

COMMUNIST PARTY *of* GREAT BRITAIN

PUBLICATIONS DEPARTMENT

A Short Course of Economic Science *by* A. Bogdanoff

Translated by J. Fineberg.

Paper 3s. 3d. Cloth 5s. 4d. Post free



The A B C of Communism

by BUHARIN *and* PREOBRAJHENSKY

Translated from the Russian by Eden and
Cedar Paul. Second Complete Edition.

Paper 3s. 3d. Cloth 5s. 4d. Post free



The International Outlook

by KARL RADEK

24 pages 2d. Post free 2½d.

1s. 11d. per dozen post free



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

THE COMMUNIST REVIEW

A Monthly Organ of the Communist Party of Great Britain

Editorial and Publishing Offices : 16 King Street, Covent Garden, W. C. 2

EDITOR : THOS. BELL

BUSINESS MANAGER : A. H. HAWKINS



Volume 5

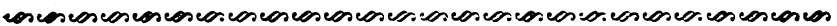
FEBRUARY 1925

Number 10



C O N T E N T S

Editorial View	- - - - -	359
Empire "Socialism" R. Palme Dutt	- - - - -	366
The Theory of Permanent Revolution N. Bukharin	-	381
Party Documents	- - - - -	395
Rage, Despair and a Little Hope T. A. Jackson	- -	398
International News	- - - - -	403



Notice to Contributors, &c. M.S.S. and letters relating thereto should be addressed to Editor, COMMUNIST REVIEW, 16, King Street, W. C. 2.

Subscription Rates. HOME—Single copies, 6 months, 3s. 9d. postpaid. One year 7s. od. postpaid. ABROAD—Single copies 6 months 3s. 9d. One year 7s. od. postpaid. Home and Abroad—Bundle orders, 12 copies for 4s. 6d. postpaid, sale or return.

All business communications to Manager, 16 King Street, London, W.C.2

THE COMMUNIST REVIEW

Editor: THOS. BELL

THE EDITORIAL VIEW

THE strength of the case for a policy of reformism is an implicit faith in the continuity of social institutions and political policy broadening down from precedent to precedent. It is on this ground especially, that the Communist Party of Great Britain, and the Communist International is being assailed alike by the leaders and supporters of the Second International and the capitalist class.

The bourgeois class, of course, have a special interest in maintaining such a myth. For so soon as the workers lose faith in the "gradual" betterment of their social and economic conditions, and are convinced that a new order of society is overdue, we are on the brink of social revolution. Self-interest ought certainly to dictate a policy of progressive reformism to the bourgeoisie, as indeed it does to a section of the class. But the bourgeoisie is not completely homogenous. There are internal conflicts between the grades or types whose social status is determined by their respective powers over capital.

It is here where the Communist stands out in contradistinction to the reformist. The latter is influenced by the adherence or votes of every petty bourgeois group into believing that the social consciousness of "society" is unfolding and enlarging itself. He puts out of sight the class impulses, because he denies the class struggle. It is only when a forged letter, like the faked Zinoviev affair, drives away his votes that the Labour reformist is compelled to look facts in the face.

The Communist on the other hand, knows that social groups always act obedient to class interests, the changing conditions determining a different political policy. Until these fundamentals in the class struggle are grasped or become part of the ideology of our working class movement, the working class in Great Britain will continue to be thwarted in its aims by the strategy of the bourgeoisie.

* * * * *

Let us recall the experience of the Labour Government. It is as clear as daylight to-day that the Labour Government was a government more by design than accident. Thus the bourgeoisie

needed a "democrat" to pioneer the Dawes Plan. It needed a "pacifist" to defend the building of cruisers, and a "conscientious objector" to defend the bombing of tribesmen in the colonies. A "left-wing" Socialist Minister of Health had to be brought in to prove how superior private enterprise was to "state" schemes for building houses. And, last of all, the belief in Labour's foreign policy had to be shattered in the attempt of a Socialist Prime Minister to "hand over the nation's purse" to the wicked Bolsheviks!

The formidable Tory majority is undoubtedly a tribute to the strategy of British capitalism. Having secured its ground, the capitalists now seek to conserve their gains by appealing to the first principles of the Second International reformers, especially the principle of "continuity." Not a step has been taken by the Tory Party since it formed its ministry but has been justified on the grounds of "continuity of policy." Is it a revolt in Egypt, the policy of the government is a continuation of the policy of the Labour Government. Is it the thieves' gathering at Paris over the spoils of reparation, it is a continuation of the London Conference. Time after time, when the front opposition bench have attempted to interrogate the government, the reply has been the same, "we are but carrying out the policy of the late ministry." And when the back benchers felt they owed it to their constituents to protest they have been silenced with the same answer.

But, perhaps the most startling example of the policy of continuity—though time will tell if it is so—is the attempt to prepare for coming struggles by means of the militarising of key men in the railway and transport system. This is the most open attempt of any British government to prepare in advance an attack upon the working class. And here again, when the workers refuse to enlist, and the union leaders are forced to protest, the retort has been the usual one, viz., "Continuity of policy; carrying out the instructions sanctioned by the Labour War Office!"

* * * * *

It is no accident that, while the bourgeoisie is preparing for its attack upon the trade unions in accordance with its policy of smashing the labour vote and lowering the conditions of labour, a big campaign should be launched against the Trade Union Minority Movements. These Minority Movements which have sprung up everywhere, and in all industries, bid fair to become a formidable barrier to the policy of liberalising the Labour movement and emasculating it of its fighting strength. Not only does this movement stand for a united fighting policy in national trade union affairs, but it is the backbone of the campaign for International Trade Union unity. This.

has been made clear at its second conference on the 24th of last month.

What, however, is notable is the alliance of the right wing trade union leaders with the capitalist industrialists in their attack upon the Minority Movement as a new Communist conspiracy to split the trade unions. It is, of course, not to the liking of Conservative trade union leaders like Clynes and the other moderates, that the militant workers should begin to group themselves for the purpose of advancing a fighting policy, for a vigorous fighting policy is the negation of class collaboration, as practiced by the would-be Labour statesmen. It is still less to their liking when a responsible trade union delegation declares for international unity at all costs, and that with the hated and much maligned Russian workers.

Nevertheless, the rage and anger now being displayed at the success of the Minority Movement by fossilised trade union leaders cannot deflect the trend of things from their course. The more abusive and slanderous are the attacks on this young and healthy movement the more vigorous it will become, for it is made of different stuff from anything the trade union movement has experienced for decades. Former unofficial union movements either aimed at new unions or a mere internal reform in the constitution. This Minority Movement has for its aim the unity of the whole of the trade union forces upon the fighting platform of the class struggle, and the preparation of the workers for the last fight against capitalism.

* * * * *

It is a long standing disgrace to the powerful trade union movement of this country, that, at no time has any serious effort been made to draw the native masses of India, Egypt, the Sudan or any of the colonies or dependencies into a close working alliance for the common struggle against the imperialists of the Empire. By its resolution on the colonial question, the Minority Conference has shown that it intends to remedy this defect. This, is as it should be. For too long, the trade union leaders and the aristocracy of labour of this country have looked upon the colonial masses as milch cows on the principle that, the more the natives were robbed the more concessions were the employing class able to give to the working class at home. Such has been the mentality sedulously cultivated for generations by all the "lovers of Empire."

In the early days of the British Empire this was so. A little war meant the construction of railways, aqueducts, harbours, ships and with these the sale of textile goods. But the capitalist world is now more concentrated. The elements of construc-

tion carry with them the germs of their own destruction. To-day, the colonies and dependencies are fully developed capitalist countries not only providing for themselves to a large degree, but actively competing against the metropolis. Concessions at the expense of the natives are now out of the question. It is clear that the interests of the young industrial proletariat, as well as the peasantry of the colonies and dependencies are identical with the interests of the organised working class at home. It is this cardinal truth the Minority Movement has grasped. Henceforth, the organisation of the colonial masses and their close alliance with the great British trade union movement becomes a part of British trade union policy.

* * * * *

In his reply to the "faked" letter which was used against the MacDonal government last election, Comrade Zinoviev predicted that this incident would not be the last of its kind. He pointed to the forgery as a new weapon of the international bourgeoisie against the insurgent working class, and particularly against the Union of Soviet Republics. We have not had long to wait. Another forgery has been produced. This time it is in Jugo-Slavia. Once more, it is an alleged alliance with the revolutionaries and Russia to destroy the "independence" of the "democratic" Jugo-Slavian State, now in the hands of the white terrorists.

At the close of last year, Ahmed Zogou, the representative of large landed interests, whose government in Albania was defeated by Fan Noli, and who was a refugee in Jugo-Slavia, organised an insurrection on Jugo-Slavian territory. In two weeks, with the aid of Serbian soldiers and bands of counter-revolutionaries belonging to the remnants of Wrangel's army, he overran the whole of Albania. Fan Noli and his ministers had to flee the country.

Noli stood for a policy of liquidating the feudal regime and parcelling the land out to the peasants, and in January, was proposing to hold the elections for a new parliament to elaborate a democratic constitution. The big landowners and Conservatives were determined at any price to defeat the policy of Noli and to save the feudal regime, and so they chose the "democratic" method of an insurrection.

Unable, however, to raise sufficient forces for the insurrection Zogou had to look around for allies. He had not far to look. One was at hand in the fascist government of Jugo-Slavia. Jugo-Slavia, which has developed enormously since the imperialist war, was only too ready to have a hand in Albanian affairs, since it has long been jealous of a strong Albania under Italian influence in

its way; its immediate policy being the enlargement of its base upon the Adriatic Sea along the north part of Albania.

When the Albanian insurrection broke out, the Jugo-Slavian, Italian and English imperialists blandishly declared for a policy of "non-intervention," and "disinterestedness." What are the facts? Ahmed Zogou organised the insurrection on Jugo-Slavian soil, aided by Serbians and bands of Wrangelites, while Italy sent two naval units into Albanian waters.

After the preliminary successes of Zogou, the Italian Minister for Foreign Affairs made it known to the English and French governments, that if the Albanian Government was unable to hold the insurrection in check, Italy would be obliged to protect her rights as recognised by the powers, being, as she was, the nation particularly interested in maintaining "order" in Albania.

The Baldwin government has played the principal role in this scandalous affair, its policy being the formation in the Balkans of a united front against Soviet Russia, by uniting Jugo-Slavia, Rumania and Bulgaria against the "Communists," *i.e.*, against the Soviet Union. And since the government of Fan Noli had recognised the U.S.S.R., what was more simple than that the bourgeois press should throw the responsibility for the insurrection in Albania on to the "Bolshevik agents," and discover another Zinoviev letter from the same source.

When, therefore, the plenipotentiary of the Soviet Government, Vrakovetsky, in accordance with the agreement, arrived at Tirania, the capital of Albania, on December 16th, the English representative, with the support of the Italian and Jugo-Slavian representatives protested against his admission. The English representative declared that the offensive of Ahmed Zogou would be stopped if Vrakovetsky was sent back. The Albanian government listened to their big brother imperialists, and asked the Soviet plenipotentiary to return to Moscow, which he did. But the British imperialists have not yet stopped Zogou's offensive!

Zogou, *i.e.*, the big landed proprietors and imperialists, is master of the country, but the cry of "the land to the peasants" has now become the slogan amongst the peasantry, and they cannot for long tolerate the feudal yoke without revolting again.

While this little game is going on in one quarter of the Balkans, in another quarter, *viz.*, Austria, the beneficent hand of the Allied imperialists, operating through the League of Nations, is equally revealing the bankruptcy of capitalist policy to bring peace to Europe. Austria, *i.e.*, Vienna, was the great banking centre for the Balkan countries in the pre-war days. Since the dismemberment of the Empire, the imperialists have, no doubt for a consideration, made desperate efforts to set Vienna on its feet

again. Subsidies, loans and doles of all descriptions have been poured into it, but with no permanent results. The entire country is practically in pawn to American and British financiers, with the result that it is staggering under a heavy load of taxation.

An acute economic crisis is developing. Unemployment is rising rapidly. The dismissal of State employees on grounds of economy, and the reduction in the number of railway workers, (over 10,000 were dismissed last year), are symptoms of a crisis, which has brought the President of the Austrian National Bank, Dr. Reisch, to London on a visit to the Governor of the Bank of England, in the hope of getting further assistance.

The Austrian proletariat is paying dearly for its faith in "collaboration" with the League of Nations.

* * * * *

In our International News' columns this month, we reproduce an extract from the agreement signed at Budapest, on December 22nd, 1921, between representatives of the Hungarian bourgeoisie and the leaders of the Hungarian Social-Democratic Party. We may anticipate any suggestion that the Pact is a forgery by stating that, the document was published in the Central organ of the Social-Democratic Party, out of fear of a threat made by Count Bethlen, that, if the Social-Democrats resigned, he would publish the Pact. This statement of Bethlen, who is Prime Minister of the Hungarian Government, appeared in the Christmas number of the *Neue Freie Presse*.

In a bulletin issued by the Second International, dated January 15th, it is stated that Tom Shaw and De Broukere, with one other member is instructed to "enquire" into the whole situation. We doubt if any enquiry is necessary.

The disclosures in this Pact reveal nothing new in the policy of the Second International. The recent Ebert slander case revealed how persistently the German Social-Democrats, Ebert, Scheidemann and Noske, betrayed the German proletariat when it was heroically fighting to end the rule of the bourgeoisie in Germany. The Barmat case referred to in the *Workers' Weekly* of January 9th, but rounds off the extent to which corruption and treachery is associated with the Second International. The support of the Polish Social-Democrats to the white terrorists, the participation of the Social-Democrats in the Esthonian massacres of trade unionists and Communists, is all part of the same story. Every honest militant has already passed judgment on the Social-Democrats.

Here in Great Britain, MacDonald, Thomas and the social-imperialists of the Labour Party—the central prop of the Second International—are identified with similar foul work in the British

Empire. Thus, the speech of Lord Reading before the Indian Legislative at Delhi, on January 20th, drew attention to the complete breakdown of "ordinary law" in Bengal, and how the machinery of government in India was slowly being thrown out of gear; further, how Lord Olivier under the Labour Government, had approved of the Prussian methods now being adopted in Bengal and throughout India to suppress the struggle for Indian freedom from the control now exercised by the British Imperialists.

It is little wonder, in face of the record of treachery standing to the credit of the leaders of the Second International, that they should now be in open alliance with the capitalist press in the present venomous attack upon the Communist Party of Great Britain, and the Communist International.

The Second Internationalists are trying to cheer themselves up with the fond delusion that the "Moscow International" is on the decline. They imagine they see in the sprinkling of Social-Democrats, who have been excluded from the Communist International, such as Hoeglund, Balabanov, Levi, and in the Ledebour, Norwegian and Russian S.R. groups, the basis of a new "international."

If it was impossible for a Two and a Half International to exist a couple of years ago, there is still less chance of it being successful to-day. 1925 is destined to mark a year of class struggle fiercer and more deadly than anything yet experienced since 1918. In this struggle there is only room for two Internationals; the international of capitalism and the international of the Communists. The Second International may try to act as the "red cross" agency in the struggle. In reality it is but a screen for the more effective attack of capitalism upon the working class. Indeed, it is because the workers everywhere, who have become disillusioned from the pacifist phrases of the reformists are now turning to the Communist Party in all countries, that the Second International feels compelled to strengthen its attacks upon Communism. That is the inner meaning of the present campaign.

Never was the Communist International more united and solid in its organisation than it is to-day; never was it more clear and determined in pursuing the tasks that lie before it. The defection of hesitating intellectuals from our ranks, is not a weakness. It is a real source of strength. For every one of them thousands of sound proletarians, who breathe the spirit of Leninism, are flocking to our standard. Time, and a little experience, will convince those workers who still pin their faith to those would-be "reasonable" leaders that only by the revolutionary method of Leninism, *i.e.*, Marxism in practice, can there be found a way out of capitalism. We can afford to be patient.

Empire "Socialism"

MR. BALDWIN'S proposals for the Government marketing of Colonial produce have received a striking welcome from the Labour Party as a miraculous conversion to "Socialism." While the more strait-laced of the Liberal disciples, like Mr. Snowden, have joined with the Liberal Party in concentrating on the Protectionist character of the scheme as a whole, and denouncing Mr. Baldwin's proposals as "identical with Protection," and "impractical and ridiculous," the majority of the Labour Party have found in the new "Socialist" programme of Mr. Baldwin, a new-won freedom from the "old Free Trade dogmas" of Mr. Asquith.

"Tories Dress up in Socialist Clothes." So writes the *Daily Herald* at the head of its leader on the day after Mr. Baldwin's speech. And it proceeds to quote with approval Mr. Johnston's statement on Mr. Baldwin's first indication of his intentions last summer:—

"It is the most advanced proposal in *Socialist* practice ever suggested from a Front Bench in Parliament."

And a fortnight earlier the *Daily Herald* had written with reference to the schemes in the air:—

"It would be an amusing illustration of the muddle-headedness of the Tories if, having won an election by denouncing Socialism, they should begin their career as a government by putting into force a *Socialist measure*.—(*Daily Herald*, 21/11/24.)

The *New Leader* claims the scheme for the I.L.P. "*Mr. Baldwin Borrows from the I.L.P.*" is the heading under which Mr. Brailsford deals with the original statement of Mr. Baldwin, and sets out:—

"The debate on Imperial Preference was saved from total dullness by *two Socialist speeches*. One was by Mr. Tom Johnston, the other was by Mr. Baldwin.—(*New Leader*, 27/6/24.)

Forward is even more enthusiastic:—

"The sensation of the Imperial Preference debate in the House of Commons was the important *Socialist revolutionary proposal* made by the Tory leader, Mr. Baldwin."—(*Forward*, 28/6/24.)

We have, therefore, authoritative declarations by (1) the right-wing official Labour Party organ; (2) the I.L.P., and (3) the

left-wing I.L.P., that Mr. Baldwin's schemes of government marketing of Colonial produce constitute an important Socialist proposal.

It is accordingly worth enquiring

(1) What is the magic that makes the High Priests of Labour and the Conservative Imperialists (whom innocence might have imagined the strongest enemies of the workers) thus sing together :

(2) What is this "Socialism" of the Second International which is thus able to coincide with the policy of imperialism ?

The answer to these questions may do more than deal with the immediate issue of Mr. Baldwin's schemes, and may serve to reveal, more clearly than a discussion on "violence" or on "parliament," the real difference between Labourism and Communism, i.e., between the Second and Third Internationals.

THE BRITISH EMPIRE AFTER THE WAR.

The power of the British bourgeoisie over their Empire after the war was shaken, despite its apparent increase in size and strength, by two principal forces, which still to-day, five years after the war, have increased and not decreased, and ever more clearly menace them with their doom.

The first is the revolt of the subject nations, upon the exploitation of whose working masses the principal wealth of the Empire is built. That revolt inevitably grows in depth and volume, in the face of military repression. It can only be temporarily bought off by concessions to the rising native bourgeoisie; and these concessions themselves diminish the economic control and exclusive exploitation by the British bourgeoisie, while opening the path to the struggle of the working masses against all their exploiters. On the day, visibly approaching, when the British workers realise their common interests with the working masses of the subject countries, and not with their common exploiters, on that day the basis of power over the Empire, and, therefore, the basis of power of the British bourgeoisie, is ended.

All this is clear; and equally the counter-revolutionary character of the Labour Party's role in tying the British workers to the exploiters against the subject workers (MacDonald's Note to Allenby, repression in India, bombing in Irak), i.e., in maintaining the military violence by which alone the capitalist Empire is held together. By this action they make the name of British Labour synonymous with the oppressor to the workers overseas, and at the same time help to enslave the British workers.

But there is a further force at work within the Empire, which has not been equally examined, and which is no less making for its break up. This force is the expansion of the so-called "free" Dominions, or White exploiter-States, numerically a very small proportion of the total Empire (one-eighth of the population), but in power, possessions and importance a very big proportion, and so far the principal adjuncts of the British bourgeoisie in the maintenance of the Empire. It is this small exploiter minority to which the British Labour leaders refer when they speak of the "British Commonwealth of Nations," and use this elegant phrase to justify their suppression of all freedom for seven-eighths of the peoples of the Empire. It is the privileged workers of this exploiter minority whom they alone mean and invite when they propose and pass solemn resolutions for a "British Empire Labour Federation," without so much as a reference to the coloured seamen, coolies, tea slaves, rubber slaves, mine workers, plantation workers and indentured Labour slaves, who go to make up the broad basis of "Empire Labour" and are never mentioned in the polite speeches of British Labour leaders. And it is this exploiter minority with whom the proposals of Mr. Baldwin are concerned.

It is in this section of the Empire that new forces are developing with critical rapidity, which illustrate from a new angle the impossibility of maintaining a capitalist empire, and the visionary character of any politics that are built upon it.

The Dominions developed as junior partners of the British bourgeoisie. Their agricultural produce, and later their mining products, went in the main to Britain; from Britain they received manufactured products; they were dependent on London for finance. The supreme government was in the hands of Britain, symbolised by the British Governors-General; the Dominions busied themselves with their local affairs, leaving imperial and foreign affairs to the unchecked control of the British Government.

But this position could not continue. For with the growth of capitalist enterprise in the Dominions, the Dominions inevitably began to develop into independent capitalist powers, with their own interests and policies, and their own world relations. Instead of remaining junior partners, they began to become rivals, with a very independent voice. And this is the process which has received startling development from the outcome of the war.

The steady fall in the British hold on Colonial markets (despite preferences) is revealed by the following table, which shows the proportion of British goods as a percentage of total Colonial

imports :—(The figures were given by Sir P. Lloyd-Graeme, now President of the Board of Trade).

British goods to Colonies.	Percentage of Total Colonial Imports.			
	1875	1900	1913	1919-20
India	77	65	65	47
Canada	49	24	20	12
Australia	73	61	52	39
New Zealand	64	61	60	48
South Africa	83	63	56	56

It will be seen that the past forty-five years show a continuous fall, as the colonies have developed. But this process received an extraordinary stimulus from the war.

The war, which dealt the deathblow to the old European supremacy of production and finance, raised up new capitalist powers to follow hard on their footsteps in the final world imperialist conflict.

Chief of these was the United States of America. The main achievement of the war by the British bourgeoisie to demolish the hated German rival, was to set up a new rival, a hundred times more menacing and powerful, raised up like a dragon on the blood of the first world war—the United States of America. But alongside of the United States rose up the other new capitalist Powers outside Europe—Japan, India, and also the Dominions of Canada, Australia and South Africa.

Industrial production leapt up in the Dominions at an amazing pace. South Africa furnishes an example. The 1915/6 Census showed 3,998 factories with an output of £40 millions value. The 1920-1 Census showed 7,005 factories with an output of £98 millions value. That means an increase of industrial output by 150 per cent. in five years.

Australia in 1921.2 had 18.023 industrial establishments, employing 395,425 workers, and producing value of £320 millions.

Canada had exports in 1923-4 of £230 millions. Of these, according to the President of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association (speaking at the Canadian Chamber of Commerce, in London, last July), 52 per cent. came from industries, and 40 per cent. from the land. He added that water power was estimated at eighteen million horse power, and £150 millions had been invested in its development. According to this statement, the majority of Canadian exports are now industrial exports.

What does this mean for British capitalism? It means not only the steady loss of markets, which has been going on for a generation; it means that *the Dominions have actually become rivals of British capitalism.*

Australia, Canada and South Africa (not to mention India) have not only become increasingly closed to British exports, have

not only become independent capitalist powers, but have begun to export against Britain.

For example, in India we find that between 1920 and 1922 British exports fell from £184 millions to £92 millions. In the same period Australian exports to India rose.

But economic rivalry inevitably means the demand for political independence. The Dominions already had practical independence in their own affairs. But development to the position of a world exporting power means also the demand for an independent foreign policy. Each Dominion begins to demand for itself its own representatives abroad, its own control of foreign policy. So during these same years we find an increasingly sharp conflict between Britain and the Dominions concerning the right of control of foreign policy, raising the whole question of sovereignty and independence.

In 1917, under the stress of war, the Dominions extorted for themselves at the Imperial Conference the declaration of "independent nationhood." In 1919, they demonstrated their position to the world by securing independent delegations at the Versailles Conference. In 1922 with the Chanak crisis, when Lloyd George sent in vain his cable of the Empire in danger in order to secure support for the British hold of Constantinople against the Turks, it was revealed in a flash that the Dominions were no longer prepared to follow unquestioned the Empire lead in war and peace. From that point Whitehall has been in a state of nerves. The whole question of Imperial relations has become one of such delicacy and sensitiveness that nothing further can be decided. The Imperial Conference of 1923 concentrated on economic questions, and diplomatically left the political problem to lie concealed under the magic phrase "continuous consultation."

In 1923, however, something further happened, of a far more serious nature. Canada made an independent Commercial Treaty with the United States. The protests of the British Ambassador at Washington, who demanded his immemorial right to sign on behalf of the British Government, were brusquely pushed aside. The British Government was compelled expressly to "recognise Canada's rights to absolute freedom in the diplomatic field." The American press gleefully welcomed the triumph. "Canada Rejects British Domination" declared the Chicago Tribune in streaming headlines.

Next year Canada sent an independent diplomatic representative to Washington.

A new factor had begun to appear in the old complex of the British Empire.

AMERICA AS THE EXPECTANT HEIR.

The penetration of world economy by the United States which at last, with the definite invasion of Europe during the past year, has begun to receive universal attention, has developed over a series of years with steady, widening sweeps.

Before the war America was a debtor country in relation to Europe, financially dependent and paying tribute in return. American expansion was confined to Central and South America under the elastic auspices of the Monroe doctrine. By the end of the war America had liquidated its debts and become the supreme creditor state of the post-war world. Gold flowed into America from every part. The expansion of American capital was inevitable. At first the expansion concentrated on the American Continent and on Asia. Only with last year did Europe begin to be seriously taken up. And the Pacific still remains as the principal sphere of American expansion—the Pacific countries, and above all China, with vast possibilities of untapped resources and cheap labour.

But the Pacific is overlooked by four leading capitalist Powers—the United States, Canada, Australia and Japan. And of these, as the position was after the war, Canada and Australia were combined in the British Empire with Britain, the naval world power to contest the control of the Pacific, as rival of the United States, and Japan was in alliance with them. Then began the process of detachment.

By the Washington Conference the Anglo-Japanese Treaty was abrogated, and Japan was isolated, while Britain was compelled to surrender its naval supremacy. All this was accomplished without a battle, by the threat of America's material resources and power of outbuilding.

Japan was isolated and hemmed in. At one time there was likelihood of war; but the chance of the earthquake proved as damaging to Japan as a war—with no cost to the United States. American capital began to pour into Japan at high rates of interest; last year, 300 million dollars were lent—more than to any other single country.

At the same time began the more delicate process of the penetration and detachment of the Dominions—and especially Canada and Australia.

Canada was in any case, by natural proximity and similarity of conditions, in close economic relationship with the United States; and this process had already been long in existence and merely received an extraordinary stimulus after the war.

Canada's trade with the United States in 1924 was 54 per cent.

of its total trade—1.023 million dollars, against 525 millions or 28 per cent. with Britain. Even more striking is the relation of export and import. Canada imported from Britain 148 million dollars' worth of goods; from the United States 615 millions. Britain, that is to say, which up to the war dominated the Canadian market, and even after the war at first ran America close, had not last year one quarter the equivalent of the American market in Canada.

In industrial enterprise, the figures are the same. Last year American firms had 611 branch factories in Canada, British had fifty.

In finance the facts are the most eloquent. According to a recent statement in the *Financial Times* (27/10/24), the sale of Canadian bonds in 1923 from January to October, amounted to 487 million dollars. Of these 199 millions or 42 per cent. were taken up by the United States; 3.7 millions or less than 1 per cent. by Britain. That is to say, American capital investment in Canada was more than sixty times the British.

The psychological and social domination of the United States in Canada has been equally manifest—in films, magazines, newspapers, commercial organisation and politics. Incidentally it may be noted that Canadian labour organisation is a section of the American Federation of Labour.

In politics the situation was revealed in the debate in the Canadian Parliament last summer, when Canada refused to sign the Lausanne Treaty. The Prime Minister, Mr. Mackenzie King, pointed out that three courses confronted Canada :

- (1) Complete independence;
- (2) Incorporation with the United States;
- (3) Attainment of a fuller nationhood within the British Empire.

The third course Mr. Mackenzie King declared to be "the best line of development." This is, to say the least, a very sober way of estimating the once sacred "allegiance," and with an obvious eye to a future not congenial to Britain.

More recently the process of penetration into Australia has begun to develop. Already in 1923, the *Observer's* correspondent was complaining that "American influence in Australia is so strong" (25/11/23).

Towards the end of 1924, the following piece of news appeared :

"Important American banking houses are making energetic efforts to gain a foothold in Australian public finance. Mr. Pierpont Davis, representing the National City Company, and Col. Helms, of Messrs. Blair and Co., have begun a close enquiry into loan opportunities throughout the Com-

monwealth. Col. Helms is studying the position in Victoria and Tasmania, and Mr. Davis is operating in Sydney and Brisbane.

"Col. Helms states that the merits of the larger industries or important new enterprises would be considered . . . He says that *it is now generally believed in America that Australia has the most brilliant future open to any nation.*"—(*Times*, 19/12/24.)

The "brilliant future" of Australia is clearly not without interest to America.

In the recent issue of the Geneva Protocol it is noticeable that Canada and Australia stood together at once with the United States in opposition to it. As British foreign policy becomes increasingly tied up with France and Europe, this process will inevitably extend.

The whole situation received a striking illumination in the speech of Sir Auckland Geddes, last November, to the English-Speaking Union (a society for Anglo-American friendship, like the Anglo-German Friendship League before the Anglo-German War). The occasion was certainly a signal one, and a gathering of influential forces of the British bourgeoisie. There was present "a distinguished audience of 2,700," with Lord Balfour presiding, and the Prime Minister, Mr. Baldwin and other Ministers among those present. Before this audience the following words were spoken :

"The influence of America is strong in London, but it is infinitely stronger in Toronto. The Dominions speak of us as the Motherland, and of our Parliament as the Mother of Parliaments. I think that the insistence on the word 'mother,' affectionate in intention, makes that tribute something of old age, if not senility, in regard to our institutions. They look upon the government of Washington as of their own generation, and any one who knows of what the people of our sister Dominions are thinking, knows that in some of them, particularly those who look out on the Pacific, feel that in Washington there is an instinctive understanding of the difficulties which, when they come to London, they have laboriously to explain in Downing Street."

"It often happens, when our Dominions look to us here that there is no sympathetic answer, no understanding, and *they look to Washington, and Washington is not devoid of eyes and will look back at them.*

"America, through its compactness and sense of unity, exercises an influence on the component parts of the British Empire in a way no influence radiating from a British source affects America. In the case of America, there is imperial unity; in the case of the British Empire there is imperial diversity.—*Manchester Guardian*, 12/11/24.

"It is no use to pretend that America does not at this time profoundly influence us and the Empire. We know that *we have yielded the position of leadership to America* in connection with work designed for the higher service of humanity—I refer to the Washington Conference at which the great decisions as to the reduction of armaments were taken. We have yielded gladly, willingly, the position of leadership in such work to the United States, and I believe that throughout the whole of the British Empire in all its parts there is every desire to co-operate with the United States, I believe that throughout the United States there is a desire to co-operate with all parts of the British Empire."

These were frank words, and nothing less than the sounding of a warning. They amounted to a declaration that Washington was standing forward as a rival to London for the imperial centre

of the British Dominions, and as a rival with stronger qualifications. It is not surprising that the British Prime Minister had to make some remonstrance before the close of the meeting. He said :

“ He omitted to tell us that, whatever the influence of America may be on us to-day, the greatest lesson that we as a country learned, we learned from America 150 years ago. She taught us *how to manage colonies.*”

MR. BALDWIN'S COUNTER-PLAN.

For a long time it had been clear to British statesmen that they must embark on a bold policy if they were to save the Empire from the manifest diverging tendencies within it. It was further clear that the basis of such a policy must be economic ; since, unless the growing economic divergence were overcome, any nominal unity that might survive would be a myth that must dissolve at the first touch. Visions of some form of Imperial Unity or Federation, some Imperial Customs Union on the German model, have for a generation past haunted the minds of British statesmen. After the war, when the old European markets were in collapse, these aspirations received powerful reinforcement, and the ideal of “ a self-sufficing Empire ” began to be widely held as the objective and salvation of the British bourgeoisie.

But there has always been an overmastering difficulty which has prevented the realisation of these schemes. This difficulty is that Britain is a manufacturing power, which requires markets far more extensive than the Dominions can supply. As a manufacturing power Britain requires two things : first, cheap food and raw materials to keep down production costs, and second, world-wide markets. This is the basis of the traditional policy of Free Trade. Now any form of special economic arrangement with the Dominions can only be based on some form of exclusive preference of Dominion food supplies, whether by tariff, subsidy or other means, and thus on the abandonment of the principle of the cheapest market. But this means to raise labour costs, and so place British manufactures at a disadvantage in all markets other than the Dominions. This could only be compensated by exceptional possibilities in the Dominion markets. But alike before the war and after the war, the total Empire trade of Britain remains persistently at about one-third of total British trade. This is illustrated by the following table :

		Percentage of Total Trade to Empire and to Foreign Countries.			
		1913	1920	1921	1922
Empire	37.2	34.3	39.8	37.5
Foreign countries	62.8	65.7	60.2	62.5

Thus any form of Empire Preference means the sacrifice of two-thirds for the sake of one-third.

This is the inescapable rock on which every scheme of Empire economic unity has broken. It is the rock on which Joseph Chamberlain, and the tremendous Tariff and Preference campaign of the early years of the twentieth century, broke, and led to the eclipse of the Conservative Party for ten years.

After the war, the venture was resumed. The economic conditions given above were unchanged. But two new factors existed which modified the situation. The first was the collapse of the European markets. The second was the increased importance of war considerations, which led to a wider recognition of the urgency of a "self-sufficing Empire" as at any rate a goal to be reached. Free Trade and "the cheapest market" had fallen into some disrepute as against military considerations. In other words, Imperialism had passed into the war stage; and Capitalism represented no longer an advancing, but a declining system of production.

These were the conditions when, in 1923, Mr. Baldwin resumed the attempt. The Imperial Conference during the summer had already dallied with ideas of this character, and in the autumn Mr. Baldwin took the plunge with a full scheme of Tariffs and Preference. The result was a (probably not unexpected) defeat, and the return of a Liberal-Labour majority, which led to the formation of the Labour Government. The old combination of Free Trade manufacturing and trading interests with the industrial workers was still strong enough to withstand frontal attacks even though the ranks on the manufacturing and trading side were much weakened, in numbers, as well as in conviction, by the post-war conditions.

Mr. Baldwin now began a new method of approach. Open food taxes were out of the question. But the same objective might be reached by a form of direct economic arrangement with the Dominions, with some slight subsidy or the like. The effective tariff would then be concealed and would only appear in general taxation. The method, which was already suggested by war experience, offered brilliant possibilities. The manufacturers could be won over by the hope of cheaper food through large-scale organisation, meaning lower wages. And the industrial workers could be won over by the "Socialist" character of the proposals (had not the I.L.P. Agricultural Committee been playing with similar ideas?).

In the summer of 1924, Mr. Baldwin threw out his bait. In the course of the debate on Imperial Preference, he carelessly, almost parenthetically, let drop his proposal. The bait took magnificently. Tom Johnston, Snowden and the whole Labour Party

rose to it like one man. Mr. Baldwin was acclaimed a "Socialist" (Tom Johnston, who decocts hotter brew for Clyde lovers of fiery spirits, called it a "revolutionary Socialist proposal").

The workers had been successfully hooked on to the new Imperialist scheme.

By the end of 1924, Mr. Baldwin had his majority (how many workers' votes did Mr. Baldwin win through the official Labour Party praise of him as a Socialist, a reasonable man, a sincere reformer, a friend of the workers, etc., etc?), and was ready to begin. He set up a Food Prices Committee under his friend Auckland Geddes, which could serve to frighten the American Wheat and Meat Trusts, with publicity, and could make just as few and just as many recommendations as might prove desirable. And in the debate on the King's Speech he announced the general outline of his proposals. There would be an Imperial Economic Committee, with an allocation of a million pounds, to take up the marketing of Dominion food products in preference to foreign imports, and a new Safeguarding of Industries Act would be brought in, which would make possible a tariff in any industry adjudged of national importance and subjected to disadvantageous competition.

A STRATEGIC PLAN.

What is the effect of the new scheme?

It is to be noted that there is already strong opposition from manufacturing and trading interests represented by the Liberal Party—in fact, a Liberal party manager is reported to have declared that his unhappy party's fortunes had been saved by the announcement.

It is manifestly not to the interest of British industry to restrict the sphere of importation of cheap food. It is not to the interest of British industry to restrict the possible sphere of world markets. It is not to the interest of British trading and shipping to restrict the maximum world commerce of Britain. All these general arguments still hold.

Nevertheless the dominant forces of British finance-capital, represented by the Baldwin majority in Parliament, are bent on some scheme of this character. The composition of that majority contains not only strong agrarian, and strong military and imperial, but also strong financial and industrial (though less strong industrial) interests.

It is clear that we are here face to face with a scheme in which the bourgeoisie has abandoned the old "pure Liberal economics of capitalism. In other words, we are face to face with a strategic scheme.

From the point of view of direct British industrial interests, the scheme represents a concession to the Dominions. But a concession is not made in the economic sphere without a purpose. And the purpose of a concession in the economic sphere is to tie the receiver of the concession to the giver.

The scheme is a strategic scheme of British imperialism to maintain its hold upon the British Dominions. The British Dominions must be maintained to provide investment fields for British capital, to provide immigration facilities for "surplus" British workers without their being lost to British capitalism, to provide markets for British goods, and to provide profits for the British bourgeoisie.

The whole project has been set out with merciless clearness by the Imperialist economist, Edgar Crammond, in a paper to the Institute of Civil Engineers, which received widespread attention in the financial press. He pointed out that British industrial production was working at 75-80 per cent. of capacity; that there were a million "surplus" workers; and that the scientific emigration of a quarter of a million a year to the Dominions producing foodstuffs and raw materials would make possible their profitable employment by British capital, and at the same time provide the markets for the revival of British industry, provided that the Dominions could be guaranteed the sale of their foodstuffs produced. It is to be noted that he further advocated as complementary parts of his proposals: (1) the overcoming of the "formidable obstacles" of trade unionism in Britain, which must be made to "bring itself in line with the new world conditions"; (2) increased trustification of British industry, which had "lagged behind the world movement"; and (3) increased investments abroad.

The whole statement amounts to a compendious summary of modern imperialism; and in it we can see the policy of the British bourgeoisie.

But a scheme of imperialism means a scheme of war. The whole conception of the "self-sufficing Empire" is dominated by the war conception. And the conflict for which it prepares is the conflict of British Imperialism and American imperialism for the heritage of the British Empire, and the domination of the world.

It is, therefore, not an accident that the experience of "war Socialism" should be the background and precedent on which this war scheme is based. For the entire scheme is nothing less than a vast mobilisation for war. It is part of the same policy that that prepares the offensive against the trade unions in Britain and builds the base at Singapore, and shoots the workers in Egypt, against the Soviet Union in Europe and Asia.

The scheme cannot work as an economic scheme. For it is based on one cardinal pre-supposition that is exactly opposite to the facts. That pre-supposition is that the Empire can be built up as an economic unity on the basis of Britain as the manufacturing centre, and the Dominions as the producers of food and raw materials. But that is exactly the position against which the Dominions are in rebellion. They are every year enlarging their industrial production. Even of the imports of manufactures they still take from Britain, the most significant proportion is machinery. They are refusing to receive Britain's "surplus" unskilled workers; and in one Dominion, South Africa, the tide of immigration has even begun to turn and given way this year to a net excess of emigration. They are rival exporting countries, competing with Britain in other markets. They will never allow themselves to be driven back to the position of the docile agricultural bases of British capitalism. The dreams of the British bourgeoisie are shattered by irreconcilable contradictions.

But this does not mean that British capital will not attempt the scheme. For it represents the last line of hope of the British bourgeoisie. Only we can with certainty say of it, that it will never provide the economic solution for the problems of British capitalism, but will surely pave the way for the coming imperialist world conflict.

In the early years of the twentieth century, when the Franco-British Entente was formed, the noble-hearted father of French Socialism, Jaurés, welcomed it as a triumph of peace and democracy. He did not sufficiently estimate the nature of the capitalist beast with which he had to deal, and which was ultimately to murder him in the interests of that Entente; he did not guess then at the secret clauses which contained the seeds of war. Jaurés was carried away by the illusion of democracy, because he had no clear view of the capitalist State. There is no excuse to-day, ten years after the world war of imperialism has ripped bare all the bloody secrets of the capitalist imperialist state. When the Labour leaders acclaim the Imperialist Baldwin, they are acting as the jackals of the coming war.

WHAT IS SOCIALISM?

At this point it is necessary to ask: What is Socialism?

When the Labour Party and Independent Labour Party leaders acclaim the "Socialism" of Mr. Baldwin, what do they mean? In all this policy where is the Socialism?

Is it Socialism of production? Certainly not. The produc-

tion is the production of the big exploiters in the Dominions; the profits go to them.

Is it Socialism of distribution? Certainly not. The distribution is according to money, not according to need; and the parasite with the long purse comes in front of the starving worker without, in the good old capitalist way.

What, then, is the characteristic in it which leads them to describe it as "Socialism"? Examination will reveal the following factors on which they base their judgment:—

(1) It involves the action of the State. What State? The capitalist State, which represents big capital, and organises modern capitalist production, imperialism and war: in this case openly operated by Conservative Imperialist representatives of Big Business.

(2) It involves, if fully carried out, the elimination of the middlemen and small trader. This is the normal process of Big Capital.

(3) It involves the possibility of conflict with rival trust forces (the Big Five). This is the normal imperialist conflict of the big world trusts.

(4) It offers the hope of lower prices. This is the automatic basis for an attack on wages by Big Capital.

In all these characteristics one continuous element is visible. It is an element that has nothing to do with Socialism; but it is an element that is no less clearly marked. That element is the policy of Big Capital.

It is clear that we are on the track of the inner meaning of the "Socialism" of the Second International.

The difference between their "Socialism" and ours has received and can be given, a rough and ready "popular" expression by the statement that their Socialism is Socialism of the State, and our is Socialism of the working class. Their Socialism welcomes every extension of the power of the State as a triumph of Socialism (even though it may be accompanied in fact by increasing misery, and poverty and the horrors of war for the working class). For us only an increase in the strength and power of the working class is an advance towards Socialism.

But it is necessary to state the difference more exactly.

As capital develops from the stage of small capital to modern trustified large-scale capital, to finance-capital, it continuously increases its organisation and its scale of organisation. It increasingly uses the State, enlarges the bureaucracy and employs highly elaborate methods of organisation and production. All this, despite much waste and deadweight, inevitably means a vast

increase in the efficiency and power of production. To that extent it reveals the superiority of large-scale over small-scale production, and the inevitable necessity of Socialisation.

This is the process which is acclaimed by the Second International as the advance of Socialism, because it is getting rid of the "ten milk carts in one street."

But what is it in reality? The advance in power of finance-capital does not mean improvement in the condition of the workers. The increased power of finance-capital is used to drive down the workers' standards by concentrated attack, to restrict production and to organise war. The twentieth century, with its vastly increased powers of production, has meant lower standards and the horrors of war for the working class. And the acme of horror, the world war, is acclaimed by the orators of the Second International as the triumph of Socialism.

The Socialism of the Second International is the Socialism of finance-capital.

It was thus not an accident that the Social-Democrats of the Second International were the war Socialists; for the war was the policy of finance-capital.

It was not an accident that the Labourists and Socialists of the Second International supported the Versailles Treaty yesterday, and support the Dawes report to-day, for these are the policy of finance-capital.

It is not an accident that to-day the German Social-Democrats are seeking an alliance with Stresseman and the nationalist-monarchist People's Party; the French Socialists are in alliance with Herriot and the French bankers; and the British Labour Party are acclaiming Baldwin, the Imperialist; for these are the representatives of finance-capital.

And it is not an accident that the whole Social-Democracy to-day, by its voting of armaments and its open support of imperialist policy, is preparing the next world war.

He that has eyes to see, let him see. The controversies on parliamentarism and democracy may be elaborate and difficult; the language of MacDonald may be learned and noble. But watch their acts, not their words. The worker who can once see the facts that are staring him in the face to-day will not need long to decide between the Second and Third International, between Labourism and Communism. For the worker who can once recognise in Big Capital his enemy, and not his ally, that worker is already lost to the Second International; his place is with the Communist Party.

R. PALME DUTT.

The Theory of Permanent Revolution

[Nicolas Ivanovitch Bukharin, the author of the following article, was born in 1888. His father being a college professor, young Bukharin passed through the municipal school, and from there to the college where he finished his secondary studies. He next went to the Faculty for Law in the University of Moscow, and worked one year in the Faculty for Law in the University of Vienna.

Bukharin joined the Social-Democratic Party (Bolshevik) in 1906, at the age of 18 years, and from that time devoted all his energy to the service of the party and of revolutionary action.

After 1905, the revolutionary movement passed through a period of depression and stagnation, particularly following the massacre at Lena. The Intellectuals were then frightened by the Czarist Terror, the advanced workers watched and pursued by the police. During these years it was particularly difficult for the revolutionaries to work. Nevertheless, Bukharin continued to be very active.

He helped to organise numerous economic and political strikes of the factory workers in Moscow and St. Petersburg (now Leningrad), took part in all the student movements, in the celebrations of the first of May, mass meetings and other activities. In 1908, he was elected to the Moscow Committee of the Party. In 1910 he was arrested by the Moscow police for his revolutionary activity and after a year's imprisonment he was deported to Siberia.

Escaping from Siberia, he went abroad and remained abroad till 1917. He lived in a number of countries, in Germany, Austria, Switzerland, Sweden, Norway and America. It was while he was abroad that he made the acquaintance of Lenin, with whom he remained a devoted disciple. He occupied himself with the agitation and propaganda of Bolshevism, and took an active part in the International working class movement. In the course of his peregrinations in the different countries, he carried on revolutionary propaganda amongst the workers in Germany, Austria, America, etc., organising a large number of workers study circles. At the same time, he employed himself in literature and displayed the qualities of a talented writer and Marxist theoretician. An eminent Bolshevik, Bukharin took part in many of the conferences of the Party.

In the early part of 1917, he returned to Russia. At Moscow, he became editor of the *Social-Democrat* and the reviews *Spartacus* and *The Communist*. While he devoted the most of his time to literary activity, he never neglected the practical work among the proletariat of Moscow. Under the Provisional Government, he conducted a fierce controversy against the conciliations. In 1918, he became *Editor* of the *Pravda*.

After the October Revolution his literary activity increased. In 1918, he was made a member of the collegium for editing the State edition, and continued a member till 1921. In the year 1918, he began his pedagogical career. He was in charge of the First State University of Moscow, and of the Sverdlov University. He was also a member of the Presidium of the Socialist Academy. At the same time he continued his functions as *Editor* of *Pravda*.

At the Sixth Congress of the Party in 1917, Bukharin was elected to the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party. Since 1918 he has been a member of the Pan-Russian Central Executive Committee, since 1917, a member of the Moscow Soviet, and since 1919 a member of the Presidium of the Communist International.

His chief writings are :

- (1) *The A.B.C. of Communism* (in collaboration with Proobrajensky).
- (2) *The Crisis of Capitalism and the Communist Movement*. (1923).

- (3) *World Economy and Imperialism.*
- (4) *The Revolution and Proletarian Culture.* (1923)
- (5) *The Theory of Historical Materialism.*
- (6) *The Programme of Communism.*
- (7) *From the Overthrowal of Czarism to the Collapse of the Bourgeoisie.*
- (8) *The Economics of the Transition Period.* (1920.)
- (9) *The Political Economy of the Rentier.*

In addition, Comrade Bukharin has written a number of other works on economic and political questions.

In the recent Trotsky discussion, Bukharin made a report on December 13th, 1924, to a meeting of the propagandists of the Moscow organisation on "The Theory of Permanent Revolution." The following article is taken from that report and is a brilliant contribution to the theory and practice of Leninism.—[Editor.]

THE GENERAL ESTIMATION OF OUR REVOLUTION.

We come now to the general estimation of our revolution. Comrade Trotsky's theory is called the "Theory of Permanent Revolution." We have before us, above all, the question of the general estimation of our revolution. Comrade Trotsky, in one of his last, or "last but one," productions, in his pamphlet "The New Course," in this connection wrote the following :

"As for the theory of permanent revolution, I see absolutely no reason for repudiating what I wrote about it in 1904-5-6, and later. Even now, I consider that the fundamental direction of the ideas that it developed at that time is incomparably nearer to the real essence of Leninism than very much of what was written by a number of Bolsheviks at that time. The term *permanent revolution* (N.B.—Italics are ours) is Marx's term. Translated precisely, permanent revolution means constant and unceasing revolution. What political idea is contained in these words? The idea that for us, for Communists, the revolution does not come to an end after one or other political gain has been achieved, but develops further, and for us the limits for it are the establishment of Socialist society . . . In the conditions prevailing in Russia this implied, not a bourgeois republic as a political achievement, and not even the democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry, but a Workers' Government relying upon the support of the peasantry and the starting point of an era of international Socialist revolution. . . Consequently, the idea of permanent revolution completely and wholly coincides with the fundamental strategical policy of Bolshevism. . . No attempt at minimising the importance of the peasantry was made in any of my writings at that time. The path of "permanent revolution" led straight to Leninism, and particularly to the theses of April, 1917. ("New Course," published by Krassnaya, Nov. 1924, page 50.)

In the preface to his book "1905," Comrade Trotsky wrote :

"The views of the character of the revolutionary development of Russia, which had received the appellation of the theory of "permanent revolution," developed in the mind of the writer in the interval between January 9th, and the April strikes of 1905. Although with some interruptions *this estimation has been confirmed completely throughout the course of 12 years.*" ("1905," second edition—Gosizdat—1922. Preface pp. 4-5.)

Finally, in his letter to Comrade Olminsky, Comrade Trotsky says :

"I do not consider that in my disagreements with the Bolsheviks I was altogether wrong . . . I consider that *my estimation of the motive forces of the revolution was absolutely correct . . .*

Even now I could without difficulty divide my polemic articles against the Mensheviks and the Bolsheviks into two categories. (1) *Those devoted to an analysis of the inherent forces of the revolution and its perspectives. . .* and (2) devoted to the estimation of the factions among the Russian Social-Democrats their antagonisms, etc. The articles of the first category I could submit even

now without alteration, for they wholly and completely coincide with the position of our party taken up since 1917."

Thus, Comrade Trotsky now asserts that :

1. The theory of permanent revolution has proved to be correct, for it has been confirmed by experience "wholly and completely."

2. The theory of permanent revolution is infinitely nearer to the essentials of Leninism than all the rest.

3. The theory of permanent revolution is in complete harmony with the strategical policy of our party and that of Bolshevism taken up since 1917.

4. The theory of permanent revolution under no circumstances is based upon an under-estimation of the peasantry, and generally that :

5. The theory of permanent revolution presents an absolutely correct estimation of the motive forces of our revolution.

In paying so many compliments to his theoretical offspring, Comrade Trotsky to a high degree reveals his *internal party policy*.

Why is the whole history of our Party right up to 1917, in the eyes of Comrade Trotsky equal to zero? Because, in his opinion, in 1917 the Party adopted the point of view of permanent revolution. Why indeed was our Party "born" in 1917? Because only at that time was it re-baptised with the sign of the permanent revolution. Why is it unimportant to deal with the pre-revolutionary fight against Menshevism and Trotskyism? Because the theory of permanent revolution acts as a screen to conceal the past, present and future errors of Comrade Trotsky. And so on, and so forth.

To sum up : the essence of Leninism, of that born as *Leninism* in 1917 (see also "Nearer in Spirit" article of Comrade Preobrazhensky) is the *theory of permanent revolution*. It is not surprising, therefore, that Comrade Trotsky comes forth as the chief Leninist and guardian of its covenants (out of modesty he does not claim to be their authority). What is important for Comrade Trotsky is not historical Bolshevism, but Trotskyism labelled Leninism.

But we will leave this question now, for it has been sufficiently dealt with already in our press. We will take up the analysis of Comrade Trotsky's theory as such.

Comrade Trotsky presents the question in the following manner :

The theory of permanent revolution is a theory the principles of which were laid down by Karl Marx. "Permanent Revolution," i.e., "unceasing revolution" is a revolution which in

the last analysis has its limits in the achievement of Socialist society. On the strength of this, Comrade Trotsky in a number of his recent works, says: Very well, that is precisely what has happened—permanent revolution has justified itself *because the proletariat in Russia has captured political power*. Up till 1917 the Bolsheviks argued against the theory of permanent revolution; they constantly insisted that the revolution in Russia will be a bourgeois revolution. Indeed, in 1905 and up till the February revolution, we did say so. But who proved to be correct? The advocates of the theory of permanent revolution or the orthodox Bolsheviks? *The advocates of the theory of permanent revolution proved to be correct, and the Bolsheviks became "good" only in 1917 because they abandoned the Bolshevik theory of the revolution, and accepted the Trotskyian interpretation.*

These are the conclusions that Comrade Trotsky draws. Let us examine them.

First of all, it should be observed that the quintessence of the theory of permanent revolution is by no means the fact that we are confronted by revolution *which in the last analysis will reach a stage when the workers will have captured political power*. In this sense permanent revolution did come about, for the working class really came into power.* But here we have *another* question. And it is just this *other* question that represents the "quintessence" of the theory of permanent revolution. And it is of this quintessence that we must speak in the first place. But before doing so, it is necessary to state how Marx understood the theory of permanent revolution. In his pamphlet, Comrade Stalin quotes a decisive passage from Marx, and makes quite a correct commentary upon it. Marx wrote:

"While the democratic petty bourgeois desires simultaneously to secure as great a number as possible of the above-mentioned demands, and to bring revolution to an end as

* One must bear in mind here the *relative* character of the conception, "unceasing," for unceasing in the sense of a continuous and uninterrupted zone of revolution did not occur. After the defeat of 1905-1907 there was an interval of a *complete decade* before the "second revolution" broke out. In his article on "Two Lines of Revolutions" (Collected Works, vol. viii., 2,213) Comrade Lenin wrote:

"To reveal the relations of classes in the forthcoming revolution is the principal task of a revolutionary party . . . Comrade Trotsky in 'Nashe Slovo' wrongly solves the problem by repeating his 'original' theory of 1905 and refusing to think out why for a whole decade events ignored this beautiful theory."

Thus, in the first place, there was a temporary *interruption* in the "uninterrupted" revolution. Secondly, this interruption and subsequent events *repudiated* Comrade Trotsky's theory and his estimation of class forces, for history gave the peasantry a place which had been beforehand excluded from Comrade Trotsky's conception. But of that we will deal in the text.

speedily as possible, our interests and our tasks demand that the revolution shall become *unceasing until all the more or less wealthy classes have been removed from power and until the proletariat has captured political power.*

"Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels," vol. iii. Gosizdat, 1921, p. 501.

What then did Marx understand by the theory of uninterrupted revolution? By uninterrupted revolution Marx conceived the prospect of the revolution taking a course in which the relation of forces continuously changes, and the revolution all the time develops "in an ascending line" (of a chart.—Tr.). The landlords, let us say, are overthrown. Their place is taken by one of the sections of the bourgeoisie, the liberal bourgeoisie, for example. With this the revolution does not end. The liberal bourgeoisie is overthrown and its place is taken by the radical petty bourgeoisie. The radical petty bourgeoisie is overthrown, and its place is taken by the poor class of the cities in the special meaning of the term, in alliance with the poor peasantry and the working class. Finally, even this government departs and gives place to the government of the working class. Of course, this is only a chart, as it were, of the process, but the chart is a correct one.* What then is the essence of the theory of permanent revolution?

* However, it should be borne in mind that this chart cannot be applied "absolutely" to actual conditions. Here, too, one must calculate the concrete relation of social forces, for example, the peculiarity of the Russian bourgeois democratic revolution consisted in that it could be conducted to a finish only in the fight against the liberal bourgeoisie, which, already prior to the victory over Czarism, had become a *counter-revolutionary force*. The failure to understand this led the Mensheviks to commit actual treachery. In this connection Lenin wrote:

"These people (N.B.—Martinov and Martov in the new *Iskra*), really argue as if they desire to limit, to cut short, their fight for liberty. . . . Such people—said the *Vpered* (N.B.—the organ of the Bolsheviks), like Philistines, vulgarise the well-known Marxian postulate of the three principal forces of the revolution in the 19th (and 20th) century, and its three fundamental stages. This postulate is to the effect that the first stage of the revolution limits the powers of absolutism, thus satisfying the bourgeoisie. The second stage is the establishment of the republic, satisfying the "people," i.e., the peasantry and the petty bourgeoisie generally. The third stage is the Socialist revolution which alone can satisfy the proletariat. '*Taken as a whole, this picture is correct.*' wrote *Vpered*. We have before us indeed, an ascent to three different stages on a chart; differing in accordance with the classes which at best may accompany us on this ascent. But if we understand this Marxian chart of three stages to mean that *before every ascent* we must measure off for ourselves a modest distance, for example, not more than one stage, if, according to this stage, before every ascent, 'we will draw up for ourselves a plan of activity in the revolutionary epoch, we will be nothing more than Philistine virtuosi.'" (Collected Works, vol. iv., p. 209.)

In other words, we cannot apply the chart directly in every case. "Leaps" are possible. It would be sheer Philistinism to deny *all* possibility of skipping stages. However,

" . . . Let not some cavilling reader draw the conclusion from what we have said that we advocate 'tactics' directed towards 'inevitable leaps across stages irrespective of the relation of social forces.'" (p. 210.) Thus, "in the last analysis" it is the *relation of social forces* and the cal-

The essence of the Marxian, *i.e.*, the *correct* theory of permanent revolution is that the constant changes in the social content of the revolution are taken into account. It reflects the fact that, in the progress of the revolution, the relation between the conflicting classes constantly changes, and that the revolution in its development constantly marches from one stage to another. It marches from the stage of feudalism to the liberal bourgeois stages. It advances from the liberal bourgeois stage to the petty bourgeois stage, and from that it advances to the stage of the proletarian revolution. This is the meaning of the Marxian (and not the Trotskyian) theory of permanent revolution.

Can we have any objection to *such* a theory? No, for it is a correct one. In *this* sense, our revolution proved to be "uninterrupted." In Russia the revolution passed through a series of stages. In February, 1917, we had a substitution of the *landlord* regime by the liberal government of the imperialist bourgeoisie accompanied by the establishment of a parallel authority of the workers and peasants (the Soviets). Then followed a fresh re-grouping, when the place of the liberal bourgeoisie was taken by various factions of the petty bourgeoisie in alliance with the liberals ("the Coalition Government" with the Mensheviks, Socialist revolutionaries, etc.). After that, when we took power in October the Bolsheviks and Left Socialist Revolutionaries came into power. After the revolt of the Socialist Revolutionaries, another change took place, and our Party became the sole government party. Thus in Russia, the curve of the revolution, taken as a whole, ascended all the time. (We say: "taken as a whole," because in the period of this advancing progress of the revolution, there were some minor halts. It is sufficient to recall the July days. This circumstance must be borne in mind because it is of no small importance in practice.

This process found its expression in the structure of the State, in the transition of power from one class to another, from one social group to another, until a permanent position was reached by the *working class* taking power when the *dictatorship of the workers* established a firm foundation for itself and when the Communist Party became the only party holding political power in its hands. If we approach the question in *this manner*, *i.e.*, from the point of view of the actual progress of historical events, and we ask ourselves—does this represent the quintessence of the *Trotskyian* permanent revolution?—we should have to reply

...ulation of these forces that determines. Fearlessly to lead *the revolution forward*, but at the same time to be able to start out from the given relation of social forces and in this manner actually to maintain *the leadership* in the revolution—these are the tactics of Leninism.

—No. *And it is precisely this "No" that is the "nigger in the wood pile.* We will approach this *central* question from various points of view. For the moment we will merely draw the fundamental outline of what will serve as the subject of our further exposition.

Had Comrade Trotsky pictured to himself the situation in accordance with the *facts* as they afterwards appeared, he would not in 1905 have put forward the slogans which he did in conjunction with Parvus. As we know, in 1905, Comrade Trotsky put forward against the Bolsheviks the slogan "Down with the Czar, Up with the Government of the Workers!" In other words, Comrade Trotsky in 1905, at the *first* stage of our revolutionary movement, put forward as an *immediate* slogan, a slogan which was fulfilled only at the *last* stage of this process. Comrade Trotsky had no connection with the actual state of affairs as they existed *at that time.* In other words, the fundamental political charge we make against *Trotsky's* theory of permanent revolution is that it ignores all the *intermediate stages, i.e., precisely that which* distinguishes permanent revolution.

These various stages of the revolution in which various classes fulfil their task and pass away to give place to others, demand of us *special* slogans applicable to each of these stages, directed towards a single goal. *Only in this way* can revolution be conducted. Comrade Trotsky, however, placed the final link of the revolution in the beginning of the chain when there were no grounds at all for doing so. He *leaped across* a number of intervening stages, and had our Party followed the lead of Comrade Trotsky, and had not conducted the revolution in the manner in which it did, we would simply have collapsed. Curious as it may seem, as a matter of fact, Comrade Trotsky *killed* the idea of permanent revolution, for if the "end" is placed at the beginning, no process can take place; there are no transitions, no "uninterrupted revolution."

Did Comrade Trotsky understand the *peculiarities* of our Revolution? Did Comrade Trotsky see how each stage *passed on,* "grew into" to the other? Was he able to "seize upon" the *necessary link?* All these questions must be replied to in the negative. Comrade Trotsky presented the question in a very simplified form: in Russia only a proletarian revolution is possible (Comrade Trotsky *denied* the possibility of a bourgeois revolution even in 1905):

"In Russia *only* a proletarian revolution is possible, but *this proletarian revolution in a petty bourgeois country is doomed* unless it receives *State aid* from the victorious proletariat of Western Europe. Without direct *State aid* (Italics ours—N.B.) of the European proletariat, the working class

of Russia will not be able to maintain power and convert its temporary domination into a prolonged Socialistic dictatorship. *Of this there can be no doubt for a single moment.*" ("Our Revolution.")

Comrade Trotsky began by failing to understand the *peculiar process* of our revolution, a peculiarity which consisted in the curious interweaving of a *peasant war* against the landlords with a *proletarian revolution*. Comrade Trotsky failed to understand *The peculiarity of the first stage* of this revolution which consisted in the path being clear of feudalism and in the *break-up of big private landownership* ("The agrarian question represents the foundation of the bourgeois revolution in Russia, and determines the national peculiarity of this revolution." "The experience of the first period of the Russian Revolution has finally proved that it can be inevitable only as a peasant agrarian revolution.")*

Comrade Trotsky "failed to observe" *the stages* by which the bourgeois revolution in Russia *grew into* a Socialist-proletarian revolution. Furthermore, Comrade Trotsky failed to see the *peculiarities* which distinguish our Socialist revolution from the Socialist revolutions in other countries.

Again, Comrade Trotsky failed to see the special *international conditions* which—even *without* the State aid of the victorious Western European proletariat—permit our Socialist revolution to *hold on*, to consolidate its position, and to *grow*, ultimately to triumph, together with the victorious working class of other countries. Even here, Comrade Trotsky reasons according to a chart: *either* a bourgeois revolution *or* a proletarian revolution; *either* a classical proletarian revolution—in that case permanent victory, *or* a hybrid proletarian revolution, in that case, death. *Either* State aid by the Western European proletariat—in that case salvation, *or* no such aid—in that case there is no salvation.

As a matter of fact experience completely refuted this chart and gave altogether *different* replies. *Both* bourgeois and proletarian revolution (one merges into the other) *no* State aid from the Western proletariat, *but for all that* aid was forthcoming both from the proletariat and from the colonies (and also "aid" from the capitalists, who by their internecine *quarrels* assist proletarian States). *No* classical proletarian revolution and yet not death, but life, etc. Reality proved *more full of colour* than the dry charts and carefully drawn diagrams of "permanent revolution."

Comrade Trotsky's *political impotence* originated in his failure to see actual facts. Because Lenin and our Party saw all these stages, transitions, and peculiarities of the process they were *really able* on each occasion to seize the *necessary link* and lead

* From an unpublished chapter of the work of Comrade Lenin on the agrarian question. See "Proletarian Revolution," 1924, No. 28, pp. 166-169.

the working class and the peasantry to victory. There are absolutely no grounds for our Party substituting the Leninist theory of our revolution by the "permanent" theory of Comrade Trotsky.

GENERAL ESTIMATE OF CLASSES IN THE PROGRESS OF OUR REVOLUTION.

We spoke above of the stages of our revolution. Now it is necessary to raise the same question, and in the same general form, but to examine it from the standpoint of *the struggle of classes and class changes*. The controversy among us, as is known to a considerable degree, centred around the question of the *Workers' and Peasants' Alliance*, the question of an alliance between the working class and the peasantry, and the question of the hegemony of the proletariat in this "alliance." Now, in the eighth year of our revolution and our dictatorship, we clearly see the *enormity* of this problem, which, for the first time was distinctly outlined by Comrade Lenin and which later became one of the corner-stones both of the theoretical and practical structure of Bolshevism.

Only at the present time has this question come up in all its enormous dimensions. For, essentially the discussion concerns not only the problem of unity between the peasants and workers here, in Russia, in the Soviet Republics, but it concerns the greatest and, in a sense, the decisive problem of *the international revolution*. Such a burning question of modern times as the question of *the colonies*, which is a question of the life and death of capitalism, is, from the point of view of world revolution, nothing more nor less than the question of the unity between the Western European and American industrial proletariat on the one hand, and the colonial peasantry on the other.

It is true that the colonial question, although to a considerable degree a question of attitude towards the peasantry, is not wholly confined to this. It has its definite peculiar features, and it would be wrong to place it under the mark of complete equality. At the same time, it is absolutely clear that, in its social basis it is a peasant question. If we ask ourselves in what manner the working class at the present moment can undermine the bases of capitalist society, we may say that the working class, which supports colonial rebellion, is actually imposing its hegemony on the peasant colonial movement. When we ask ourselves what will happen in the sphere of world economy when the working class captures power, immediately the same question arises as to the attitude of the victorious proletariat towards the colonial peasantry.

When we ask ourselves why European social-democracy absolutely fails to understand the significance of the peasant question, and paid so little attention to it, and failed to raise the problem which was so characteristic for us, we do not merely raise the point that our country was an agrarian country, and the other countries were industrial. The other countries too, had their "agrarian supplement," only they were not in the home countries, but in the remote colonies.

The fact that European Social-Democracy paid inadequate attention to the peasant question is undoubtedly connected with the circumstances that it failed to present the question of the *colonies* from the revolutionary standpoint. The policy of the Social-Democrats was either directly hostile to the colonial movements (social imperialism) or adopted a reticent policy. When Comrade Trotsky absorbed in his "Europeanism" repeatedly emphasises the Asiatic peasant character of the ideology of the "immature" proletariat (this was precisely his estimation of the Bolsheviks) there was something in his "Europeanism" that smacked of the contempt which the Social-Democrats bore towards the peasant and colonial question, although Comrade Trotsky personally devoted considerable attention to this question.

If Comrade Trotsky substitutes abstract schemes for concrete analysis, it must result in conceiving the proletarian revolution as a classical revolution, and regarding all "non-classical" revolutions as being doomed beforehand. But a classical proletarian revolution in which the proletariat is the only class of the "people" in other words, such an ideal revolution is possible only in a society where there is no peasantry.

Such an "ideal" conception is totally out of harmony with reality. If we examine world economy we will find that the proletariat in the strict sense of the term represents a small minority of the population. If we have in mind the largest countries in the world, we must remember that these represent small sections of densely populated and proletarianised centres in enormous peasant colonies. The greatest part of France is in *Africa*, the greatest part of Britain is in *Asia*, etc. What will the British proletariat do after their victory if they do not receive the support and sympathy of the Indian and Egyptian peasants?—if it does not lead them into the fight against capitalism, if it does not establish its *hegemony, its leadership*, over this enormous mass of humanity?

It is most amazing. Comrade Trotsky knows very well the enormous significance of the colonial question. But alas, this correct view of the colonies cannot possibly be reconciled with the estimation of the peasantry which Comrade Trotsky made in

1905, in his theory of permanent revolution, the correctness of which he stubbornly insists upon up to the present day. Comrade Trotsky reveals a complete lack of logic.

It is perfectly clear now what this problem means for the proletariat. Prior to the seizure of power the working class must obtain the support of the peasantry in the fight *against the capitalists and landlords*. After the seizure of power, the proletariat must secure for itself the support of a considerable section of the peasantry *in the civil war*, right up to the moment when the proletarian dictatorship has been consolidated. And after that? Can we really limit ourselves to regarding the peasantry merely as cannon-fodder in the fight against the capitalists and the large landlords? *No!* And once and for all, we must understand the logic of this *No*. After the victory, the proletariat at all costs must live side by side with the peasantry, for the peasantry represents the majority of the population and has great economic and social weight. Only the failure to understand world economic ties can lead one to ignore this aspect of the question. But sooner or later it will inevitably come up. Consequently, it must be realised that the proletariat has no choice. It is compelled to carry the peasantry with it in its work of constructing Socialism. The proletariat *must learn* to do this, for unless it does so, it will not be able to maintain its rule.

Of course, there are various ways of leading the peasantry in accordance with the given circumstances. One must be able to see the transition points, and all the stages in order to lead correctly. During the discussion on the question of the trade unions, Lenin wrote:

"The whole of the dictatorship of the proletariat is a transition period, but the present time is, as it were, a heap of new transition periods. The demobilisation of the army, the end of the war and the possibility of a more prolonged peaceful respite than we have had hitherto, a more permanent transition from the military front. *From these facts alone the relation of the proletariat to the peasantry has changed.*"

The same thing, but to an even greater degree, applies to a number of most important stages of the revolutionary process.

Comrade Trotsky, in his theory of permanent revolution, completely failed to understand:

- (1) The very problem of the peasantry;
- (2) The methods by which the proletariat could lead the peasantry;
- (3) The various stages in the relations between the working class and the peasantry in the course of our revolution.

Comrade Trotsky himself presents the question of the peasantry in great relief in the preface to his book "1905." Formulating the theory of permanent revolution (in 1922) and em-

phasising the correctness of this theory, Comrade Trotsky wrote :

"In order to secure its victory, the proletarian vanguard, in the first period of its rule, will have to make deep inroads not only into feudal, but into bourgeois property. In this it will come into conflict not only with all the sections on the bourgeoisie. . . . but also with the broad masses of the peasantry, with whose co-operation it came into power. This contradiction in the position of a workers' government in a backward country, with an overwhelmingly peasant population can be solved only on an international scale, in the arena of the world proletarian revolution. Compelled by historic necessity to break down the limitations of the bourgeois democratic framework of the Russian revolution, the victorious proletariat will be compelled also to break down its national state limitations, i.e., it will consciously strive to convert the Russian revolution into a prologue of the world revolution."

The latter part of this quotation is correct. But that is not the point. The point is that according to Comrade Trotsky, the proletariat *must inevitably* come into irreconcilable conflicts *with the broad masses of the peasantry*, that in a country with a petty bourgeois majority, the proletariat will not be able to handle this problem and that as a result of this inevitable *conflict* the proletarian domination must collapse unless it can obtain *state aid* from outside.

The first thing one observes (at the moment after considerable experience has been accumulated of the *international* movement), is that Comrade Trotsky's "solution" is not a solution at all, just as his "permanent revolution" in fact, is not permanent revolution at all. For, if the conflict between the proletariat and the peasantry is inevitable and unavoidable, etc., therefore, it is inevitable and unavoidable even in the case of the victory of the proletariat all over the world. The peasantry represents an enormous majority of the population of our planet. If the proletariat has not the means by which to lead this peasantry, then, *either* the international revolution is also doomed, *or* it must be postponed (as Kunow says) until we have a proletarian majority throughout the world. We can hardly believe that we will have to break down the "terrestrial frontiers" and expect aid from the purely proletarian celestial forces, and "State aid" at that.

Thus, if we develop the problem and present it in its full scope, it will be easily seen that Comrade Trotsky merely evades the problem, but does not solve it.

Comrade Trotsky's error lies in the fact that he considers the conflict between the proletariat and the peasantry as *inevitable*, whereas, it is merely *possible*, and this is by no means the same thing. It will be inevitable if the proletarian regime proves to be less advantageous to the peasantry than was the bourgeois regime, and if the peasantry throws off the leadership of the proletariat. But it is not at all inevitable and *will not happen* if the Party of the victorious proletariat will make the corner-stone of its policy solicitude for the maintenance and strengthening of the workers.

and peasant alliance. The consideration of *how* this is to be done correctly, is beyond the limits of this work.

From the estimation of the peasantry given above, follows the general *methods of influencing it*, which by the by, Comrade Trotsky formulated in the period of reaction. This is what Comrade Lenin wrote on this matter :

" Finally, *the least correct of all* is the third of the opinions of Comrade Trotsky quoted by Comrade Martov which appears to Comrade Martov to be reasonable : ' Even if it (the peasantry) will do this (" associate itself with the labour democratic regime ") with no more consciousness than it usually associates itself with the bourgeois regime **the proletariat can neither calculate on the ignorance and prejudices of the peasantry, as did the lords of the bourgeois regime, nor presume that the customary ignorance and passivity of the peasantry will be maintained in the period of the revolution.**"

(" The Aim of the Struggle of the Proletariat in our Revolution." Collected Works, vol. xi., part 1, p. 229.)

And in the epoch of proletarian dictatorship when it was necessary to pass from words to deeds, when the situation was *particularly* difficult, Lenin wrote :

" The greater the extent and scope of historic events, the greater the number of people that take part in them and the more profound the change we desire to bring about, the more necessary is it to rouse interest in these events, to rouse a *conscientious attitude towards them* and to convince *millions and tens of millions of the people* of the necessity for them." (From a speech delivered at the Council of Peoples' Commissaries on December 22nd, 1920. Collected Works, vol. xii., p. 413.)

Does this not express an altogether different attitude towards the peasantry? And does not this attitude follow logically from the general estimation of the peasantry as an essential ally in the struggle of the proletariat? But, in order to be able to " convince " the peasantry, we must be able to " hook them " by the proper link, and here more than ever is revealed the incapacity of Trotskyism to *approach* this question properly.

In 1905, Trotsky evaded the agrarian revolution and failed to understand that this was the *outstanding feature of the epoch*. The Mensheviks also failed to understand this, and Lenin quite rightly pointed out that they in " fighting the Nerodniki were simply blind to the historically real and progressive *content* of the principles of the Narodniki as the theory of the petty bourgeois struggle of democratic capitalism against liberal-landlord capitalism," and Lenin described this " idea " as " monstrous " " idiotic " and " treacherous " (" Prussian and American Paths of Development; a Letter to Skvortzov," in " Proletarian Revolution," May, 1924, p. 178.)

Comrade Trotsky even now asserts that his estimation of the driving forces of the revolution was correct, and that in it there was no " leaping across the peasantry," and that he had no intention of " under-estimating " the peasantry, Trotsky is very angry with his critics on this account. He writes :

"A favourite argument that became fashionable in some circles (!) recently, is to point to—indirectly on most occasions—my 'under-estimation' of the role of the peasantry. In vain, however, would you seek an analysis of this question. . . ("New Course," p. 50): *There was no attempt to 'leap across' the peasantry in my writings at that time.*" (P. 51. Italics ours.—N.B.)

This is how Comrade Lenin estimated the position of Comrade Trotsky in 1915 during the period of the war :

"Comrade Trotsky's curious theory takes from the Bolsheviks the call for a resolute revolutionary proletarian fight for the conquest of political power, and from the Mensheviks the 'denial' of the role of the peasantry." ("Two Lines of Development of the Revolution." Collected Works, vol. xiii. p. 213.)

"As a matter of fact, Trotsky is assisting the liberal-labour politicians of Russia, who, by 'denial' of the role of the peasantry mean to *refuse* to rouse the peasantry to revolution. (Ibid, p. 214.)

Comrade Lenin then gives a brief, but brilliant description of the stages of the revolution and the content of these stages and our tasks. He wrote :

"And this (*i.e.*, rousing the peasantry) is the most important question of the moment. The proletariat is fighting and will bravely continue to fight for the conquest of power, for a republic for the confiscation of the land. *That is to say, for winning over the peasantry, to utilise its revolutionary force*, to secure the participation of the 'non-proletarian masses of the people' in the emancipation of *bourgeois* Russia from *military-feudal* 'imperialism' (Czarism). The proletariat will *immediately* (N.B., italics ours) take advantage of the emancipation of bourgeois Russia from Czarism, and of the agrarian power of the landlords, not for the purpose of aiding the working peasants in their struggle against the rural workers, but for the purpose of completing the Socialist revolution in alliance with the proletariat of Europe."

Thus, in spite of Comrade Trotsky, Comrade Lenin considered that Trotsky's theory did under-estimate the role of the peasantry, and however much Comrade Trotsky would like to evade the admission of this fundamental and cardinal error, he cannot evade it. One cannot play at hide and seek. One must clearly, precisely and definitely say who is *right*. For, it is perfectly clear that before us are two *different* theories. According to one theory, the peasantry is an ally. According to the other, he is an inevitable foe. According to one theory, it is possible for us to conduct a successful fight for the hegemony over the peasantry; according to the other theory, this must fail. According to one theory, a sharp conflict with the peasantry is inevitable; according to the other, this conflict may be avoided if our policy is cleverly conducted.

Is it not clear that this "permanent" question of a "permanent" theory is the "permanent" contradiction between Trotskyism and Leninism?

N. BUKHARIN.

Party Documents

[It is of the greatest importance that every party member should be informed on the immediate policy and direction of the Party. This implies a knowledge and discussion of the resolutions passed from time to time by the leading Party organs. This month we are publishing some of the resolutions passed at the open session of the Executive Committee held at Birmingham on January 10th and 11th, and in future will make these columns on "Party Documents" a regular feature of the *Review*.—Editor.]

SOLDIERS' IMMEDIATE DEMANDS.

1. Political Demands.

(a) The right to join Trade Unions, and the right to form and join Soldiers and Airmen's Trade Unions.

(b) The right to elect Regimental, Battalion and Company Committees to represent Soldiers' and Airmen's grievances on questions of legal rights, punishment, leave, working hours, and barrack accommodation.

(c) Lowering of the voting age from 21 years to 18 years for soldiers of all ranks. Right of all Soldiers over 18 years to be elected to Parliament, and other public bodies.

(d) The right to join political parties and to organise branches of these parties in the Army, and the right to attend political meetings and demonstrations.

(e) No compulsory Church attendance.

2. Legal Rights.

(a) No military intervention during industrial disputes.

(b) Abolition of court martials. Military courts to be organised on the basis of an elected jury composed of three soldiers, one non-commissioned officer, and one officer. Right of appeal to civil courts. Abolition of death penalty.

(c) Drastic modification of punishments. Right of appeal to the military court (above mentioned) in the cases of all punishments exceeding three days C.B., or equivalent.

3. Pay.

(a) Pay must be fixed according to actual living expenses. Immediate proportionate increases for all non-commissioned grades.

(b) All married soldiers to receive marriage allowances. Abolition of regulation which only entitles soldiers of 26 years of age and over to this allowance.

(c) Special pay for Sunday or general holiday duties, for compulsory or necessary fatigues, for special ceremonial parades and guards occurring outside the ordinary duties.

(d) Increase in overseas service allowances.

(e) Flying allowances for every man called upon to fly, including mechanics and fitters.

4. Leave.

(a) Right to proceed on pass—without ration allowance—on every week-end when not actually detailed for duty. Right to an "early Friday to late Monday" pass at least once a month.

(b) Right to wear civilian clothes outside barracks or camp whether on leave, or "walking-out."

(c) Increased leaves for overseas service.

5. Terms of Service.

(a) Much shorter terms of service with the colours, which will allow soldiers to return to civil life.

(b) Time of service limited to 8 hours per day covering all duties.

(c) Time served in detention barracks to be included in service period.

6. Trade Training

(a) All trade training to be thorough and complete and conducted by qualified civilian instructors, and to be under the control of the trade unions.

(b) Full Trade Union rates for soldiers in the military workshops.

7. Food and Accommodation.

(a) Elected representatives of soldiers to participate in control of food supplies with facilities for obtaining the advice of medical experts. Military canteens to be controlled in the same way. Control of the central Army, Navy and Air Force Institute to be in the hands of an elected Board in the ratio of one officer, one non-commissioned officer, and three other ranks.

(b) Provision of better and increased food.

(c) Improvement in the military medical service and an energetic struggle against diseases. Regular attendance of civil doctors.

(d) Improvement of the barrack accommodation. Regular disinfecting of bedding and provision of adequate washing and laundry facilities.

8. Cultural Demands.

(a) Right to form clubs and organisations for enjoyment of spare time. Provision of commodious reading rooms and libraries. Abolition of Y.M.C.A., Church Army, and other propaganda institutions.

(b) Right of military sports organisations to affiliate to whatever organisations they choose.

9. Pensions.

(a) An all-round increase of pensions and provision of pensions for widows.

EMERGENCY RESOLUTION ON RAILWAY ARMY RESERVE.

This Open Session of the Communist Party clearly recognises the serious danger to the working class contained in the attempt that is now being made to militarise the railway workers, and recalls the 1921 industrial offensive of the capitalists when the miners were taken first, the railwaymen next, the engineers next, and so on. The military conscription of railwaymen is the first step in the new wave of reaction towards the military conscription of all trade union labour, and is a deliberate attempt to prepare the way for the disruption of the trade union movement, as a preliminary to forcing down the standard of living of all workers.

This vicious reactionary move, therefore, must be vigorously fought, not only by the railway workers, but by the whole organised working class movement.

The General Council of the Trade Union Congress and every trade union executive must immediately issue the strongest possible condemnation of this proposal and must advise the railway workers that under no circumstances should any support be given to it. This is absolutely imperative in view of the attitude of Mr. C. T. Cramp and the N.U.R. Executive.

The following excerpt from Mr. Cramp's statement cuts at the very roots of trade unionism:—

"This office (Unity House) is at present in communication with the Minister for War, but until satisfactory guarantees are obtained that under no circumstances will the Supplementary Army Reserve be used during a dispute between the railway companies and their employees, *the Executive Committee has directed me to advise N.U.R. members not to volunteer for service in these units.*"

To this the railway directors have already declared:—

"The best answer to the N.U.R. as to the danger of these men being used in a trade dispute is to be found in the fact that the Army Order on which the scheme is based was issued by the Labour Government, and signed by Mr. Stephen Walsh. The railway companies only came into the scheme because they were asked by the War Office to co-operate in the raising of the men. We have no ulterior object whatever . . ."

The statement of Mr. C. T. Cramp is a suggestion that the officials of the N.U.R. can get concessions from the War Office and that they were prepared to acquiesce, if not definitely support, the militarisation of the railway workers.

The Communist Party recalls the language used by patriotic trade union leaders and politicians during the great war, and condemns emphatically these proposed negotiations as a potential betrayal of the trade union movement, and calls upon the railway workers to force their officials to bring them to an end, and to concentrate their attention to prevent the railway workers from being drawn into any entangling schemes for military conscription of labour.

COLONIAL RESOLUTIONS.

To the Peoples of India.

We, the Executive Committee of the Communist Party of Great Britain, assembled at an open session together with our members and sympathisers, are sending first of all our greetings to those thousands and thousands of prisoners who are suffering now in the prisons of India, because they do not want to bear silently the yoke of Imperialism. The rulers of Great Britain succeeded in converting a large portion of the world into one great prison, where millions and millions are working for the huge profits of a small portion of exploiters and speculators. Furthermore, the successful British Tories are trying their best to consolidate all the affairs of the world reaction for a general offensive against the workers and peasants. Greeting you, the victims of British Imperialism, we wish to assure you that here in the home country we shall make all efforts possible to create a strong mass Communist Party which will be in a position to fight successfully for the full liberation of all the exploited and oppressed. Your cause is our cause. We have the same enemy, we are fighting for the same goal. Let us join in our efforts for the common fight which must be successfully fulfilled, despite the fact that the Tories are boasting now of their success and are drunk with the victories which they have had at home and abroad. Yours for the emancipation of exploited peasants and workers: The E.C. of the C.P.G.B.

To the Peoples of Egypt.

We, the Executive Committee of the Communist Party of Great Britain assembled at an Open Session together with our members and sympathisers, are sending you in this hour of trial and distress our heartiest greetings. At the very first moment, when your ancestors came into touch with British Imperialism they understood the nature of the rulers of the empire and they were quite correct when they said that "The British Lion has a ferocious appetite, but it does not kill its prey, it lets them live to relish their blood and and flesh, bit by bit." That is exactly the way British Imperialism acts. They like to wrap themselves in the mantle of constitutionalism and democracy. Sending you, brothers and sisters, suffering under the iron heel of imperialism, our greetings, we wish to assure you that the honest workers of this country are heart and soul with you in your noble and gallant fight, in spite of the fact that many of the so-called Labour leaders have practically participated in putting the chains upon you. MacDonald and Thomas do not express the wishes of the working masses of the country, just as your government has nothing to do with the toiling masses of your country. We beg you not to mistake the utterances of some of the Labour leaders for the sentiments of the working masses. Continue your fight. Let us work together for the creation of a real commonwealth to emancipate the workers, upon the principle of equality without any distinction of race, colour, or creed.

Yours, for the emancipation of all exploited peasants and workers: the E.C. of the C.P.G.B.

THE GIBSON CASE.

This open session of the Executive Committee of the Communist Party of Great Britain is following with the closest attention the prosecution of Percy Gibson at Newcastle for being in possession of explosives for unlawful purposes and while it has not yet the full facts of the case before it, desires to place on record the following observations.

The Communist Party re-affirms its belief that it is necessary to win over a majority of the working class to a belief in revolutionary action as a means of ending capitalism. It is not the first time that the capitalist class has adopted methods of provocation for the purpose of demoralising and breaking the ranks of the working class. But the Communist Party refuses to be intimidated from pursuing its revolutionary class policy. While it recognises that revolutionary class violence has ever played a most important role in the struggle of the classes, it emphatically affirms that individual acts of violence are not part of our policy.

This open session protests against any attempt to associate the Communist Party with acts of individual violence, as an insidious attempt to attack our Party.

Rage, Despair, and a Little Hope

"A Searchlight on the European War." By C. H. Norman.
(Labour Publishing Company, 6s. net.)

TEN years ago last August, the whole world sat up and gasped. That which all had prophesied with varying degrees of conviction had happened. War had come—but come in a way and form such as nobody had conceived, releasing terrors undreamt of. The whole ideology of the world transformed itself in a rapid succession of paroxysms. Every principle that had seemed fixed collapsed into dust; and ideologies that had lain long in the tomb stalked forth to riot and triumph over the wreck.

It was in keeping with the rest of this phantasmagoria that the opposition to the crudest and most blatant Jingo tribalism in this country found at first its loudest public expression in the form of an opposition of the right of the individual conscience to resist the collective insanity fostered by the State. Men too cowardly to resist the opinion of their neighbours volunteered and became legally brave. Women knowing that their sex demanded that the mere thought of blood should be insupportable to them, hounded men on to the slaughter until the streams of blood grew into rivers, and the rivers into a sea. To manufacture corpses the whole nation, led and exhorted by capitalist captains of industry, arm-in-arm with "Socialist" leaders of labour, rose to heights of collective organisation and enthusiasm which the one had proved to be impossible, and the other had hardly dared to hope for. It was an enthusiasm for death and destruction; but he or she who dared even hint at so much was cursed as a coward, lampooned as a freak, or laid by the heels as an enemy of the Light, Truth, Justice and Mercy embodied in the person and cause of the newly-resurrected tribal god—"Our Country."

Taking a leading place in the ranks of the "conscientious objectors," who refused to submit their bodies to the State and their minds to Horatio Bottomley, was C. H. Norman. He played a brave and a conspicuous part and paid the penalty accordingly—in prison often and "bruised with many stripes." It was inevitable that he should become enraged and that he should desire to get revenge. This book is the bludgeon with which he hits back at the thing which battered him.

C. H. Norman for all his individuality is so representative of the class of humanitarianism, intellectuals of the lower middle and

superior working class that his conclusions from the episode are worth noting. They fall, naturally enough, under the three heads: the Causes of the War, the Conduct of the War, and the Consequences of the War.

By his appraisal of all three we may discover to what extent the class whose spokesman he is has been emancipated from its characteristic illusions.

THE HUMANITARIAN ILLUSION.

An objective estimate of the War must begin with a firm grasp of the paradox that—the War which changed everything changed nothing. The Jingo who blames it all upon “Germany” and the pacifist who attributes it all to Soviet diplomacy, and Edward Grey, are agreed upon one thing—that the War was a deviation from the normal course of European history which could have been avoided if only “Germany” or “Edward Grey” had been less wicked. Hence each of them is agreed that, now that the war is over, every effort should be made to get back to the “normal” line of progress from which this calamitous accident drove us. They propose it is true, differing ways in which to get back to Normality—since the one looks for danger in “Germany” or some potential imitator thereof, and the other in Diplomacy of the Grey school. Each is agreed that the war wrecked things, and each insists that the wreck must be repaired before we can start to “progress” again.

The fundamental fallacy of this theory is the supposition that “progress” is a matter of purely intellectual achievement and that, therefore, any cultural gain or loss in the upper strata of society must necessarily be a gain for the whole community. Because a “good” government is better for Cultural Society than a bad one—since the disturbances attending a bad government are bad for culture, the holders of this theory naturally suppose that universal good will result if their sort of “good” government can be made perpetual. It is the spirit of the dear old soul who having derived pleasure from reading a pious tract encourages the distribution of tracts among the heathen at home and abroad as a cure for every discontent.

Proceeding from this starting point, it is easy to intellectualise the whole of history, past and present. The difference between one age or one nation and any other is merely a question of degree of intellectual development. Morality, religion, politics—all are questions of how much a given people know. All social problems resolve themselves into problems in pedagogics. Improve the efficiency of the teaching staff at Eton and Harrow, and the quality of our rulers will rise correspondingly. Improve the rulers and

the people will improve. Utopia will rise into view at the wave of the schoolmaster's pointer.

THE CAUSES OF THE WAR.

To do him justice, C. H. Norman struggles valiantly to escape from the meshes of this illusion. He sees that society as at present constituted permits the exploitation of class by class, and nation by nation. He notes the economic antagonisms which contributed to create the *occasion* for the war; he notes the economic chaos which the war has left as its aftermath. He sees (as he must) in the Soviet Revolution the uprising of the Russian proletariat, and he sees (more or less clearly) that the fight of the future is between capitalism and Communism.

For all that, the main contents of his book is a series of facts that have their chief importance only when viewed from the Humanitarian-intellectual standpoint. He traces the "political ambitions" of the various States involved, a good way back. He demonstrates the rival intrigues of Austria, Turkey, Russia and France in the Balkans (much to the discredit of the two latter). He indicates that economic interests played a part in determining these antagonisms. But he gives at least equal importance to purely personal considerations such as the vigorous reactionary tendency of Edward VII., the dislike of the King of Italy for the Kaiser, and the triangle of hostilities between the Grand Orient of France, the Catholic and the Greek Orthodox Churches.

That these things played their part as incidentals none would wish to deny. But to suppose that they were essential and prime causes of equal profundity with the antagonism of interests between British and German capitalism is to wander from the world of objective reality to that of subjective illusion. The Russian Tsar did not scheme against Catholic Austria, because he was a loyal son of the Greek Church, desiring its victory over the Papal schismatics: the Tsarist State needed things which the Austrian State also needed. Were it otherwise, how could the Tsar have allied himself with France of the Grand Orient and Protestant Britain to fight (with assistance from Catholic Italy) a combination of Catholic Austria, Lutheran Germany, Greek Bulgaria, and Mahometan Turkey.

THE CONDUCT OF THE WAR.

Similarly in his treatment of the conduct of the war. He makes much of the fact that Grey and Asquith cannot escape the charge of wilfully deceiving the House of Commons; that the department of Propaganda deliberately invented lying atrocious stories to inflame passion against the Germans; that the "indignation" worked up about Nurse Cavell and the *Lusitania* was all

humbug; that Lloyd George had so little knowledge of what the war meant that he seriously thought it would be over in three months; that the Generals were stupid, incompetent, and brutal, and that the common soldiers were terrorised into facing the horrors of war; that by the suppression of plain facts, the wholesale suggestion of falsehoods and the drastic exercise of dictatorial power, every critical mouth was stopped and the working mass led to endure the slaughter for years.

All these things he sees and sets out with a mass of irrefutable evidence. But all these things are to him merely crimes against "Humanity"—evidence of the appalling consequences of the lack of culture in high places and low.

He misses what is the essential fact from which all these proceed—the fact that war, an inevitable consequence of capitalism, places every capitalist State before a critical dilemma.

The capitalist State is even more than its predecessors a machine for securing the rule of a minority at the expense of an immense majority. It has the special weakness peculiar to itself that it must rely for its physical power of defence and coercion upon armies, navies and police forces, recruited in the main from the very class whom it needs must hold in subjection.

The feudal aristocracy could afford to leave their serfs in possession of bows and bills. They had the better equipment, they monopolised the cavalry and the best defensive armour. War was their pastime and their trade. Their immediate retainers looked to them and their victories as a sure and certain means of reward and advancement. To the feudal aristocracy, therefore, war was the normal and peace the abnormal.

Capitalism on the contrary, only reaches a state of war as a rebound from one contradiction to another. Nothing in the nature of capitalist enterprise fits a member of the capitalist class for war. Even the organisation and training of large bodies of men has passed as a special function into the hands of a superior and expensively paid class of subordinates. Capitalism, therefore, which has in the course of its development ever more thoroughly effected the total disarmament of its exploited victims, faces in a war the dilemma that it must to defend itself against its rivals *arm the slaves whose enslavement is essential to its existence.*

War places a capitalist State before the problem—how to reduce to a nullity the risk of giving the slaves the means of self-liberation?

Mr. Norman notes with every intensity of disgust the part played in winning the support of the masses to the prosecution of the war by such demagogues as Bottomley and whole shoals of Trade Union and Labour leaders.

"One day (he says) the working class movement of this country may learn the amount of money distributed among working class leaders in the shape of fees for recruiting speeches and expenses for propaganda tours; the shock of the disclosure would be terrible."

This is no doubt true—and true also that, whatever they got, their work was worth ten times the money to the capitalist class.

But it is equally true that had any adequate degree of class consciousness and understanding of capitalism prevailed in the mass of the workers, neither the bribery of the leaders nor the brutality of the military commanders would have availed to do more than intensify the determination with which the workers seized the difficulty of capitalism as their Great Opportunity.

THE CONSEQUENCES OF THE WAR.

Mr. Norman rightly sees in the Soviet Revolution the one tangible gain of the war. He is, however, pessimistic about all else. He cannot see that although in the then circumstances, resistance to conscription was justifiable and valuable, as a gesture it was none the less a confession of despair from the outset, and as such foredoomed to futility. From the proletarian point of view, conscription is perfectly sound *in principle*—given a working class of the requisite maturity it will be perfectly welcome in practice also. Everything depends upon the degree of development of the workers' class struggle; and every estimate of the consequences of the war must start from this as a basic fact.

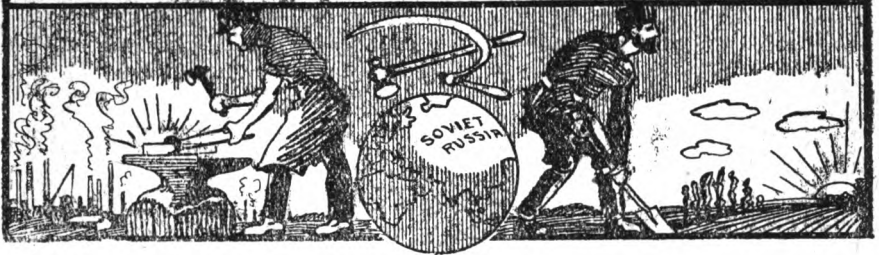
To Mr. Norman it is a calamity that one-time "conscientious objectors" now find it possible to vote for cruisers and naval bases, and to use E.P.A. and the forces of the Crown to coerce workmen on strike. To us it is only what was to be expected. If the sole question involved in "progress" is whether a given set of individuals is in or out of office, naturally, once in office, these individuals will treat all resistance to them as hostility to "progress" and "good government."

Only when the world and its historical development is conceived in terms of class conflicts and their culminating crises is it possible to see in the war, at one and the same time the culminating triumph of capitalism and the release of the forces which will duly overthrow it.

The war distinguishes the genuine fighters for the working class from the Pacifist Humanitarian, Radical, Ideologues who till then had been indistinguishable from them. The war enabled capitalism to develop more in five years than otherwise it would have done in fifty. The war, therefore, intensified and accelerated the workers' class struggle—that is the one great fact of the war. When the mass of the workers grasp it—the end of capitalism will have come.

THOS. A. JACKSON.

INTERNATIONAL REVIEW



SOCIAL DEMOCRATS' PACT WITH HUNGARIAN CAPITALISTS.

(Extract from the Treaty between the Horthy Social Democrats and their Government Chief.)

The Treaty does not contain anything which every Socialist Party of the world—if we disregard the Third International—would not have recognised, or at least realised by its practical attitude. On the other hand, the treaty does not contain anything which would not have been the duty of every Conservative bourgeois government; and a point of honour of the whole thing is that *the Treaty has been fully observed* and that both Parties have honestly fulfilled its provisions.—*Neues Pester Journal*, 1st January, 1925.

The Social-Democratic Party is ready to declare that it will consider the general interests of the nation and of the country under present day conditions and, after the experiences it has gained, as of equal importance to the interests of the working class; it must, therefore, fight and make sacrifices for the interests of the nation and of the country as well as for the working class. The Party will in its conduct aim at the above, and not only abstain from all propaganda injurious to the interests of Hungary, but on the contrary will carry on *an active propaganda on behalf of Hungary*; on the one hand, among the leaders of the foreign social democratic Parties, with the foreign governments, etc., and for this purpose will co-operate with the Hungarian Foreign Minister, and *on the other hand, will break off all connections with the emigrants*; this

it does openly and takes up the fight against them abroad.

A. WITH REGARD TO FOREIGN POLICY.

The Social-Democratic Party undertakes in all disputed foreign political questions concerning the nation as a whole, expressly to adopt the *Magyar standpoint* to the same extent as the German majority Social-Democrats and other moderate Social-Democrats always do, who, in questions of this kind, never adopt the standpoint of governments of hostile states.

It shall make use of its connections with the foreign moderate Social-Democratic circles to *counteract the unfounded reports spread regarding terror in Hungary* and to exert its influence in order that *the foreign countries shall obtain a picture of Hungary which is in accordance with the facts*.

In order that this end may be achieved, the Social-Democratic Party will, before all, in its organ "*Nepssava*," *adopt an impartial attitude and loyally express in this paper the collaboration with the bourgeois society*, which will result in these actions finding an echo in the foreign press.

It will do its utmost to inform the foreign Social-Democratic press regarding this agreement, and especially undertakes that prominent Party members shall publish articles regarding this Treaty in the right wing Labour press abroad, for example, in Germany, France, England, Switzerland, Sweden, Holland and the United States.

With regard to the *obviously lying and malicious reports appearing in the foreign press*, the "*Nepssava*" undertakes when it is convinced of the untruth of the reports in question—upon the request of the press

department of the Foreign Ministry to contradict these reports.

B. WITH REGARD TO HOME POLICY.

1. It considers the reconstruction of the country, which is also in the interests of the workers, to be of such importance that for this purpose it is disposed to co-operate with the bourgeois classes in the economic sphere, to abstain unconditionally from political strikes, and to leave the solution of wages questions to that organisation which is mentioned in the second clause of the 11th section of the present protocol. (Government intervention and arbitration court.)

2. In the sphere of home politics it breaks with the liberal bloc: it refuses to support the bourgeois demagoguery and the octobrist elements. In its opposition to the government it will only employ decent weapons and will not carry on a factious demagoguery. It will conduct no republican propaganda.

3. It takes note of the declaration of the Prime Minister according to which the government interprets the item regarding the right of combination and assembly in such a manner that the Social-Democratic Party shall not extend its agitation among the agricultural workers, as it did in the autumn of 1918 in the provinces.

The delegates of the Hungarian Social-Democratic Party declare that they agreed to the wishes expressed by the Prime Minister, both with regard to foreign and home policy, and give assurance of fulfilment on their part. They will do this all the more as all these interests, which are bound up with the restoration of the good repute of Hungary, with its inner consolidation and economic revival, are also the interests of the Hungarian Social-Democratic workers.

They nominate on their part a delegate who constantly maintains connections with the Foreign Ministry. With regard to the above interpretation by the Prime Minister of the right of combination and assembly, the delegates of the Social-Democratic working class declare that the Social-Democratic Party is not in a position to forbid the union of agricultural workers to continue trade union activity in its existing organisations, but they take note of the declaration of the Prime Minister, according to which the government interprets the point regarding the right of combination and

assembly in the sense that the Social-Democratic Party does not extend its agitation to the agricultural workers, as it did in the autumn of 1918 in the provinces. Finally, it undertakes to get these interests and opinions adopted by its masses and organisations.

This protocol, after same was read in the presence of all parties, is confirmed in two original copies and certified. The one original copy is retained by His Hungarian Majesty's Prime Minister, the other is handed over to the undersigned delegates of the Hungarian Social-Democratic working class.

Budapest, 22nd December, 1921.

Signed on behalf of the government:

Stefan Bethlen, His Hungarian Majesty's Prime Minister.

Kuno Klebelsberg, His Hungarian Majesty's Minister of the Interior;

Paul Tomcsanyi, His Hungarian Majesty's Minister of Justice;

Ludwig Hegyeshalmi, His Hungarian Majesty's Minister of Commerce;

Ferdinand Bernolak, His Hungarian Majesty's Minister of Health.

Signed on behalf of the Social-Democratic Working Class:

Karl Peyer;

Stefan Farkas;

Franz Miakits;

Alexander Popper;

Dr. Zoltan Bencs, Secretary.

ACTIVITY OF A FACTORY NUCLEUS IN GERMANY.

The Communist Party of Germany has formed nuclei in all the most important industrial enterprises. Most of these nuclei have their own organ, and it is through the nucleus that the Party collects membership contributions. All Communists working in the enterprise are members of the factory nucleus where they are registered, and where they must carry out their Party work. The nucleus elects its own management which generally consists of from three to five comrades. This nucleus management is responsible to the Party for its political and organisational activity. There are already several hundred such nuclei and the Party is very satisfied with the work they are doing. Here is an example:

One of the most important industrial enterprises in Berlin is the Siemen's Metal Company, which employs 35,000 people (workers and clerical staff). Our nucleus in this enterprise has about 400 members. The nucleus has several divisions for the various branches of the industry. The chairman of the entire nucleus is a member of the Berlin District Management of the Party, and at the same time a member of the Central Committee of the Party. A weekly nucleus meeting takes place in every part of the factory, while the entire nucleus meets once a fortnight. Through systematic work in the factory the nucleus has greatly strengthened our Communist influence, as the result of which most of the workers employed in the factory voted for the Communists at the factory council's election. At these weekly meetings, questions of propaganda, agitation and the work of the nucleus in the factory are discussed. If the members of the factory council are Communists, they must report on their activity at these weekly meetings. They have no control over the management of the nucleus as a whole, and must carry out the decisions of the nucleus. Comrades working in the various workshops of the enterprise have to report on their experiences. The Agitprop organiser distributes the newest party literature for sale in the enterprise. The editorial board of the factory paper reads its manuscripts aloud. One of the comrades tells the meeting about decisions of the Party.

As about 40 per cent. of the workers employed in the Siemen's concern are women, the nucleus is carrying on special propaganda among them. If the nucleus thinks it necessary to hold a factory meeting, it instructs comrades in the factory council to make all necessary arrangements for it. It is the nucleus which decides on the subject to be discussed at the factory meeting, and selects the speaker. All possible differences amongst the Communists being settled beforehand within the nucleus. The organ of the nucleus ("Siemen's Zeitung") is of course, published and financed by the nucleus. It has already a circulation of 4,000. The Siemen's nucleus sends its own delegates to any party functions (district party congresses, party congresses, etc.).

Thus the Siemen's nucleus sent four delegates to the last district party conference in October in Berlin-Brandenburg. Nucleus members are as delegates also members of the management of the district where the enterprise is situated.

This description of a nucleus is just an example of what nuclei are throughout the country. One can safely say that most of the more prominent nuclei in Germany are doing as good if not better work.

But the nucleus has also other work to do besides that which I have just described, for the wages and other conflicts, which are a frequent occurrence also in the Siemen's works, demand the co-operation of the nucleus. All economic questions, which concern the workers, are discussed in the nucleus, which decides on the tactics to be adopted by the Communists. We can place on record that it was due to this systematic work that strikes in separate branches of the industry (turners, tool makers, etc.) received the backing of other workers through the influence of the nucleus. In August of the current year, 4,000 turners employed in the table works came out on strike for higher wages, and a small separate group of turners (150) joined the strike, but this did not cause any stoppage in the work of the factory. But at this juncture the systematic propaganda of the nucleus came into operation, with the result that two days later all the workers employed in the concern made the fight of the turners their own, and declared a sympathetic strike. Thereby the management of the concern was compelled to give in, and the demands of the workers were partly conceded.

In the dynamo works which employs 3,500 workers, we have at present a similar situation. In connection with the great metal workers' strike in July of the current year, the workers at Siemen's were the first to enter the fray. This was a surprise for the reformist leaders in the German Metal Workers' Union, who thought that the Siemen's workers were tired of the struggle. These gentlemen had evidently not counted on the activity of our Communist nucleus.

In addition to the above-mentioned

work, the nucleus has also to fight against the continuous attacks of the Social-Democrats, who take advantage of every opportunity to run down Soviet Russia. Just at present the Social-Democrats are making use in their propaganda in the factories

of the alleged unsatisfactory conditions of the workers in Soviet Russia, as well as of the alleged famine, and the treatment of political prisoners. It is needless to say that the nucleus does its utmost to counteract this campaign of calumnies. N. HESSE.

BOOKS RECEIVED

Creative Socialism, by E. TOWNSHEND. Price 2/6 net. Published by Dent and Sons, Aldine House, Bedford Street, W.C.2.

Capitalist Combination in the Coal Industry, by D. J. WILLIAMS. Price 6/-.

A Searchlight on the European War, by C. H. NORMAN. Price 6/-.

Politics of Oil, by R. PAGE ARNOT. Price 1/-.

Published by Labour Publishing Co., 38, Great Ormond St., W.C.1.

What the Minority Movement Stands For, by E. C. of the National Minority Movement, 38, Great Ormond Street, W.C.1. Price 1d.

What is the Use of Parliament, by J. R. CAMPBELL. Price 2d.

Can Labour Govern? by W. GALLACHER. Price 1d.

Lenin in Britain, by A. LEPESKINSKY. Price 1/-.

Leninism: Theory and Practice, by I. STALIN. Price 1/6.

Published by Communist Party of Great Britain, 16, King Street, W.C.2.

