Negro liberation. The American Negro by virtue of being a part of the population of a great empire, has acquired certain knowledge in the waging of modern warfare, the operation of industries, etc. This country is the base for easy contact with the whole world, and the United States is destined, until the Negro race is liberated, to become the centre of the Negro World Movement. It is in this country, especially, that the Negro must be strong. It is from here that most of the leaders and pioneers who will carry the message across the world will go forth. But our strength cannot be organised by vain indulgence in mock-heroics, empty phrases, unearned decorations and titles, and other tomfoolery. It can only be done by the use of proper tactics, by determination and sacrifice upon the part of our leaders and by intelligent preparatory organisation and education.

To be kidded along with the idea that because a few hundreds of us assemble once in a while in a convention that therefore we are free to legislate for ourselves; to fall for the bunk that before having made any serious effort to free our country, before having crossed swords on the field of battle with the oppressors, we can have a government of our own, with presidents, potentates, royalties and other queer mixtures; to speak about wasting our energies and money in propositions like Bureaus of Passports and Identification, diplomatic representatives, etc., is to indulge in pure moonshine, and supply free amusement for our enemies. Surely, intelligent, grown-up individuals will not stand for such childish nonsense if at all they are serious about fighting for Negro liberation! We must come down to earth, to actual practical facts and realities, and build our strength upon solid foundations—and not upon titled and decorated tomfoolery.

The Engineering Crisis and The United Front

By J. T. MURPHY

ON March the 11th, the lock-out of engineering workers began. This is not the first time these men have been flung into a great struggle. But never have they been dealt with in so ruthless a manner. Never have they had to face such a crisis in such conditions as obtain to-day.

This is no isolated crisis. Any attempt to measure its significance simply in terms of the engineering industry is doomed to gross misconceptions.

It marks a new stage in the struggle of the Unions, and a new stage in the vicious capitalist offensive which was launched early in 1921.

It may be regarded as a natural sequence to Black Friday. But this blow was carefully prepared long before Black Friday, although that calamity encouraged the employers and emboldened them in their aggression. It is the culmination of the fight that is cutting into the very vitals of Unionism in every industry, and challenging the whole workers' movement to face the realities of the class struggles *as a class*.

The attack of the employers is aided by a series of important factors. Capitalist industry, in general, has broken down, and the engineering and shipbuilding section is particularly hard hit. It has received terrible blows by "winning the war." The spoils of victory depleted the shipbuilding orders and the cessation of the war left the engineering factories encumbered with a vast amount of machinery and plant which was almost useless for any new enterprise. In addition the Unions had secured important concessions during the war, and these had to be won back at all costs.

The present crisis, therefore, is not only the result of wise forethought on the part of the employers, it is also the inevitable outcome of a conflict of forces which compel the employers to fight for their existence as such, at the expense of the workers' movement.

When 1914 presented the employing class of this country with an almost inexhaustible market, it demanded a number of important changes which affected the engineering and shipbuilding industry more than any other industries in the country. J. T. W. Newbold has shown in his "*How Europe Armed for War*," how much of this industry is of a parasitic character. Instead of the war cutting down this growth, it stimulated it to unheard of dimensions. It swept hundreds of thousands of workers out of other industries into its maw, and introduced mass production on an unprecedented scale. The effect of these changes on the Union movement was enormous, but we will consider that later.

The war had an equally drastic effect on the policy of the employers and the State. Prior to 1914, employers' organisations

dealt directly with the workers' organisations and were loth to have the intervention of the State. When the State did intervene it posed as the impartial authority trying to square the differences between the contending parties. The war altered this completely. The State became not only the customer, but also the arbitrary ruler, placing the interests of British imperialism as a whole above the interests of any firm or any industry. Strikes were prohibited and so were lock-outs. Free trade was abolished and an effective State control of industry superseded competitive trading. The State became all-powerful internally for the purpose of conducting an external conflict. But the class character of the society over which it ruled demanded a policy of concessions to conflicting interests to maintain harmony for war. It conceded advances in wages, reductions in working hours to the workers, enormous profits were granted to employers, and it created a very complex machinery both coercive and conciliatory. There were Munitions of War Acts, Munitions Tribunals, Whitley Councils, Conciliation Boards, Arbitration Courts. In effect, we had industrial conscription with concessions to employers and workpeople. All these changes were carried through with the promise of restoration after the war.

In no industry were the effects so radical as in the engineering and shipbuilding industries. Sir Allan Smith stood side by side with Mr. Arthur Henderson, preaching the doctrine of conciliation. The State was supreme, and Capital and Labour were the instruments of the great power. Such was the doctrine. Factories were built on a great scale, and "skilled" labour was diluted to a degree undreamed of by the employers. They knew, as everyone knew, who gave any thought to the situation, that restoration was a promise to be broken. The employers had nothing to be alarmed about so long as private property was left untouched and profits were secure. The rest—the concessions and encroachments of the Unions, could safely be left until a more convenient season. They were quite certain, so long as they prevented nationalisation, that private industry would re-assert itself at the termination of the war, and in the chaos of restoration they could re-assume their previous autocracy with the added gains accruing from the revolution in industrial methods. Hence the vigorous opposition to the nationalisation of the railways and mines in the later years of the war, and the great campaign for the return to "normalcy" immediately after the war. The State is alright for the capitalist as an instrument for coercing the workers or for opposing a foreign foe. For themselves, the employers want freedom. Not for one moment have the employers relaxed their hold of the State. But they have made the State relax its hold upon them. They need the State but hate it. It is a contradiction which is tearing capitalism to pieces. Only by means of developing State power could they consolidate their victories, make new victories in the world market, and secure the subjection of the working class. But the upkeep of the State costs money. It is burdened with a colossal debt which imposes great taxation upon industry. The victory over the foreign foe has been crushing, and in the process a great market has been destroyed. The contraction of the market has intensified the struggle for the remaining avenues of trade. Hence the demand for the cheapening of the costs of production and unhampered competition. The State thus loses even its temporary appearance as a conciliator and is revealed

in all its nakedness as the coercive weapon of a class demanding freedom to rob and exploit the masses in terms of their individual interests, whilst their industrial and financial consortiums assume the same dominating rôle as before the war. Sir Allan Smith and the Federation of British Industries drop their olive branches into the laps of the labour leaders and can now talk business to Mr. Lloyd George and the Trade Unions alike. They have played their cards admirably. They patiently waited for the subsiding of the political ferment accompanying the demobilisation of the army, then launched their attack, partly driven by their needs, partly with malice aforethought.

Then began the period of the offensive of industrial capitalism against the fetters of State control and war-time concessions.

The State ceased its policy of conciliation and now ruthlessly drives the bargains of its dictators.

Whitley Councils have proved a farce. Conciliation Boards, Arbitration Courts have all gone west, and are recognised as of no value as a means of defence. The progressive partnership of capital and labour has burst like a bubble. We are face to face with the raw facts of the class war intensified by the results of an industrial revolution and an economic collapse.

After the defeat of the miners, neither the employers nor the State met any resistance until the revolt of the engineers against the memorandum which strips the Unions of the last vestige of the concessions won during the war period. The defeat of the miners was the defeat of national control of industry. The new struggle is the fight for control of the conditions of labour. The engineering industry was subject to the most drastic changes in this direction and the defeat of the engineers on this issue is vital to the future of Unionism.

It has been the fate of the engineer to be the pioneer of his own undoing. He hates "dilution," but creates the means of dilution. He prides himself upon his skill and by his skill simplifies the labour process, including his own. He objects to the labourer taking his job, but exclaims of his handiwork—"It is so beautiful and simple, a child could work it." He has produced the machinery which is machining him into the ranks of "general" labour. For years his only means of defence has been by Union combination.

Slowly yet surely the process was defeating him before the war.

The war swept his defences away. The Unions were tied to the chariot wheels of the imperialist state and his protests were smothered in patriotic appeals, wage advances, piece work systems, and unlimited overtime. Millions of workers were turned into the industry. The Union leaders made no stir against the innovations. Indeed, they were the servile agents assisting in their introduction without offering a single constructive idea as to how the workers should handle the new situation. They accepted the Munitions Act without a murmur, and the dilution schemes, Military Service Acts, provisions for avoiding disputes, tribunals, courts, Whitley schemes—in short, they were nothing more nor less than Government agents.

It was left to the rank and file to tackle the situation in the factories. Under the guidance of the revolutionary leaders they organised the new comers with the skilled workers and insisted on the control of the conditions under which the transfer of labour should take place. Factory or works' committees sprang up throughout the industry, and forced the adherence to terms as to the employment of all kinds of labour. It was because of the successes gained by these activities that the Government patronised them with its Whitley scheme and the Union leaders produced a scheme for the adaptation of the shop stewards organisation to the Union constitutions.

The policy of the shop steward committees was such as to check innovations without the aid or consent of the workers, who insisted on the application of the war-time schedules governing the dilution process.

When the officials adapted the schemes of organisation to the Unions they left this practice to be implied in the instructions, and advocated the practice. Hence the employers to-day are in the position, with the abrogation of war-time legislation, of tying the Unions down to a literal interpretation of agreements and explicit definitions.

Throughout the period of the war these practices became part of the life of Unionism. Unemployment was absent and the workers were conscious of a security of tenure which gave them confidence to exercise their strength.

Forgetful of the future restoration problems, the whole movement became infected with the idea of a continuous development along these lines, broadening into a new social order, with the workers steadily advancing to a higher status. They facilitated the industrial revolution and forgot its implications, the parasitic character of a large proportion of the industry, and the reactions which were to follow.

The shock of "peace" changed the whole situation rapidly. The Union leaders were let loose by the State, in spite of the desire of the Union leaders who preferred to nurse the policy of the State as the conciliator. But the State chafed at this encumbrance in the same way that the employers chafed at the State. Its promises of restoration proved utterly futile, the Unions were left to prosecute any employer who did not carry out the return. No records of the changes were kept and the Unions were in a trap without the slightest chance of gaining anything from the promises. At the same time the industrial revolution was a fact and no return was possible.

Under these circumstances the employers had only to smash the practices which had been established through the vigour and energies of the revolutionaries during the war, and they would be free to make the fullest possible use of all that had been gained by mass production, dilution of labour, etc. They were committed to none of the new Union practices by agreement. They had always safeguarded themselves too well for that. The vagueness of terms of agreements are always of advantage to the dominant party, and it is no use anyone who is weak trying to read into any agreement what is not explicitly stated.

The interpretation of the overtime agreement of 1920 gave the engineering employers the opportunity they desired to challenge the invasion of Unionism into the factories. This agreement stated that "where necessary" 30 hours overtime per month may be worked on production work." The agreement made special provision for repair work, etc. The argument centred on the question—who shall determine "where necessary"? The employer claimed the sole right to determine this. The Union claimed the right to confer previous to consent, and a special letter was issued on Dec. 7, 1920 insisting on the Union's organisers and officials adhering to this method of procedure, in view of the growing unemployment amongst the members. The employers challenged the interpretation, seeing quite clearly that if this practice became confirmed it would stabilise the innovation of job control, vigorously defended during the war period.

This challenge they held over the heads of the engineers for nearly twelve months, whilst pursuing the policy of wage reductions. 1921 witnessed a continuous retreat on the part of the Unions. Unemployment increased and drained the Union's finances. Then down came the memorandum which developed the claim of the employers not only to control overtime, but also to eliminate every obstruction to the fullest use of the war-time dilution gains. Fearful of struggle, the A.E.U. Executive Council and organising delegates agreed to and recommended the employers' memorandum, which reads as follows:—

Memorandum of conference between the Engineering and the National Employers' Federations and the Amalgamated Engineering Union, held at Broadway House, Tothill Street, Westminster, London, S.W. 1, on 17th and 18th November, 1921:—

I.—GENERAL.

1. The Trade Union shall not interfere with the right of the employers to exercise managerial functions in their establishments, and the Federations shall not interfere with the proper functions of the Trade Union.

2. In the exercise of these functions the parties shall have regard to the Provisions for Avoiding Disputes, of 17th April, 1914, which are amplified by the shop stewards and works committee agreement, of 20th May, 1919, and to the terms of other national and local agreements between the parties.

3. Instructions of the management shall be observed pending any question in connection therewith being discussed in accordance with the provisions referred to.

II.—OVERTIME.

It is agreed that in terms of the overtime and night agreement, of the 29th and 30th September, 1920, the employers have the right to decide when overtime is necessary, the workpeople or their representatives being entitled to bring forward under the provisions referred to any case of overtime they

desire discussed. Meantime, the overtime required shall be proceeded with.

Signed on behalf of—

The Engineering and the National Employers' Federations—
Allan M. Smith, Chairman; James Brown, Secretary.

The Amalgamated Engineering Union—

J. T. Brownlie, Chairman; A. H. Smethurst, Secretary.

This was turned down by ballot vote, and the lock-out of the A.E.U. has followed.

The agreement strikes at everything gained during the war period. Indeed, if put into operation, it completely destroys every atom of control of any job. Not only can the war-time dilution be consolidated at the expense of skilled and unskilled workers, but it continues without the slightest chance of controlling the conditions under which it shall proceed. The A.E.U. Executive Council have shirked this issue throughout the proceedings and have tried to confine the issue to the control of overtime on production work—a most unwarrantable and cowardly interpretation, as the engineers will find to their cost if it is still forced upon them. The memorandum has now been pushed on to every Union in the industry. This crisis, therefore is the culminating point of the employers' efforts to get back to unbridled control of the workers' conditions in every detail. It is an attack which strikes at the very foundations of Unionism, and it comes at a time when the united front is the only defence worthy of consideration.

There is not, however, a single incident from the beginning of the negotiations on the issues raised which encourages us to believe the Trade Union leaders will rise to the occasion and fight. If they do fight, it will be because they have no option and not because they are anxious to save the workers from the disastrous consequences of the agreement. The A.E.U. Executive, along with the Engineering and Shipbuilding Unions have done more abject dodging of issues and running after the employers and State officials since this crisis began than any decent man of courage would do in a lifetime. At the hour of lock-out the A.E.U. leaders gave permission to the non-federated firms to carry on, the apprentices to work, and the black-coated foreman to continue his supervision. All out of consideration for the Union's finances! The E. & S. Federation decided to take a ballot to cover a fortnight, whilst the General Council of the Trade Union Congress gave birth to the brilliant and courageous demand that the Government shall establish a Court of Inquiry into the causes of the dispute.

If the united front is to come out of this struggle, therefore, it is abundantly clear that it will come as a result of pressure from the masses and not because of the will and purpose of the Union leaders. Demands are surging in from all quarters for an All-in Congress. The demand may be conceded, but only after every effort has been made to avoid it. There is not a channel which will not be explored to deflect the energy developed by the struggle. Indeed the leaders are making a virtue of their efforts to avoid a united resistance to the attacks of the employers. Every Union

leader is measuring the situation in terms of his own little constitution. Even if the All-in Congress is conceded it is certain that the leaders will make it a means, not of rallying the masses for a united struggle against the employers, but as a means of conciliation and compromise.

Although the lock-out of the A.E.U. has been on for a fortnight, no alternative programme or agreement has been submitted to the masses by the leaders as the basis for the development of the struggle. Only the Communist Party and the Red International have put forward an alternative and striven from the beginning of the dispute to widen the front for a class resistance to the class attack. The significance of this isolation is important. It points to the difficulties which encumber the path to the united front.

The struggle will reveal them more and more clearly. It will show the limited vision of the leaders, the futility of the so-called "democratic" methods, the vested interests of officialdom, the leaders' lack of faith in the masses, and, above all, that the united front will have to be attained without the good will of the Trades Union bureaucracy. Not without them, but in spite of them. No unofficial movement in the Unions has the slightest chance at the moment of calling out the Unions which are still at work. The workers in the factories dread unemployment and will only come into the arena of action when their vested interests in the Unions and all their traditional prejudices are mobilised. These are under the control of the leaders, and the leaders know it.

It is true that a new situation is created when the workers are out. Then they want others to join and become quite revolutionary in temper. Consequently the barrier between the vast numbers of unemployed and locked-out workers, and the extension of the battle front is the Trade Union bureaucracy. They hold the key to the situation and everything depends upon the pressure brought to bear upon them as to whether the key is turned which makes for class action. If this is done, then new problems arise which will determine their fate. But the question of the moment is—Can the unemployed and locked-out workers compel the Union leaders to make the United Front?

We shall see.

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Book Review

Property and Political Power

The Origin of Tyranny. By P. H. Ure. 374 pp. Cloth. Illustrated. Cambridge Press. 35/- net.

SEVERAL years ago Prof. Ure published a short essay in which he set out to prove that the Greek tyrants, of the seventh and sixth centuries, B.C., raised themselves to political domination through their economic power. He has now elaborated his theory and brings forward a wonderful mass of historical evidence to sustain it. To the thousands of Marxian students who know that property ultimately expresses itself in political control of the State, the thesis of Prof. Ure is neither new nor novel. The real value, however, of *The Origin of Tyranny*, rests on its scholarly application of a well-known Marxian doctrine and the wealth of historical detail which the author has brought forward to support his case.

The main argument of the book is based upon an amazing collection of data, which reveals the author as a patient research student and an ingenious interpreter, and which shows that the political struggles in early Greece were fought out by two opposing propertied interests—those of commerce and land. While earlier writers have made vague references to the connection between moneyed power and the rise of Tyranny, it has been left for Prof. Ure, by a careful study of the facts, to show that there is every reason to believe that the tyrants established their political domination upon the basis of their commercial and financial supremacy. With the reestablishment of commercial relations and the extension of trade, there inevitably follows the need for a universal medium of exchange—Money. As complex trading relations finally push gold forward as the ideal universal equivalent, we find when exchange reaches the Money form that a new social force had been created. Engels, in a brilliant passage in the *Origin of the Family*, says:—

“ At the same time metal coins came into use, and through them a new desire for controlling the producers and their products. The commodity of commodities hiding all other commodities in its mysterious bosom had been discovered. . . . Whoever held it in his command had the world of production at his command.”

Here Engels is drawing attention to the rise of metal coins as one of the economic factors that explains the rise of the despotic State. Likewise, Marx, in page after page of the three volumes of *Capital*, shows that money is a social power, which becomes transformed into “*the private power of private persons.*” Historians like E. Meyer, have shown that the rise of gold coinage was accompanied by social and political changes. Prof. Ure’s book is, therefore, a study of those men who, in the seventh and sixth century of Greece, were of the commercial class, and who were the first to grasp “the political possibilities of the new conditions created by

the introduction of the new coinage." (p. 2). His valuable work is indeed, a much needed contribution to the economic history of the early Greek states. Tutors and students at the many Labour Colleges, up and down the land, will agree that any serious work dealing with the economic foundations of the early Mediterranean States is worthy of out attention. Although there are several very valuable histories of Greece, it is amazing how weak those are on the economic and industrial side. We must therefore be thankful for specialised studies such as *The Origin of Tyranny*.

Our author deals with the rise of tyrants in Athens, Samos, Egypt, Lydia, Argos, Corinth, and Rome, etc.

One of the most peculiar facts in history is how the tyrants have been criticised as political rulers. The very term tyrant has become one of political opprobrium. A study of the political careers of the tyrants show that they were as generous and well-meaning as any of the much lauded democratic statesmen. Two reasons may be advanced for the adverse verdict of the usual "impartial" historians upon the public policies of the tyrants. The dictatorship of the tyrants was opposed to the class interests of the landed aristocracy. Sometimes the tyrants had to get the assistance of the poorer freemen in order to maintain their power against the landed interests. One of the arguments advanced by Aristotle against the tyrant was that he generally "supports the people and the masses against the nobles."! Aristotle, of course, had as much class bias as any "impartial" historian. A further reason why the most popularly quoted Greek authorities attacked the tyrants was because these gentlemen were invariably members of the landed aristocracy. Prof. Ure says:—

"The Greek tyrant and the Roman Rex are not the only monarchs who have had a bad press. The Emperors of Rome and the Kings of Israel and Judah suffered likewise. Yet Jewish priests and Roman senators were not able to turn the titles of King and Emperor and Cæsar into a byword and reproach. There must have been some very special circumstances to account for the universal execration of the name of tyrant. Is it not to be found in the commercial character of its origin?" a(p. 303).

The price of *The Origin of Tyranny* is 35s. This will prevent it from being very popular among the proletarian students of the Labour Colleges. When an important book is 2s. 6d. we can sell it by the thousand; when it is 35s. we have to exert pressure upon the local libraries to obtain it.

THE WORKER

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Weekly



Egypt

Manifesto of the Egyptian Workers Party to the Workers of the World

THE brutal and aggressive tone in which the British militarists and colonial officials have replied to the sacred demands of the Egyptian people, have opened the eyes of the most naive and credulous amongst us. The veil has been torn and the hideous features of our oppressors have been revealed in all their ugliness.

With pride and dignity we hurl back the challenge thrown in the face of the Egyptian people by the British militarists and imperialists. Forty years of foreign occupation with all its military terrorism and its arbitrary laws of persecution, have not been able to weaken for a single instant our firm resolution to fight, and to make all the necessary sacrifices for the conquest of our independence.

The Egyptian Workers' Party, standard-bearer of the proletariat and party of the class struggle, declares that in the Union of the entire Egyptian people in its supreme fight against the oppressive power of British Imperialism it will integrally maintain its Socialist programme and will not renounce its struggle against the Egyptian capitalist tyrants and oppressors, accomplices and associates of the tyrannic foreign domination.

The Egyptian intellectual proletariat will cease all collaboration, of whatever nature it may be, with our oppressors, and whoever will adopt a contrary attitude will be a traitor to the higher interests of the people and of the holy national cause.

The Egyptian proletariat workers and peasants, extends a fraternal hand to the world proletariat and particularly to the proletariat of Great Britain, so that together they may mount to the assault of the imperialist citadel, which under its weight suffocates not only the enslaved peoples of the Orient, but also pitilessly exploits all the labouring and producing masses of Europe. The peoples of the Orient count on the assistance and support of the world proletariat in their struggle against the common enemy.

The struggle for the conquest of independence on the part of the peoples of the Orient is also a struggle bearing a clear Socialist character. The world proletariat is enslaved and exploited by the same enemy—rapacious capitalism.

Let the diplomats plot and intrigue and betray the interests of the masses. We, the proletariat, are ready for a long and bitter struggle, are forming our battle lines, are organising our forces in the Trade Unions and are bringing together the workers of the city and country. Let the intellectuals go to the peasants to create a united political and economic front, which will at the same time act as a counter balance to the influence of the bourgeoisie.

Without hesitation, and without fear, let us group ourselves around the banner of the International for the final struggle against our only enemy, British Imperialism, which is, to-day the highest expression of world capitalism. On the victory of Socialism and on the seizure of power by the proletariat depends the independence and emancipation of the peoples of the Orient. And by the indissoluble union of the workers of the West and of the East, we will vanquish our common enemy—capitalist imperialism.

LONG LIVE INDEPENDENT EGYPT! LONG LIVE THE INTERNATIONAL OF THE WORKERS! LONG LIVE THE SOCIAL REVOLUTION!

Russia

THE session of the Enlarged Executive Committee of the Communist International opened on the 21st of February in the Kremlin. The new Presidium was elected unanimously as follows:—

Zinovieff (Russia), Clara Zetkin (Germany), Arthur Macmanus (England), Karr (America), Valcezki (Poland), Kolatoff (Bulgaria), Sturc (Czecho-Slovakia), Cachin (France), Roberto (Italy), Katayama (Japan), Friies (Norway).

Then four commissions were elected:—

- (1) For the discussion of the French question (seven members);
- (2) For the discussion of the English question (five members);
- (3) For the discussion of the Youth question (seven members);
- (4) For the discussion of the Hungarian question (five members).

COMRADE THALHEIMER gave a report on the economic situation of Germany. The present boom is not the consequence of real prosperity. The condition of the working class in Germany is steadily growing worse. The depreciation of the currency has automatically reduced the real wages of the working men, employees, and clerks. The Wirth Government is an instrument in the hand of the big industrials and big finance. The Communist Party stands strengthened, the membership of the Party is increasing,

and its activity is reaching always farther and farther circles of the labour movement. CLARA ZETKIN spoke on the political importance of the recent railway strike in Germany.

COMRADE CACHIN (France) and COMRADE BURIAN (Czecho-Slovakia) reported on their respective parties. COMRADE KRIEBICH described the economic and political position of Czecho-Slovakia. The internal position of the Party (he said) was characterised by the complete unity of the different nationalities. The Party had a majority of the working people behind it; it is "a single revolutionary and international labour party—the crystallisation of the proletarian united front."

SECOND DAY.

COMRADE KARR spoke on the question of the Communist Party of America and stated that the Government of the United States does everything to annihilate Communist organisation. The American Party is composed of 23 national groups, who are now united in the centralised Communist Party and well disciplined.

COMRADE ANTONOVITCH spoke on the situation of the Communist Party of Poland. The influence of France is to be felt more and more in Polish politics. He made allusion to the secret treaty between France and Poland, and denounced the Polish Social Democratic Party as an entirely

counter-revolutionary body and an auxiliary of the Polish police.

COMRADE KALAROFF (Secretary of the Communist Federations of the Balkans) described the position in the Balkans. He quoted numerous cases of mass executions and mentioned that the White Guards of the Balkans have put on fire whole villages. In the Roumanian prisons many Communists are imprisoned and ill-treated in the most cruel way.

At this point the Conference addressed a manifesto to the Red Army on the occasion of its fourth anniversary, in which it expressed its most cordial desires and the pride of the Executive Committee on the successes of the Red Army.

COMRADE MACMANUS described the attitude of the Communist Party of Great Britain during the miners lock-out. Numerous members of the Party had been arrested. The headquarters of the Party had been raided, and its press persecuted by the authorities. Nevertheless, the circulation of the central organ had greatly increased.

COMRADE TERRACINI closed the meeting with a report on the Communist Party of Italy.

THIRD DAY.

COMRADE ZINOVIEFF reported on activities of the Executive during the past six months. The Communist International has now 42 national sections. The centre is more keenly active than ever. To strengthen alike the spirit and the machinery of unity they have established *International Press Correspondence* and an International Control Committee.

Conferences have been held in Vienna and Berlin; delegates were also sent to the Congresses in Czecho-Slovakia, Italy, Spain, Germany, Belgium, Russia and France.

The internal organisation of the Executive has been completed by special departments for the Near and Far East, the Arabian Orient, North and South America. The Communist Parties of Canada, Ireland and Fiume have been accepted as new parties. In Czecho-Slovakia, Spain, Belgium, Austria and South Africa alike several sections have been invited.

The Executive has been enlarged by the addition of Sections devoted to the Co-operative Societies and to Athletics.

The R.I.L.U. is at present no more than a tendency in World Trade Unionism. It is important to combat vigorously all the forces making for its dissipation.

The Young Communist International works in close connection with both the Executive Committee and its National Sections.

Some minor difficulty in executing the decisions of the 3rd Congress arose in Germany. Attempts were made from several sides to denounce these decisions as an inclination to the Right. Time has proved this criticism to be completely mistaken. The so-called "Left Wingers," the Communist Labour Party of Germany (as also the Right Wing Communist Labour Union) have seceded from us as a consequence of the slackening in the pace of the world revolution indicated in the concessions which Soviet Russia has been compelled to make to Capitalism. The loss proved of slight importance and the Communist Party of Germany has quite recovered from the temporary difficulty. The "Levy tendency" meant no more than the going over to the bourgeoisie of a few intellectuals and party functionaries.

The calumnies of our adversaries serve but to show the increasing importance of our Party and the success of the Executive in enforcing the decisions of the Third Congress. Their policy in Italy, for instance, has been quite justified. Even if the Lazzari group is not Communist it leads an active opposition against reformism. Inside the Socialist Labour Party is the group of Lazzari, Maffi and Riboldi, all honestly fulfilling the obligations accepted at the Third Congress. We can expect, therefore, that we shall soon win over the revolutionary elements from Serrati. He is still attempting to use various trickeries in order to pose as the friend of the Communist International among others continuing to call his paper an organ of the Third International.

The position in Italy grows every day more favourable in spite of the fact that thousands are starving in prison. There is a possibility that the bourgeoisie will attempt to force the Communist Party into an illegal position. The more the Italian workers realise that the Socialist Party stands for nothing beyond temporising the

more the Communist Party will gain the leadership of their struggles.

The Congress of the French Party unanimously adopted the decisions and proceeded to act in close agreement with the Executive. Difficulties, however, arose, having their roots in the old Social-Democratic traditions. As France has great international importance we must give it special attention as a separate item on the agenda.

Our comrades in Czecho-Slovakia have carried out the decisions of the Third Congress.

RADEK reported conversations with Ledebour and Adler. The question of a joint conference to deal with vital questions of common interest (such as German Reparations; Recognition of Soviet Russia; the 8-hours day and unemployment) were discussed and the representatives of the Vienna Union agreed to the suggestion. They stated, however, that the Amsterdam International refused to negotiate with the R.I.L.U., thus fixing upon themselves responsibility for any disunion.

In his (Radek's) opinion the Scheëdeman party will accept the decision of the 2nd International. Adler declared that the British Labour Party (I.L.P.) ? is prepared to take part in such a conference.

The place was fixed for Milan as Turin is unsuitable (being the stronghold of the Socialist Party) and London and Paris are out of consideration owing to technical difficulties.

FOURTH DAY.

ZINOVIEFF reported on the question of the United Front. It was often asked: "What is the relation between these tactics to the present position of Soviet Russia?" Quite naturally the Russian revolution has a great influence upon the world revolution. The concessions of the Russian revolution to the peasants and petty bourgeoisie make the pace of the proletarian revolution slower and the defeat of the proletariat in other countries has influenced the proletarian revolution of Russia. But it is a calumny to say that the selfishness of Soviet Russia is the cause of the new tactic. It is not the first time that the tactic of a United Front has been urged. Lenin, in his book "The Infantile Sickness of Communism," recommended the

English Communists to support Henderson at the elections. The position of Soviet Russia was then more difficult than it is now, but Lenin advised this support as a "string to the gallows for the sentenced to death."

Capitalism has seen in the fiasco of the proletarian revolution the weakness of the Labour movement, and has accordingly started at once upon its offensive. This forms a turning point in the Labour movement. The workers are beginning to realise that they cannot get even "half a loaf" without a struggle. The masses coming to the movement recognise that they must march together in order to be the victors in the fight. They find the cause of their defeat in disunity—that, in fact, the attitudes and policy of the reformist labour leaders has weakened the power of Labour. The workers now want to go unitedly and those who do not realise this are sectionaries and no communists. The striving of the workers for unity against the bourgeoisie is a healthy sign. If we give a correct lead to this unity then we shall be favourably placed for taking the head of this movement. It is important, also, that the Christian Trade Unions and the unorganised masses are agitated upon these questions. The previous splits have undoubtedly done us great damage in the eyes of the majority of the workers. They were necessary to separate the revolutionaries off from the Socialist parties into a communist van-guard. Now has come the historical moment to show the masses that these splits were not egoistic but necessary preliminaries to the creation of a real unity. The slogan of the United Front is not an expression of our weakness; it is an expression of the increasing spiral of revolution.

It cannot be denied that these tactics include great dangers, but our tactics have often been dangerous before. In the arguments of the French comrades against the United Front, the healthy spirit of the masses against reformism finds expression. The same spirit is at hand in the ranks of our Czecho-Slovak comrades in the trade unions, but our comrades have been concerned to enlighten the workers and to show them that a mobilisation against the capitalist offensive is what is really wanted.

The Red Calendar

- Feb. 13. New England Textile Strike.
13-15. National Council of the French G.C. against unity.
14. Danish General lock-out begins.
15. Vote of confidence in the Wirth Government carried.
17. Second session of the R.I.L.U. opens at Moscow.
17. Amsterdam Trade Union International refuses to discuss united front with R.I.L.U.
17-20. Canadian Workers' Party founded, endorses tactics of R.I.L.U.
19. Village Council Elections in Bulgaria: Communists poll 100,000 out of 700,000 votes.
19. Labour Party in Rome discusses a Labour alliance.
21. Special Conference of enlarged E.C. of Communist International at Moscow discusses United Front.
21. Police at Rhode Island shoot down strikers.
21. Sentences pronounced on strikers in Jugo-Slavia; one sentenced to death, and 16 sent to penal servitude.
21. Fort Concepcion: Spanish syndicalists handed over to German police by German Social Democratic Government.
22. Engineers' lock-out announced.
22. National Council of United Socialist Party (Germany) accepts affiliation of individual members of Levi group.
22. Conference of Soviet Republics opens at Moscow.
23. Sentences passed at Belgrade on revolutionaries: 10 Communists imprisoned for agitational activity; 4 non-Communists sentenced for attempt on life of King Alexander.
25-27. Conference between 2nd and 2½ International at Frankfurt to discuss reparations.
25. Poincarè and Lloyd George meet at Boulogne and decide to postpone Genoa Conference.
27. Strikers killed on the Rand.
27. Maslow sentenced to 8 months' imprisonment.
28. General strike begins at Hong Kong.
- March 1. British ship-workers reject reductions.
3. Fascisti revolt at Fiume.
5-6. National Council of C.G.T.U. (revolutionary C.G.T.) announces 337,874 members.
6. General strike at Hong Kong ends in victory for workers.
6. Rand general strike proclaimed.
8. International Women's Day.

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