

**THE
COMMUNIST REVIEW**

“To be afraid of the resistance of the capitalists while calling oneself a revolutionary and desiring to be numbered amongst the Socialists—what a disgrace!”

—Lenin

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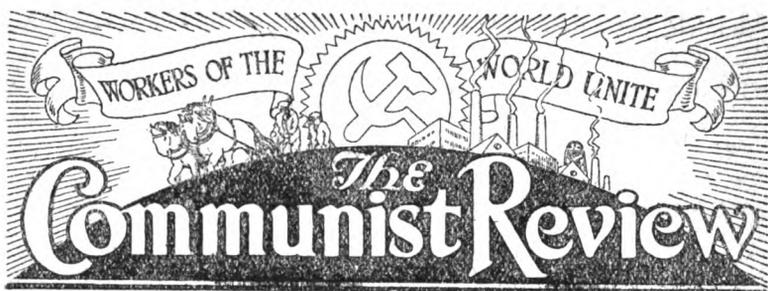
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“ Only when the masses *do not want* the old regime, and when the rulers *are unable* to govern us as of old, then only can the revolution succeed.—*Lenin.*



THE EDITORIAL VIEW

IN MEMORY OF LENIN.

“Build him no mockery of stone,
Nor shame him with your idle praise:
He liveth in his work alone,
Through all our days.”

COMMUNISTS honour the memory of Lenin, not sanctimoniously or dogmatically, but as an expression of that mass emotion which is, objectively, the most vital human urge operating in this twentieth century—the urge of the working class towards emancipation. To us this little, kindly, rugged man with the broad forehead and the keen eyes is the focus of a supreme emotion—our Class. To us the life of Lenin is an inspiration, not because we believe he shall come again in glory to judge both the quick and the dead, but because he has shown to the world's workers an example of the highest devotion and unsparing self-sacrifice in their Cause.

This, and something more. For behind the zeal and enthusiasm of Lenin there was the mind of Lenin; a mind fixed unwaveringly on a clearly visualised objective; a mind which never forgot essentials, yet knew how to compromise with the requirements of a practical situation; a mind which detested hypocrisy and faltering; a single-track mind as far as the objective of the workers is concerned, yet a mind which knew how to take the devious path when it was necessary to get around obstacles.

Because he was a realist serving a high ideal, because his mind was dynamic and his personality always large and

human, Lenin inevitably came into the front rank of the working class struggle. He emerged when that struggle was becoming intensified by the decay and social breakdown of highly-developed capitalism. The hour produced the man. Lenin became the acknowledged leader of the international revolutionary working class movement. Thus we visualise him, leading and counselling with steady judgment where good leadership and sound strategy are a first necessity.

Now Lenin is dead and the world's workers honour his memory. No fetishism this; no dry-bone adherence to formula or creed, but an act of intense emotion which we allow ourselves gladly, a re-inspiration in our human struggle for the happiness of human kind.

* * * *

Lenin Week will not take the form of empty eulogies. Who would have been more impatient of this than Lenin himself? "To your tasks!" he would say, "No faltering and aimless talking; but **activity**—intelligently directed activity!" Thus Lenin Week simply means a renewed effort towards the creation of a real Bolshevik Party of the masses. This implies two things. First we must keep our minds clearly fixed on our objective and on the realities of the present situation, and by intense theoretical discussion we must develop a clear policy adapted to present needs. Now, when class antagonisms are developing as a result of the economic situation in Britain, this function of our Party must be clearly realised. Secondly we must perfect our organisational means of carrying out that policy.

Theory and practice well co-ordinated—such is the essence of Leninism. To find the correct line and to follow it unwaveringly. By these means we steel ourselves to the struggle and adapt ourselves to its ever-changing requirements. Leninism is, therefore, not a set of abstract dogmas, but a mighty weapon in the hands of the working class. It is revolutionary theory based upon the actual **experience** of the struggles of the workers in every country; and it provides the strategy and tactics of that world struggle. In realising this fact to the full, and in applying it, we best honour the memory of the "little wrinkle-eyed brother," Vladimir Ilyitch.

* * * *

IN MEMORY OF LIEBKNECHT AND LUXEMBURG.

IN the black days following the outbreak of the world war, the comrades who understood what was taking place were almost overwhelmed and dismayed by the rout of Social-Democracy in every country. Militant opponents of capitalism felt themselves isolated and strangers among their fellow workers. Leader after leader in all countries hauled down their flag and surrendered abjectly to the war lords. The workers were swept along on the artificially-created wave of war emotion. The work of years seemed wasted time. Reaction reigned supreme.

Then something happened. High above the din of fratricidal battle the voice of Liebknecht rang out in denunciation of the war. In every land that voice was heard and revolutionaries took heart. The scattered forces of militant labour drew together. From this distance we can now see exactly when the turning point was reached: it was Liebknecht who pointed the way.

And it was soon known that Liebknecht was not alone in Germany. Side by side with him stood Rosa Luxemburg, equally fearless and clear-sighted, feminine counterpart of the revolutionary Liebknecht, his comrade in every danger. Their names will always be associated and their deeds extolled. And when revolutionary justice is one day meted out the manner of their deaths will not be forgotten. Meanwhile let us remember their lives and learn to live, if necessary to die, for the revolution.

* * * *

A BOLSHEVIK POEM.

WE publish in this issue a remarkable poem on the death of Lenin. It is by Vladimir Mayakovsky, a young revolutionary poet who has succeeded in giving expression to the deep emotions of the workers and peasants when the great leader died. Its publication here (for the first time, we believe, in English) will convince even the dilettanti and the elegant connoisseurs that the powerful literary tradition in Russia has not been killed by the war and the Revolution. This poem will stand comparison, for literary values alone, with anything in the vibrant pre-war tradition.

However, we do not publish it as a sample of "Art for Art's sake" word-spinning. Being genuine proletarian poetry, it is addressed to the revolutionary working class. Bourgeois intellectuals may cavil or criticise, but no class-conscious fighter in the workers' struggle will read this poem unmoved . . . because it is a resounding note struck on the great bell of the revolution, tolling death to the old order.

* * * *

TO OUR READERS.

You all know that our Editor lies in prison, one of the twelve singled out to be punished for acting on your behalf and on behalf of our class. All of you would gladly give anything to bring to him cheer from outside. What about making it possible to tell Tom Bell that the "Review" is sailing ahead, increasing its circulation, doubling its influence among outside readers and being read and appreciated by all and not a portion of the Party membership? And we on our part will do what we can to increase its value as a Party organ and to brighten up its pages. More. We can promise that on doubling the present circulation our next consideration will be to bring down the price. That should assist us to treble our output, thereby helping to draw to the Party the studious worker who is so necessary to well-balanced Party growth. Do your best!



"To weaken even a little the iron discipline of the proletarian party, is to assist the bourgeoisie against the workers."—Lenin.

Lenin's Last Speech

By CHARLES ASHLEIGH.

IT was during the Fourth World Congress of the Communist International. The Congress was held in the Nikolaevsky Palace—the former residence of the Tsars—in the Kremlin. It is a huge place, with great halls and corridors that have something of grandeur about them despite the glaring vulgarity of their marble, gilt and mirrored decorations.

We knew that Lenin was to speak at the Congress and that the time for his address was nearing. We knew, too, all of us, that Vladimir Ilyitch's health was none too good.

In the corridor outside the Congress rooms and in the great hall—where once Court Levees were held—where we used to promenade between sessions, the question was continually being asked: "When is Lenin going to speak?" In all languages we could hear it as we surged up and down the hall, taking our brief exercise. Big blond Scandinavians, animated Italians, loose-gaited Americans, Englishmen—looking intently and rather self-consciously English amid this motley gathering. Frenchmen, Turks, Bulgars and a score of other nationalities; revolutionists from every corner of the world, hard-bitten, class war veterans from almost every prison in the world, they were eager, like simple children, to see and hear Lenin. It was not just curiosity, however; it was not alone their respect for a man who had contributed so much new thought to revolutionary theory, so much new and wise action to revolutionary history; it was also affection.

For Lenin was loved; loved by millions of plain simple people, as well as by revolutionaries. I have seen old peasant women, in Russian country towns, gathered round the bulletin which announced the state of Lenin's health, listening to someone reading it aloud to them. And I have seen the tears streaming down the faces of these old women, as they crossed themselves, over and over again, crying, "God help our Vladimir Ilyitch," "Christ restore him to health again!" They knew nothing of the theories of Communism, these simple people, but they loved Lenin and trusted him. They

loved him as one of themselves, with a brotherly familiarity, untouched by awe.

And so we waited to hear this man who had our respect and our love.

I remember that I was in the press bureau that day, in the great hall of the Palace where scores of typewriters were clicking out the news of the Congress, in many languages, so that the workers, the world over, might know what was taking place.

Someone came hurrying in. "The Old Man is going to speak!" It was in these familiar terms that Lenin was affectionately known to us of the English-speaking nationalities.

We hurried into the Congress hall. The platform was crowded. At the long scarlet-covered table of the Presidium sat Zinoviev, Radek, Bukharin and others, still and intent.

Suddenly the delegates arose. A rather short, stocky man had walked briskly on to the platform. Yes, he had walked briskly enough, but there was a doctor and a nurse with him. We stood, all of us, and we cheered, in Heaven knows how many languages; we sang the "Internationale" and then cheered again. It was a perfectly spontaneous tribute, from this World Congress of seasoned revolutionists, to that man, with the keen humorous eyes, who stood quietly, absolutely without pose, waiting for us to finish.

Then he spoke. He was dealing with the question of the New Economic Policy. But, instead of going into its many details, as he had intended, he could only speak to us for a couple of hours. His health would not permit the great effort he had wished to make.

Lenin's manner was not oratorical. He spoke in a conversational tone, rather as though he were endeavouring to convince an intelligent opponent in a discussion. He was perfectly distinct; his voice carried, apparently without effort, to the farthest corners of the long, acoustically very unfavourable, hall.

He had none of the flamboyant gestures of the platform. As he approached a crucial point in his argument, he would make a sort of little lunge forward. His right hand moved

constantly in short, incisive, crisp gesture, emphasising, confirming.

It was the tremendous earnestness and mastery of the man which impressed one. Through his coolness, the un-studied carriage, the pleasant voice which went on, reasoning, convincing, was shining an intense fire and implacable will. And it was not the fire, the will of an individual; it seemed as though the aspirations and determination of a class were in Lenin. It was as though he had been made the vehicle for the driving will of the awakened workers. Through him spoke Revolution.

He had that incommunicable quality which is genuine, had Lenin. He had that which we call greatness. But he was a new kind of great man. His greatness was part, not just of himself, but of a class, the workers; it was part of the Revolution. He did not "give" his greatness to the people, as did the saints, the great bourgeois humanitarians, for instance. It was not his to give; it was already the people's. He was an organic expression of the revolutionary working class and he knew it, down to the deepest places of his consciousness, and acted instinctively always according to this knowledge. His form of greatness could never have existed in a previous historical period. He was the product of the modern proletariat; the mass become conscious. He was the Mass Man.

Comrade Lenin had finished. He was tired; you could see that. As he turned away from the tribune, the doctor and nurse came anxiously forward; and he left, rather slowly leaning on an arm.

And there were some around me, who had noted this, who were sobbing. They were men who had been imprisoned and tortured by the master class and who, dry-eyed and grim, had defied their captors. Yet now they wept. After years of exile, of poverty, of austere devotion to the cause; after the five long years of struggle, when Socialist Russia was combatting, with every sinew, the enemies within and without; now, when more light began to shine on the way, now when the roads became easier, our comrade Lenin was ill. We feared he might not see the glorious new Russia, which was now beginning to be built up. Those faithful, fearless eyes had seen the dawn, but they were not to see the full and beautiful effulgence of the day. Our soldier was

tired and his old wounds were bleeding; and he was not to hear the happy songs of children, crowning his victory, in a new world.

We took Lenin to our hearts that day—our comrade, loyal and unsparing of himself, who had so well fought the fight of our class. And we walked from the Congress Hall, re-consecrated, strengthened and steeled to carry on the work he loved so well, hoping only that we too might be fortunate enough to have the chance of giving all our strength, all our blood, to the struggle which would, one day, make the old earth blossom with a new and radiant life.



“The victory of the working class is impossible unless the opportunist, social-traitor leaders are exposed, disgraced and expelled.”—Lenin.

The Attack on the Party

A Call to the Workers.

By T. QUELCH.

THERE are urgent and terrible issues confronting the working class. The capitalist class is aware of this—just as we are. The capitalist class it is which is forcing these issues. Tremendous class struggles are looming ahead—industrial and political struggles. We are only at the opening stage, as it were, of the real, conscious and determined capitalist offensive. The capitalist class has opened this offensive by a sinister attempt to crush, to break up and disperse our Party. It is fully aware that the real driving force within the general working class movement is the Communist Party. The Party has not been singled out for attack because of the fantastic charges brought against it in the Courts, it has been singled out to be broken because it aims at giving the workers a conscious leadership and policy. It has been attacked because it has endeavoured to give clear class purpose to the workers in their struggle.

Upon the workers' loyalty and firmness, upon their courage and determination, rests not only the fate of our Party, but the immediate fate of the working class. If the Party is driven out of legal existence then, one by one, the ramparts of the working class movement will go down too. The trade unions will be attacked and demolished, smashed to atoms in the coming industrial conflicts. The workers' political organisations will be put outside the pale. The right of association will go. Free speech will be made impossible. The iron heel of the capitalist dictatorship will ruthlessly trample out, for the time being, every spark of vitality existing in the working class movement. Are not the signs plain to see? Have we not historical experience to go by? Is not the writing on the wall, written in the blood of the Italian workers? Is it not the thinly-veiled—in some cases the openly avowed—intention of the ruling class of this country to follow the example set by Mussolini in Italy?

Let there be no mistake. British capitalism has now entered upon its final phase. The capitalists find themselves in a hopeless mess in this country. A grave and menacing

unemployed problem has been in existence for six years--and they can do nothing except provide a subsidy in the shape of a few loaves thrown to the unemployed. Mining, the basic productive industry of the country, is rapidly withering away--and they can do nothing except provide a subsidy. As with mining so with industry generally. A difficult housing problem confronts them--and they can do nothing except provide a subsidy. The capitalists are drawing upon their credit like a dog feeding upon its own tail. The pressure of the working class is compelling them to do this. The harsh facts of their mismanagement of society are being brought home to them. These facts are making them reckless and desperate, compelling them to attempt economies at the expense of the working class, to endeavour to cut down wages, increase the exploitation of the workers, deny relief to the unemployed, fob off the people with tin huts instead of real houses, and to smash the power of resistance possessed by the organised working class movement.

In such circumstances as these the class struggle is being intensified. Only once before, in the history of Britain, has there occurred a situation bearing any resemblance to that obtaining at the present time. And that was during the reign of Charles the First, when the forces were accumulating to bring about the Cromwellian revolution. That time was like a miniature of our own times. Only on that occasion, the struggle was between the Monarchy and aristocracy on the one hand, and the rising small capitalist class and lower farmer class on the other. It is as well, just now, to glance at that time.

The Puritans, as the advanced elements of the capitalist and farmer class were then called, were then being treated as Communists are being treated to-day in the various capitalist countries. Macaulay and other historians have told us of the murderous cruelty and oppression to which they were subjected. They were whipped, imprisoned, thrown into the vilest dungeons. They were branded with red-hot irons. Some had their ears cut off. Some had their noses slit. Others were put in the pillory, where they were spat upon and pelted with filth. They were harassed in every way; their property was confiscated, their families were broken up, many were driven overseas and went, as did the Pilgrims, to America. But their historical roots were too firmly planted amongst the people, economic changes had established their historical necessity--and nothing the hideous Star Chamber, the ferocity of Wentworth or the cruel bigotry of Bishop

Laud could do could prevent them from coming together, hardening their faith and their organisation, gathering unto themselves power, and finally conquering.

It was not Cromwell who lost his head—it was Charles. **The Puritans emerged from out of that stormy period as Ironsides.**

As we say that time was but a miniature to our own times. The great economic driving forces in society are compelling the ruling capitalist class to endeavour to press the workers down, and the workers in their turn are being compelled to resist that oppression. Our Party has been the first to meet the oppression because it is the advance guard of the working class. Our leading Party members have been sent to prison because they have been first and foremost in giving voice and vision to the workers in waging their side of the class struggle. To assume the leadership of the workers in these difficult and fateful times. is a dangerous task. Our Party members everywhere will require all their strength of character, all their courage, all their fixity of purpose and determination, to meet the rapidly developing situation. **They will need to become Ironsides in a very real and definite sense.** They will need to show the same pluck, the same invincible faith and spirit, the same devotion to their cause as did the men whom Cromwell led.

We have been told in the Courts that our Party is illegal. As a working class political organisation we must insist—and we must rally the whole of our class to us in support of our insistence—that we have a legal right to express our opinions, pursue our propaganda and carry on our work. We must make the question of the legality of our Party a vital issue for the whole organised working class movement. It has been well demonstrated that the obvious intention of the ruling class is to squeeze us out of the working class movement, to segregate us from the broad masses of the workers, to put us in the position of being a mere sect, to isolate us in order to more easily crush us. This should cause every Party member to redouble his activities in the factories, mines and mills, in his trade union branch, on his Trades Council, in every phase of the movement, and on every occasion where a number of workers are gathered together. Every Party member should be ceaseless in his efforts to bring workers into the Party. The stand made by our comrades now in prison has awakened a responsive chord in the hearts and minds of thousands of workers. The workers everywhere in-

instinctively feel that the men now in gaol were fighting their fight and that they are the victims of capitalist injustice. They feel that they should be doing something in the struggle. They sense the danger overshadowing their lives and liberties. Many Party locals have recently made new members as a consequence, and undoubtedly many thousands of the best, truest, and bravest of our class are ready and willing to share with us the burdens and dangers of the tasks ahead. Bring them in and spread out the Party. Strengthen the roots of the Party amongst the rank and file. Say to every man and woman you know: "If you realise the significance of the capitalist prosecution of our comrades—if you are conscious of the attacks that are about to commence on the trade unions—if you are aware of the growth of Fascism, the formation of the O.M.S. as a huge strike-breaking agency and of the manner in which the Tory Government is stimulating every anti-working class force in the country—if you are sincere—if you have courage—**then join the Communist Party. Become a proletarian Ironside. Band yourself together with us, share with us the dangers and help us with the work.** Devote every ounce of energy and every scrap of mental effort you can spare to the task of securing victory for the working class, by maintaining the legality of the Communist Party and mobilising the workers under its banner to carry the struggle through to a successful issue."

This is not the first time in the history of Britain that the rulers of this country have endeavoured to destroy the existence of working class organisations. The Trade Union Movement has had to fight its way from the shadow of illegality. For years the members of trade unions were outside the pale of ordinary open human intercourse. Trade unions were compelled to be secret societies. Their members had to meet in secret, with terrible penalties—imprisonment for years, transportation for life—always confronting them. Only the dogged pluck and perseverance of the early trade unionists, in the face of bitter persecution and relentless victimisation, ensured the open recognition of the trade unions. For many, many years after the open recognition of the trade unions their legal status was uncertain. The capitalists have always, in their hearts, hated the trade unions. They hate them equally as strongly to-day. All the time legal attempts have been continuously made to abstract the fighting element from the trade unions, and to so emasculate these industrial organisations as to render them powerless as active organs of the class struggle.

Just as our forefathers fought for the existence of the

trade unions in the past, so we must fight for the existence of the Communist Party to-day. Just as our Chartist forefathers fought for the Charter, so we must fight for our Charters and Programmes to-day. It is all part of the same age-long struggle. Only to-day we are possessed of ripened experience, we have knowledge—the knowledge given us by our pioneers, from Marx to Lenin. Conditions are different. Capitalism has nearly run its course. Historical development has taken place. Vast economic changes have taken place. The great majority of the people of this country has been driven from the land, forced into the working class, compelled to become proletarians. On the other hand the concentration of capitalism has reduced the size of the capitalist class. The relation of forces gives the working class an overwhelming superiority of numbers over the capitalist class. The capitalist Liberal epoch has gone. We have now definitely entered into the period of the social revolution. If we can maintain our Party in existence for the next few years, as sure as Fate, come weal or woe, capitalism is doomed.

YOUR CLASS AND PARTY NEED YOU.

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

Therefore, DO YOUR DUTY.

JOIN THE COMMUNIST PARTY NOW.

APPLICATION FORM.

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

NAME.....

ADDRESS.....

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

The Reality Behind the Freedom of the Dominions

By H. P. RATHBONE.

THERE has been a persistent tendency in recent controversies upon the Empire, especially on the part of the Left-wing writers, to divide off the white from the coloured Empire. They are prepared to agree, after some persuasion, that the Slave Empire is an evil; they talk of the necessity for the abolition of sweating. At the same time, however, they question whether there is anything wrong with the white portion of the Empire.

J. Wheatley, M.P., in an interview with the "Sunday Worker," on June 21st, 1925, said:

"As Socialists we are out to seek an international unity of peoples. Within the British Empire we have a nucleus of unity. It is for this reason that I am opposed to any possibility of wrecking it."

R. W. Postgate says:

"There are then the self-governing Dominions, which are practically self-governing capitalist republics, in some cases more advanced than Great Britain with whom historical accident has brought us into close unity. . . . I cannot see why it should be made an article of faith that we should push Australia away; it seems a fortunate accident indeed that we are connected." ("Lansbury's Labour Weekly," Oct. 24, 1925.)

T. Johnston, in reply to a letter of Helen Crawford's, talks of

"The virtually independent British Dominions, Australia, New Zealand, Canada and South Africa, who live under the British flag of their own free will and desire." ("Forward," Sept. 5, 1925.)

Finally, H. N. Brailsford goes so far as to assert that:

"This country certainly does not exploit the Dominions." ("New Leader," Sept. 18, 1925.)

Now, if self-government within the British Empire is a step on the direct road to Socialism, all this talk of giving freedom to the subject races of the Empire (even to the right of secession) is needless. We can evolve, these Left-wing writers will say, to Socialism through self-determination within the Commonwealth of Nations.

To disprove this assertion, and to show that the British Empire is essentially a capitalist institution and that Australia

and Canada are as much parts of the capitalist structure as India and Kenya, it will be necessary to inquire into the origins of this White Empire: the nature of the ties that have kept and still keep the parts of this "White" Empire together and the recent developments in the relations of the different parts of the Empire.

Who Rules the Empire?

The world is ruled by imperialist powers and the basis of imperialism is capitalism. Imperialist rule is characterised by an immense concentration of capital so that the imperialist State is controlled by huge industrial monopoly jointly with banking trusts acting through a small financial oligarchy.

But what is the basis of the relation between the various imperialist powers? The only basis is Force, the magnitude of which is dependent on the degree of development of each imperialism. In the same way the basis of the relation of the only Workers' Republic to these imperialist powers must and can be only force (because force is the only weapon that capitalism can understand) and Soviet Russia has only been able to win recognition as an independent State by her power to beat off the attacks of imperialism.

It is the same in the relations between the different units within each imperialism. The economic power and, therefore, the political force of the bourgeoisie of Australia or South Africa are still weak in relation to the immense concentrated force of the British capitalists. The phrases about the British Commonwealth of Nations and complete freedom to sever relations are invented with the intention not only of concealing the reality of the British imperialist rule from the workers in Britain so as to get their support for the maintenance of the Empire, but also to lull if not to dissipate the growing suspicions of the rising Dominion bourgeoisie.

How is the Empire Ruled?

The annexation of every one of the Dominions had a definite economic cause and its basis was the desire of the capitalist group concerned to make a profit. R. W. Postgate assumes that Australia, Canada, New Zealand, etc., are predominantly agricultural countries and naturally so; whereas though it may be a fact that they **are** predominantly agricultural countries it is by no means true that they are **naturally** so. For it is well known that the Dominions have always been regarded as Britain's storehouse and no attempt

has been made to encourage or allow these Dominions to make any manufactured articles themselves or to prospect for any material that might be useful for the manufacture of such articles.

Thus the suspicion on the part of Australians that the Anglo-Persian Oil Co. is sitting on or refusing to develop any oilfields in Australasia appears to be too widespread and too persistent not to have some basis in truth. Even as late as 1923 this restrictive tendency in some other branches is still existent; we find that the "Times" (2-10-23), in reporting the agenda of the Imperial Economic Conference, stated that it included the question of assistance in the production of raw materials, **with the exception of coal**, for use in the British Empire. That any large increase in the production of coal in the Dominions might very well become a real danger to the British coal trade under capitalist conditions, can be seen when we find in the "Statesman's Year Book" for 1915 that the South African resources of coal are estimated at 56,000 million tons or somewhat more than a quarter of the 190,000 million tons estimated to be the resources of the United Kingdom. This same fact is shown by the Committee of Industry and Trade who in their "Survey of the Overseas Markets" (p. 348, 1925; 6s.) assert that for Australia "in the coalfields lies an asset of incalculable value and there are still huge untapped reserves. . . . The brown coal deposits of Victoria, in the neighbourhood of Morwell alone, are practically inexhaustible."

Just before the war the British bourgeoisie resigned itself to the development of industry, while endeavouring at the same time to take advantage of it as we describe below; this development, ironically enough, was made inevitable first by the agricultural development which was meant to prevent its growth and secondly by the investment policy of capitalism itself.

The Importance of the Dominions to British Capitalism.

There must be some reason, apart from sentiment, that compels the British financial oligarchy to hang on by hook or crook to the whole of the British Empire.

One reason is most excellently given by Lord Milner in his "Credo" or articles of faith, extracts from which were published in the "Times" in July last. He says:

"The British State must follow the race, must comprehend it, wherever it settles in appreciable numbers as an independent community. If the swarms constantly being thrown off by the parent hive are lost to the State, the State is irreparably weakened. We cannot afford to part with so much of our best blood. We have already parted with much of it, to form the nucleus of another wholly separate though fortunately friendly State. We cannot suffer a repetition of the process. The time cannot be far distant when this practical aspect of Imperial unity will become apparent to everybody." ("Times," July 27, 1925).

The practical side, of course, is represented by investments and trade. The imports, according to the Board of Trade "Journal" (12-11-25, p. 523), from the rest of the British Empire with Great Britain amounted in 1913 and the year ending September 30th, 1925, respectively to 24.91 per cent. and 29.15 per cent., or an increase of 4.24 per cent. in nearly twelve years while the total exports of British produce to the British Empire in those same two periods respectively amounted to 37.18 per cent. and 38.91 per cent. or an increase of 1.73 per cent. in twelve years. As regards investments, to take the example of Australia only, the total "foreign" (to all intents and purpose entirely British) capital invested there amounted to £500 millions. To show the increasing importance of this aspect of the Dominions, it is pointed out by the F.B.I. Staff Memorandum on British trade prospects, that the total British capital invested in Australia and New Zealand in the years 1910, 1911, 1912 amounted to £26,200,000 altogether, whereas the figures ("Financial Times," 6-1-25) for 1923 and 1924, respectively, were £45,690,000 and £80,443,000. As no indication is given whether all these figures or any of them excluded loans for conversion purposes, it would be dangerous to add on the figures for 1923 and 1924 to the total which we gave a few lines above.

The Trend of Development—to Disruption.

The very forces of development in the colonies are making not for a further unity but for disruption. We will take three examples. The first provides a final answer to the Empire unity mongers who were peddling their wares round about the time of the Imperial Conference of 1923. At that Conference a Committee was set up to investigate a scheme for an Empire currency put forward by a banker, J. F. Darling. The scheme was rejected. The "Times" City editor in commenting on this decision said:

"Put plainly this means that the Empire cannot have a common fiduciary legal tender with a fiscal and political unity. A common currency in inconvertible paper would involve the surrender of certain

sovereign rights on the part of the various political entities which make up the British Empire and their exercise by a single Imperial authority. As the latter is politically impossible. . . ." ("Times," November 9, 1923).

The "Times" thus quite openly drops all pretence of any claim that the Empire has any basis for its much-vaunted unity while the same "Times" will be found on its leader page bourgeoning forth over the inestimable benefits of Empire and how sentiment is after all the strongest tie as no economic crisis affects it.

The Supreme Contradiction.

Our next example to illustrate the trend of the forces of development is the most fundamental of all. Here we have the contradiction set out by a worried Colonial Bureau trying to grapple with the insoluble problems for which finance capital demands an immediate solution. It manifests itself in the difficulties arising out of the export of capital to Australia.

In 1920-21 Australia had an adverse balance of foreign trade of £27,500,000. If this is added to the total interest bill of £22 millions which Australia has to pay out as interest and dividends on investments made within her borders by British finance capital, we get the sum of Australia's total adverse balance—£50 millions.

Mr. Taylor, who makes a report every year ending June 30th to the Australian Bureau of Commerce and Industry, commented in his 1921-22 report on the position to this effect:

"This (adverse balance) was reflected in the exchange by the selling price of 'on demand' drafts on London, which after December, 1920, rose to the unprecedented figure of 37/6 per cent. . . . It is obvious from this statement. . . . that we must either increase the volume of the primary products exported or give them a greater value by processing them here. There is one way to obviate the self-denial which may otherwise be forced upon us and that is for Australia to manufacture more of the commodities she is forced to import."

Here we have the fundamental reason for the extension of manufacture in the Dominions. It is due in the first instance to emigrated British interests still with a British outlook being compelled, to prevent complete breakdown in the financial arrangements with the dominating bourgeoisie, to curtail the import of manufactured goods and to start their manufacture in the Dominion. It is this beginning of a Dominion industry that gives rise to a bourgeoisie which, to

make rising industry proof against attack, imposes large duties—preference duties at first—till the last vestige of British interest is destroyed and a new philosophy of independence grows up, i.e., independence from the British bourgeoisie who insist on taking the larger share of exploitation; then the preference is as quickly withdrawn. Thus is made secure the payment of interest on loans previously granted to the Dominions; but this is at the cost of reducing the volume of exports that the Dominions will accept from Great Britain.

Let us now take this process a step further. In the "Financial News" for August 16th, 1924, there is a description of how a scheme to borrow externally to redeem an Australian Federal Government War Loan was abandoned in favour of an internal loan under pressure of Australian industrial interests. It was admitted that it would be easy to get money in London probably at rates more favourable than in Australia yet it is in favour of abandonment for the following reasons:

"In the first place a most mischievous exchange position would be created that would affect adversely all the country's trading operations. In the next place another importing boom would be promoted that would immediately curtail industrial operations and disastrously interfere with the employments of the people; when we go to London for money what we really do is to buy goods there and too often goods that we do not need and cannot immediately consume."

Now we have an instance of the Dominion still further reducing the amounts of imports it takes by the method of reducing the amount of money it borrows. This situation, in fact, was made general in the autumn of 1924, when it was announced that in view of the continued unfavourable balance of Australian trade, it had been decided to restrict the raising of new loans till June, 1925.

This policy, however, led to most important reactions in Britain. For some time before the autumn of 1924 there had been doubts as to whether the country was not over-lending, i.e., was lending more profit than it was actually accumulating; that it was tending to inflate the currency by the fictitious credits that it was creating to finance these overseas loans. Finally, it was decided about the end of 1924 that this was so and, therefore, finance capital imposed an embargo on foreign loans. The "Manchester Guardian" 19th May, 1925, commenting on this decision and the effect of the removal in the future, said that unless there was a "large improvement" in the foreign trades balance, it was "not easy to see how we could then continue to finance the

outlying parts of the Empire with the same lavishness as heretofore."

By the next month the embargo had been extended to colonial loans also; in July we find that Australia was compelled to go to New York for a portion of a loan and, much to the annoyance of the "Times," it had to admit, after several vain attempts to prove the contrary, that Australia got the loan more cheaply in New York than the part which was agreed to be floated on the London Market. The "Times," (9th July, 1925), however, added:

"When our export industries are at last put on a competitive basis and we acquire thereby a large surplus available for investment abroad, we shall, of course, as in the past, be able to finance all the requirements of the Empire."

Thus the Dominions wanted in the first place to restrict the imports of manufactured goods; they then proceeded to restrict the imports still further by restricting the amount of loan capital that they would accept. Great Britain found that it was not exporting enough to realise the surplus of profit which would enable it to make loans, yet at the same time the ability to export so far as the Dominions were concerned was restricted by the Dominions themselves.

Such was the contradiction arising out of this development in imperialism, a contradiction that produced unemployment first in Great Britain and secondly by the reaction caused unemployment also in the Dominions, which in turn increased unemployment in Great Britain.

The Effects of "Local" Manufacture.

There is a further effect of the export of capital and its consequence, the development of industry in the importing country, the results of which are even more disruptive to the ties that still bind the Dominions to Great Britain. The Committee of Industry and Trade in their "Survey of Overseas Markets" ingeniously describe this as a tendency to "local manufacture." In other words it is the tendency of the Dominions and any other still mainly agricultural countries to develop their industry so that it competes with British imports, a tendency which "the committee regarded as the most important permanent factor tending either to limit or modify the character of British export trade." ("Times," 15th July, 1925.)

In Australia we can see this development working in all its manifestations. Let us first take the simple case of the direct efforts of Australian Governments to establish industries in Australia rather than to import the goods manufactured. The "Manchester Guardian Commercial" (13th May, 1925,) reports that the New South Wales Government sent out tenders for 700 railway coaches with the stipulation that the coaches must be constructed in Australia. The Metropolitan Vickers Electrical Co. Ltd., were the successful tenderers and decided to construct a factory at Sydney to deal with an order expected to amount to close on £3,000,000 and involving the "local" manufacture to about 60 per cent. to 70 per cent. of the total cost of the coaches. It was also reported that they were influenced by the fact that there was a tariff of 35 per cent. on British coaches. To take another example we find the Amalgamated Zinc (de Bavay's) Ltd., deciding to start a newsprint paper industry to be made from Tasmanian timber, but before they started they wished to have a guarantee of a protective duty to the extent of 40 per cent. of the products price. Again the "Daily Telegraph" for September 9th, 1925, reported that :

"The new duties on fabricated and structural iron and steel of various types and on machinery will undoubtedly stimulate local manufacture and handicap imports, but the British firms who recently allied themselves with Australian undertakings will themselves participate in the increased Australian productions. Some British firms established in Australia have been most vigorous advocates of increased duties."

Finally we have the direct and simple invitation to British capitalists to come and industrialise Australia, given by Mr. Herbert Brookes, a member of the Australian Government Tariffs Board :

"We want to get British factories established out here. If there were an increased tariff British firms might consider the advisability of establishing factories in the Commonwealth."

Towards Industrial Stagnation in Britain.

But the different aspects of this tendency all tend to produce the same result. **British capitalism is transferring its industry to the Dominions and other dependencies as a result of a series of processes which in itself is the primary cause.**

This will mean a further expansion of the parasitic character of capitalism in Great Britain of which the enormous growth and prosperity of investment trusts in recent years is only one feature. The tendency will be to leave the

British workers unemployed in large numbers while the capitalists live luxuriously off the profits they derive from the Dominion industries, throwing to the workers just enough to keep them alive and numb all the energy they might have left to revolt against such awful conditions. In the colonies the process will tend to mean chaos for their finances; for while previously the interest on the capital exported was generally left to be used for further development in the colonies, now the British capitalists will wish to withdraw all the profit made from their branch industries in the colonies in order to compensate for the lack of profit from the derelict industries at home.

This is the dominating tendency only in the relation of Great Britain with the Dominions; ultimately, of course, if the tendency is allowed to develop fully, it will lead, first, to the lowering of wages in the Dominions because unemployment will begin to become a permanent feature consequent on the development of industrialisation; secondly, the products of the Dominions will begin to compete with the products of Great Britain. But, of course, this tendency may be arrested, may never come to fruition, because of the development in the relations of Great Britain not only with her own Slave Empire but with the other European imperialisms, with the United States and finally with Soviet Russia.

• From this one can see that the British Empire is merely a hierarchy devised so as to provide the individual on the topmost rung, the British finance capitalist, with the largest profit. Perhaps our British finance capitalist would like to preserve the illusion that the Dominions are completely self-governing; but when the Queensland Labour Government attempts to take him at his literal word, to start (in a most gentle fashion) the process of expropriating the large pastoralist companies which are English-owned, then the English market is closed with a snap against them. Though Mr. Theodore, the Premier, succeeded in obtaining one loan in the U.S.A., it was quite apparent from the nature of the final surrender that that market also was in effect closed on him. Meanwhile it had been made perfectly clear that until he surrendered he would get no more money. He surrendered and the surrender was complete even to the extent of the most generous compensation.

Can Queensland any longer be called a self-governing State that remains in the British Empire of her "own free will and desire"—to recall Tom Johnston's words? Further

can Brailsford still insist on the theory that the Dominions remain in the British Empire from sentiment, philanthropy or any other vague religious feeling? For those are the only kind of reasons left for them to put forward if it is denied that they are held in the British Empire simply in order that British capitalism may continue to exploit them—yes, held there in the last analysis, by the bayonets of the British Imperial army. Finally, may one ask Brailsford what is the annual payment of £22 millions of profit by Australia to Great Britain if it is not the result of the exploitation of Australia?

So only by working for real self-government for these Dominions, just as one must work for freedom for all the subject races of the Empire, can the power of British imperialism be broken. For just as the capitalist State is an instrument in the hands of the capitalist class to maintain its class domination over the working class, so the British Empire is a form of capitalist State enlarged so as to maintain the domination of the British capitalist class not only over the workers of its own race but also over the whole nations of subject and enslaved races of peasants and workers. Lenin has taught us that to achieve freedom the destruction of the capitalist State is necessary. How much more necessary is the destruction of this huge State organisation, the British Empire, before the chains that bind the subject races and Dominions are broken and the workers of those countries are set free.



“An idea becomes a power when it seizes hold of the masses.”—Lenin.

The Death of Lenin

By VLADIMIR MAYAKOVSKY.

(English version by P.R.S. and M.Z.)

A weeping Bolshevik!
If this sight were on show in a museum
All day long gapers would come to gape,
For such a thing is rare.
Yet the twenty-second of January it was seen
In the Soviet Congress packed from floor to roof.
Row upon row, seat upon seat,
Bolshevik hearts of steel, spirits of iron,
Melted to tears.

The delegates were moving to their seats.
Cheerily greeting one another,
Arranging matters of detail:
. . . It is time to open the Session!

Why are they so slow?
Why are those on the platform
Stunned like fallen trees?
Why have their eyes become
Redder than the red drapings?
What has happened to Kalinin?
He can scarce stand.

Bad news?

What?

No, it cannot be!

Has something happened to *him*?

Surely, not.

The roof grew dark and swooped down black upon us
Like the wings of a carrion bird.
Heads bowed. More still shall they bow!
All of a sudden the sparkling light of the lamps
Flickered and darkened.

The needless sound of the bell tinkled out.
Kalinin rose and collected himself to speak,
Tears unwiped gleaming on his bearded face,
A rush of tumultuous thoughts bowing his head,
The blood pounding fiercely in his veins and temples.

. . . . "Yesterday, comrades, at six-fifty in the evening,
Comrade Lenin died."

This year has seen what a hundred will not see.
This day will go down the course of centuries
In a sad legend.

Horror! From iron a groan was wrenched;
A long sob passed through the Bolshevik ranks.

What a dreadful weight oppresses!
All dragged heavily out of doors to learn
How? And when? And what news is still to come?
Into the streets and cross-roads of the town
Like a catafalque the great theatre emptied.
Joy crawled like a snail
And Sorrow galloped frenziedly.

No sun. Not an ingot of ice.
Everything, even the borders of the newspapers
Covered with the Black Snow.
The news struck the workman at his bench
Like a bullet in the soul.
His tools were wet as though on them had been spilt
A glass of tears.
And the moujik, who knows how to look in the eyes of Death,
This time turned his face away from the old women;
But the smears made on his cheeks by his grimy fists
Betrayed him.

There were people hard as flint
Who bit their lips and deformed them.
Children became as grave as old, old men;
And greybeards wept like children.
The wind over all the Earth
Howled with insomnia.
And nowhere can the Insurgent People believe
That here is the coffin;
Here in an icy room lying at Moscow
The coffin of him who was of the Revolution
Father and son.

The end

The end

The end!

Who can believe it?

. . . There is the glass pane, and you see beneath it. . .

Now they are bearing him through from Paveletsky,*
Through the very town that he took from the lords and
And the street is like a deep-thrust wound, [masters:
Groaning, suffering.

* Railway station.

Here each stone knows Lenin
 From the first trampling onslaughts of October.
 Here each inscription on our banners
 Was thought and ordered by him.
 Here the spires and towers know Lenin;
 Behind him they would go in the fire and smoke.
 And here each worker knows Lenin
 And their hearts are covered with yew-branches.
 He led to the combat,
 Prophesied victory;
 And lo! Now the workers are the rulers of all.
 Here the name of Lenin
 Each peasant has graven on his heart
 More lovingly than the names of the Saints.
 For Lenin it was who ordered
 That they should consider the land their own;
 A thing of which their knouted ancestors dream,
 Couched in the grave.

- And the Communards under the Red Square
 Murmur, it seems: "*Live on, O well-beloved!*
A hundred times we shall fight and lie in the tomb;
We ask no better fate."

If now a miracle-maker should cause it to be,
 That we should die and that he should come to life;
 Let a yawning moat open within these streets,
 And with songs the people would hurl themselves to death . . .
 But there are no miracles and it is useless to hope.
 There is Lenin; the bier; and the bowed shoulders.
 He was a man, human even to death.
 They bore him on
 And with the anguish of men their minds were tortured.
 For centuries our oceans have not carried
 Such a priceless burden as this sole red-draped coffin,
 Travelling towards the Trades and Labour Hall,
 On a sea of backs that heaved with sobs
 To the quiet music of dirges.
 And the stern Red Army, inspired by Lenin's mind,
 Provided the Guard of Honour!

Crowds were waiting, frozen,
 All along the Tverskaia and the Dimitrovka.*
 So cold was it, that in 1917,
 The daughter would not have been sent
 To take her turn in the queue waiting for bread:
 ("It is too cold. To-morrow we shall eat.")

* Main streets in Moscow.

Yet in this cold and terrible waiting
All came out, even the children and the sick.
The villages took their stand alongside the town.
Some with a stern, brave grief; and some
Weeping like children.

The World of Work went by in a parade,
Like the living total of Lenin's life.

The sun rises and casts on the tomb its rays,
Varnished, yellow, slanting,
Like Chinese passing, stricken with grief,
Wailing their hopes. . . .

The nights travelled on under the back of day,
Changing hours, confounding dates,
Night unlike night when no stars shine:

. . . And it seemed that the negroes of the States wept for
An extraordinary cold [Lenin

Scorched the soles of the feet.

But frozen, huddled together,

Despite the cold we dared not beat our hands.

No one ventured to do it. It was not fitting.

The wind seized with its icy clutch and pulled

As if testing the loving endurance of the mourners.

It was swallowed up in the crowd

And with the press passed behind the columns.

Now the steps of the mausoleum

Loom up, like a reef.

Here no breath sounds, and no dirge is heard.

We fear to advance; beneath our feet a gulf,

A bottomless gulf. Four steps.

The gulf of slavery down a hundred generations;

Wherein nothing availed but the tinkling sound of gold.

The gulf and the edge: 'tis the scarlet bier and Lenin.

And beyond

The Commune occupies all the horizon.

What shall we see?

Only his brow

And Krupskaya* in the mist beyond . . .

It may be that with eyes undimmed

One could see more.

Not with such eyes did I look.

Floating banners dip their silk

Paying their last honours:

"Farewell, comrade; manfully did you pass

On your noble, heroic way."

* Lenin's wife.

Fear.

Close your eyes and don't look,
As if you walked on a high overhead wire;
As if, for one moment, you stood alone
Face to face with the Immense and Only Truth.

I am glad;
For I know, while the wave of sounding dirges
Supports my weightless body,
That now, from this moment and for ever,
The minute is in me. This very minute.
I am glad to be a particle of this force;
To know that tears are common to all
And that it is impossible to commune
More strongly, and more sanely,
With that supreme emotion called—The Class!

The wings of the standards once again are lowered
To rise again to-morrow for the struggle:
*"We ourselves, O well-beloved,
Closed thine eagle's eyes."*

Shoulder against shoulder
So as not to fall,
With flags in mourning and eyes scarlet-rimmed,
We went up for the last farewell to Ilyitch:
And paused before the tomb.
There were ceremonies
And speeches. Good speeches.
But the worst of it is that the time of the minute
Is short.
We go by, and look up on high fearfully
Above the black snow-covered circle
At the jerking hand of the clock on the top of the Spaskaia.*

Remain congealed one minute at this news!
Stop movement and life! Stop everywhere;
Stop on the spot with hammers raised.
Die earth; Sleep thou and rest unmoving:
It is The Silence.
The most majestic path is at an end.
Cannons were fired. Thousands perhaps.
And this mighty salvo seemed to me no louder
Than money tinkling in a beggar's pocket.
Half-frozen, I stand quite motionless
Even unto grief interpreting this sad sight.

* Tower on the Kremlin.

Before me there rises in the shining glitter of the standards
The sombre, still terrestrial globe :
We who stand near the sarcophagus
Represent human beings ;
And we must, by a tempest of uprising, actions and poems,
Multiply that which we have here seen to-day.

But now, over there, in the scarlet distance,
In the glacial cold, a voice falls sharp.
It seems to be that of Muraloff : †
"Forward, March !"

We had no need, perhaps, for this brusque order.
More firmly, more straightly,
Breathing more strongly,
Throwing off the oppressing weight,
We march quickly from the square.
Each banner in firm hands lifted
Floats proudly on high again.
The force of the footsteps spreading like ripples in water
Goes forth to enter in the common thought of the world
Of workers, peasants and soldiers.

It will be hard and difficult
The Republic without Lenin.
He must be replaced.
By whom ? How ?
He must be replaced.
Enough have we abandoned ourselves to our grief.

*"Comrade Secretary !
Here : Kindly enrol
In a nucleus of the R.C.P.
All at once, collectively,
The whole factory !"*

The bourgeois take notice, opening their eyes with fear.
They tremble at the trampling of vigorous feet.
Four hundred thousand recruits from the eager work-bench,
Bring to Lenin the highest crown of the Party.

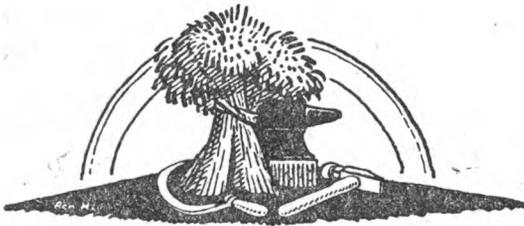
*"Comrade Secretary !
Take the pen. They say he must be replaced.
I am too old. Enrol my grandson.
It is he that insists on joining the Komsomol."**

† Commander of the Moscow Garrison.
* Communist Youth organisation.

Raise anchor, Red Navy!
 To sea, to sea! It is time.
 To-day here, to-morrow there,
 Burrowing under the oceans go the sea-moles.
 Mount up on high, O sun!
 You will bear witness.
 Quickly, quickly, draw back the curtains
 Of grief from your mouth.

Behind the adults, the children fall into step.
 Tra-ta-ta-ta-ta. Ta-ta-ta-ta.
"One, two, three!
We are the Pioneers.
Fearing not the capitalists
On we go to the fight."

Already above the bugles sounding
 Out of the midst of the bayonet-forest
 The Red Square, like a scarlet standard,
 Held on high in a million hands
 Stands out terrible, bold, and clear.
 Every fold of this scarlet banner
 Calls aloud in the name of Lenin:
"Workers arise for the final struggle!
Slaves, straighten your backs and knees:
Advance proletarians; rise in disciplined order:
For the only just war recorded in history's pages—
Long live the Revolution, joyous and near!"



"The revolution is unconquerable if it is not afraid of itself, if it entrusts full authority to the proletariat."—Lenin.

The Rising Tide in Syria and the Near East

By J. CROSSLEY.

THE position with respect to her colonies and mandated areas is one which must be causing the French Government misgiving and alarm. In spite of the great military forces concentrated upon the crushing of the Riffi in Morocco, we see that proud indomitable race still unconquered and unsubdued after two years of war. The shameless predatory character of the campaign against this free and independent people is exposed by the terms of peace formulated by the French in which they are offering a cessation of hostilities and recognition of the sovereignty of the Riffi on condition that they consent to French exploitation of the mineral wealth of the country, Krim to receive 12½ per cent. of the profits.

Thus France drops her pretence of conducting the war for the punishment of the Riffi's violation of neutral territory, and justifies the charges made by the Communists that this was only a cloak for an imperialist policy of conquest for the purpose of exploiting the resources of the Riff country.

Notwithstanding the misunderstanding which has existed between sections of the Islamic peoples throughout the Near East, it is certain that the whole Arabic people have been thrilled with admiration by Abd-el-Krim's successful stand against French imperialism and it has stimulated hatred of the foreign imperialist powers which hold the whole of the Near East in subjection.

Krim's exploits have become a topic of absorbing interest in the bazaars and coffee-houses of Cairo, Jerusalem, Damascus and other Arabic centres. Appeals for financial assistance and moral support are made in the native press and mosques, and the progress of the military struggle is closely followed by the people. Hence the rising of the Jebel Druse, a proud independent tribe of lofty dignity inhabiting the highlands of Syria. But this was not a mere spontaneous event arising out of the temporary embarrassment of the French in Morocco; it has its roots far deeper and is the culminating incident in a whole sequence of events which has occurred since the assumption of the mandate over Syria by the French Government.

War Time Promises.

At the outbreak of the great war the whole of Syria, Mesopotamia, Palestine and Trans-Jordania were under the suzerainty of the Turkish Empire. There was not much love lost between the peoples of these countries and their Turkish overlords, although comparative peace reigned. In order to win the support of the Arabs against the Turks and enemy powers on the Eastern front, the Allied command offered the Arabs full independence on the cessation of hostilities if they would throw in their lot with the Allied forces. This was agreed to by the Arabs and there is no doubt that the many decisive engagements in the mountainous districts of Judea, on the rivers Euphrates and Tigris and the whole Eastern front contributed largely to final victory for the Allies.

When the war ended the Arabs asked for the fulfilment of promises of independence. They were quickly made to realise that there was "nothing doing." With respect to Palestine they found that Mr. Balfour had issued a declaration establishing Palestine as a National Home for the Jews. Arab fellaheen who had farmed the fields for generations found themselves driven from land and homes to make way for Jewish settlers from all parts of the world, the land being sold by the rich Effendis to the Zionist agencies.

The League of Nations hit upon the ingenious device of granting mandates to the great robber powers, and self-sacrificing Britain, always ready where there are prospects of minerals, oil or other loot to be picked up, rushed in with an offer to "protect" Palestine, Trans-Jordania and Irak. France, whose main forces had been operating in Syria and the North-eastern districts generally, was bought off with permission to "protect" Syria under a League mandate.

Britain and France.

Britain, with her dream of subjugation of the whole of the East from the Mediterranean to the Persian Gulf and Indian frontier, with exploitation of the rumoured fabulous oil resources of Mosul in Irak, was somewhat embarrassed by the French occupation of Syria. The plan had already been mooted for the construction of a huge pipe line to convey oil from Mosul, through Mesopotamia, Trans-Jordania and northern Palestine to the small port of Haifa on the Mediterranean. Sir Herbert Samuel, the late High Commissioner for Palestine, in his report to the House of Commons, foreshadowed the construction of a great harbour at Haifa. When one considers the extremely small volume of export

and import trade at present in Palestine, the magnitude of the undertaking seems ridiculous. However, when the scheme is connected with the projected development of an oil pipe line from Mosul it brings it into line with Britain's desire to secure a great naval base in the eastern Mediterranean within a few hours steaming of Suez or the Bosphorus.

Whilst preserving an outward appearance of friendship and co-operation, it is well-known in the East that behind the scenes both the French and British commands were conniving at initiating raids by bands of marauding Bedouins and other nomadic tribes into each other's areas, and it is a well-known fact that the British have used every means in order to make the position of France untenable in Syria, with a view to taking over the mandate which would give Britain full control of all the Near East from Asia Minor to Algiers.

However, this policy of secretly arming tribes for the purpose of conducting border raids is a double-edged weapon and has a tendency to re-act upon those who indulge in it.

Britain and Turkey.

How far Britain's attitude towards France in Syria will be affected by the recent decision of the League of Nations to sweep argument to one side and by "force majeure" to incorporate the Mosul vilayet with Irak against the stubborn opposition of Turkey, remains to be seen.

With the possibility of the Turks resisting this latest piece of international capitalist brigandage, garbed in the vestments of international arbitration, if not by open warfare at least by the inauguration of a state of guerilla warfare in which they are so experienced and to which this malaria infested hinterland is so eminently suitable, it is extremely probable that Britain will strain every muscle to secure an understanding with her neighbouring French mandatory in Syria. Indeed, there has been a complete volte-face in the attitude of the "kept" press in this country on the question of French atrocities in Syria, and many journals which were foremost in their hypocritical denunciation of French "Hunnishness" are now advising their readers "not to be too critical of our French neighbour's misdeeds."

It is extremely unlikely that Britain would wish at this critical stage to destroy the buffer state which French-occupied Syria affords between British mandated Palestine—Trans-Jordania—Irak and Turkish Asia Minor and it would be quite in keeping with the highest tradition of British Imperialist policy to cajole France into keeping the **Turks**

at bay whilst she occupies herself in collecting the loot in Irak.

The Workers Awake.

During the present year there have been many manifestations of the growing nationalist revolutionary movement in Syria and the adjacent countries of Palestine and Trans-Jordania, and a significant feature has been the definite working class character which some of those manifestations have assumed. For the first time in the history of Syria great demonstrations were held in Beirut and Damascus on May 1st, organised by the workers in co-operation with the newly-formed Young Lebanese League. A workers' newspaper was published with a very good circulation and of a distinctly revolutionary character. Then came the demonstration of protest against Balfour's visit to Damascus. This was subsequent to the similar ones held by the Arabs throughout Palestine on the occasion of his visit to Jerusalem to open the Jewish University.

The dastardly bombardment of the town of Damascus with its slaughter of thousands of innocent non-combatants and the destruction of large areas of this beautiful and ancient city were seized upon by the British press for the opening of a campaign to demonstrate to the East and the whole world the failure of the French mandate in contrast to the benevolent nature of the British policy in mandated areas. Everything was done to discredit France. But the Arabic people have not such short memories and, remembering British policy in connection with Denshawai, Irak, the bloody suppression of the Sudanese revolt last year, the Allenby ultimatum in Egypt and other acts of British imperialism, they are not likely to fall into the trap.

Extending the Fight.

The unrest was speeding beyond the confines of Syria to Palestine, Mesopotamia and the Hedjaz and was having its repercussions in Egypt. On the anniversary of the Balfour declaration there was a national protest strike of Arabs throughout Palestine. The Sultan Ibn Suad in Hedjaz has sent out invitations for the convening of a Pan-Islamic conference, and Zaghlul Pasha and other leading Egyptian Nationalists have sent out appeal after appeal for the assistance of the Druses. According to reports from Haifa in the native press, the Syrian revolutionaries are planning concerted attacks on France in all her colonies. They have sent emissaries to Tunis and Algiers for the purpose of stirring up

the peoples there and are also attempting to make contact with the Anti-French movement in Annam (Indo-China). A mission has been sent to Mecca in order to obtain material and moral support, and their steadily increasing strength and influence together with their determined exploits are arousing great sympathy in Palestine where the Syrian leaders claim they have information of a movement which only waits the signal to rise in sympathy.

One very significant feature of the campaign is that the Druses, who themselves are absolutely free from any religious fanaticism, are determined to keep the struggle on the high plane of national independence and to keep out all religious questions.

Arab Unity.

A representative of the Syrians, Ihsan Jabiri Bey is at present in Constantinople on a mission to solicit support for the struggle. He visited Angora where he represented that the Syrians would be willing to accept independence under a Turkish mandate, but the Turkish Government refused to enter into negotiations with him. He is now giving interviews to the press.

He told the representative of "Akcham" that the desire of the Committee of Arab Independence, which has agents in every European country, was to form an independent Arab State comprising Syria, Palestine, Irak and Trans-Jordania. It was not true that the movement would receive support from Britain which, on the contrary, was increasing its repressive surveillance on every frontier.

In an attack upon the French administration he stated that "an example of their injustice was that the Lebanese had been exempted from taxes whilst Damascus, Homs and Hama had been taxed hundreds of thousands of pounds."

The great drama is unfolding and the rapid dissolution of those barriers of prejudice and caste which have hitherto kept the various sections of the Islamic peoples apart are being broken down, and a great movement towards the unity of all the peoples of the Orient into one united force having for its object the establishment of the independence of the Arabic peoples is growing. Side by side with this movement is growing up a workers' and peasants' movement determined to struggle not only against the repressive power of foreign imperialism, but also against the blighting power of its own rich Effendi (landowning class). In all the Eastern countries strong and virile sections of workers and peasants are banding themselves together for the purpose of guiding the

coming struggle into a struggle against foreign imperialism and the native bourgeoisie for the establishment of a Workers' and Peasants' Republic.

What Organised Labour Can Do.

In an impassioned manifesto which we have just received from the workers and peasants of Syria occur passages which will strike a response in the hearts of every comrade of the British working class. It says:

“Peasants and Workers of the World, raise your mighty voice of protest against the unheard of brutality perpetrated on your brothers in Damascus.

“Put the brand of shame on the cowardly murderers who are shooting down unarmed and defenceless people for the glory of their boasted civilisation.

“Compel the wanton murderers to pay retribution for the blood they have shed.

“It is for you, the toil hardened workers, to put an end to the sanguinary deeds of unbridled imperialism.

“In order to secure peace for the cottages, you must declare war on the palaces. Down with the imperialist murderers. Long live the free workers and peasants of the world.”

Our brothers and sisters of the East raise their voices in a cry for assistance. The mighty organised forces of the trade unions of Britain and France can compel the imperialist wolves to release their strangle-hold on the Eastern peoples. Shall our comrades cry in vain?



“The State is nothing but a machine for the suppression of one class by another—this, in a democratic republic no less than in a monarchy.”—Engels, quoted by Lenin.

The Bourgeois School of Socialism

By C. P. Durr.

SCHMES for restoring the harmonious working of our social system are always with us. At the present time currency manipulation is the favourite subject for such schemes and, Douglasism having fallen out of favour, it is now the turn of Oswald Mosley to enjoy the limelight. Already he is attracting a band of disciples and popularisers.*

Just to show that this is not the only panacea of its kind, it may be interesting to quote from the preface of another little pamphlet called "The Science of Human Welfare," by "They-u-us," which puts forward claims for its anarchist mutual-credit scheme which are essentially the same as in the larger work. These claims are couched as follows :

"The economic muddle we have to solve presents the following proposals : What will put idle men to work? What will increase wages and reduce the hours of toil without increasing the cost of living? What will put an end to monopoly? What will put an end to usury or speculative interest? Here for the first time is presented to the people of Great Britain a most astounding yet simple remedy.

"It is a philosophical effort of the highest order and I humbly submit—after a most searching examination—that all thinking men and women should agree that we now have the one and only solution whereby the human race will be emancipated."

It is true that Mr. Strachey does not put forward with quite the same lunatic assurance his exposition of the great financial panacea elaborated by Mr. Oswald Mosley, endorsed by the Birmingham I.L.P., and proudly advertised under the title of "The Birmingham Proposals." But both schemes have the same object and belong to the same school, the school characterised by Marx as that of "conservative or bourgeois socialism." Marx's description of this school in the "Communist Manifesto" is extraordinarily apt in its application to the volume written by the son of the editor of the reactionary "Spectator."

* Revolution by Reason," by John Strachey. 256 pp. Leonard Parsons, 1925. 2s. 6d. net.

"One section of the bourgeoisie desires to redress social grievances in order to secure the continuance of bourgeois society. The bourgeois-socialists want to have the conditions of life of modern society without the necessary resulting struggles and dangers. They want the existing state of society with the elimination of its revolutionary and disintegrating elements. They want the bourgeoisie without the proletariat."

This is exactly what Mr. Strachey and his fellows do want. And, of course, they have a little scheme which will bring it about, a scheme which will avoid all necessity for a "violent upheaval," or apparently for any efforts at all by the workers themselves, and thus achieve "a revolution by reason" and so usher in a "new era of human development."

What is this scheme? It is very simple. The bourgeois-socialists' ideal is present-day society without poverty and unemployment. The two latter, they say, are two sides of the same thing, the lack of purchasing power of the workers and consequently the stagnation of industry. What is necessary, therefore, is to give the workers purchasing power. Currency manipulation alone won't do it because it only means higher prices and speculators reap the profit. Therefore, the idea is to combine this with control of the banking system and the formation of an Economic Council to organise industry, so that the workers will not be robbed of their increased purchasing power, and at the same time production will be so increased as to "make higher wages economic" without dangerously intrenching on capitalist profits.

Of course, this does mean clipping the capitalists' wings to some extent, it is admitted. In fact these measures of currency regulation are regarded as "part of comprehensive Socialist proposals." By their means "control of effective demand is taken out of the hands of capitalists and disseminated into those of the workers, together with the creation of new effective demand." It is even recognised that control must be obtained at one go, hence making the proposals "a revolution" (by reason) and enabling the author to mock at the reformist idea of the "inevitability of gradualness." "Real socialism if it is to be quickly effective, must come over the whole productive field simultaneously. . . . The instruments, the keys of economic power must be acquired not gradually but by a single decisive act."

This is the point where the ordinary worker, with some knowledge of capitalist power and capitalist rapacity, sits up and asks, "Will they let you?" But the author is not going to be deterred by a little thing like that. Of

course, there might be some slight objection on the part of employers who want to make unlimited profits to even such a modest proposal as the nationalisation of banking and the control of industrial production. But "after all it should not be difficult to deal with an obstructive monopolist" (p. 185). If he demurs you proceed with "summary socialisation" with the full approval of what is called in the book "neutral opinion." As a matter of fact, probably the mere threat of summary socialisation will suffice to bring a trust or ring of employers to their senses." Thus we have looked this difficulty squarely in the face—and passed on!

What an exposure of reformist illusions! No wonder it is called a revolution by reason. The only point for wonder is why the author does not go the whole hog and introduce the socialist millenium at once "by reason," simply saying that violent revolution is unthinkable in this country and therefore, the change could not be violent.

The author's task is made easier by his naive views on monopoly capitalism. For this purpose it would be simpler if there were no centralised capitalist power or big combines. Hence his view that "democracy has gone too far, at any rate in Great Britain, to allow non-competitive capitalism to develop into a regularised system." Indeed, he is ready to go further and say that "in order to be really effective, trustification would have to be on an international, not on a national scale. Such a monstrosity is hardly conceivable." What blissful innocence! How stupid Lenin must have been to put forward as one of the characteristics of the present imperialist epoch the formation of international capitalist monopolies that divide up the world market between them! In opposition to Communist delusions about finance-capital, Mr. Strachey pins his faith on "the nascent 'split' within capitalist society between the producers (the industrialists) and the lenders (the bankers and financiers)."

As for questions of foreign trade in relation to the proposals, the good old Liberal motto of "laissez faire" is good enough for Mr. Strachey and he devotes quite a bulky section of the book to an impassioned defence, with the best Liberal reasoning and terminology, of free trade as against tariffs, which "damage the delicate and beautiful mechanism of foreign trade by which two nations mutually enrich each other."

But there is hardly need to go on plumbing the depths

of Mr. Strachey's bourgeois ignorance. He and his school are all Liberals at heart, unable to conceive of any alternative to bourgeois society, though like all reformists, uneasily conscious of its glaring imperfections and therefore hastening forward proposals which are intended, as they say "to achieve some degree of economic well-being and above all, security for the working masses." Hence the slurring over of the question of capitalist power and the fundamental question of profits. (It is noteworthy that Mr. Strachey is able to write over 200 pages without so much as mentioning the word "profits.") Hence also the entire refusal to face the facts of the class struggle, the denial of any vote for the workers themselves in control of production and the pathetic delusion of choice as to whether revolution shall be catastrophic and violent or otherwise. Reformism is the last refuge of the capitalist, but the workers are not likely to be led astray by such crude diversions as these proposals from Birmingham.



"In fact, 'pure democracy' is a mendacious phrase of a Liberal who wants to dupe the working class. History only knows a bourgeois democracy which replaces feudalism, and a proletarian democracy which replaces bourgeois democracy."
—Lenin.

Immediate Organisational Tasks of Communist Parties

By W. UBRICHT

(Continued from last issue)

The publication of factory newspapers depends greatly on the support given by the Party Executive. The local and district Executives should exercise regular control of the distribution of the factory newspapers by the factory nuclei, and ascertain the cause where this does not take place. Further, Party Executives should issue detailed instruction regarding the technical make-up of factory newspapers, the cheapest sources of the necessary materials, how to secure suitable pictures for reproduction, etc. One of the best methods for making factory nucleus papers attractive is to publish good examples from experience about the production, the sale and the various successes of the nucleus papers. Good examples from factory newspapers should be given publicity in the daily press. It would be also useful if individual Party Executives would write to individual factory nuclei and criticise the factory nucleus paper as to its contents, make-up and circulation.

To intensify our influence over factory workers we should develop a systematic method of circulating our publications. Here, too, certain success may be recorded. In the report from the Erzgebirge-Vogtland district of the C.P.G., it is stated that in 17 big factories literature is systematically circulated. The West Saxony report states that about 50 factories are provided with literature sellers. Another factory nucleus reports that every nucleus member receives two Communist publications with instructions to sell them at all costs. This method has achieved very good results.

Trade Union Fractions.

The formation and development of trade union fractions is one of the most important tasks of the Party after making the factory nuclei active, politically and otherwise. The campaign on behalf of national and international trade union

unity renders it necessary not only to intensify our influence in factories, but also to carry out our fractional work in a more systematic manner than has hitherto been the case. Party Executives should appoint the most experienced Party workers for fractional work in the most important factories and in the most important districts. Previously in the development of fractions, comrades restricted themselves often to work in smaller trade unions in which comparatively easy successes were obtainable. The more difficult fractional work in trade unions in the chief industries was often neglected; comrades shrank from the difficulties, for they were not yet convinced that months and years of work are necessary as trade union officials to secure the confidence of the members, and thus gradually to increase Communist influence inside the trade unions. In view of the fact that the workers' factory officials are also often the lower officials of the trade unions, our comrades should fulfil their duties in all such posts as trade unionists, factory representatives, factory cashiers, etc. The nucleus "Grünbach Coal Works, Limited," reports as follows on the trade union work of factory nuclei:

"The nucleus decided to carry on an agitation for re-entry into the miners' union, at the same time stressing the necessity of gaining contact with the trade union opposition in the revolutionary bloc.

"We thought it would be a good plan to work for the unity of the international trade union movement by stating that in the various letters from the Russian trade unions to the Executive of the Amsterdam International readiness was expressed to enter the Amsterdam International. We pointed out the significance of the entry of five million revolutionary Russian trade unionists, and followed up this by referring to the report of the British Trade Union Delegation which recorded the growth of Soviet Russia, the wonderful achievements of the Russian workers, and the fact that they are better situated socially and culturally than other European workers. In this way we were able to smash the lying structure which the reformist leaders had erected about Soviet Russia, and succeeded in convincing the workers that they should reject the abusive and untrue reports of these reformist leaders about Soviet Russia."

A factory nucleus from Turin reports as follows:

"We have developed intensive propaganda on behalf of trade union unity, and published leaflets, in which reformist Maximalist leaders and their methods have been exposed. As a result many workers who had left as a protest against the leaders, returned to the trade unions."

A report of the meeting of Communist Party members in the textile industry in Great Britain states:

"Individual comrades have attained fairly good success in regard to factory work as Shop Stewards and members of Factory Councils. The discussion shows that a permanent basis for the

Minority Movement of the textile workers can only be attained by increasing the number of factory nuclei in the factories. The District Committee was requested to concentrate in every local organisation on definite factories, and as far as possible to secure that these factories be organised 100 per cent. in trade unions; trade union fractions should be formed as a basis for the Minority Movement, and special attention should be devoted to women workers in the textile industry."

The following examples show how necessary it is to strengthen trade union work by means of factory nuclei and trade union fractions. We read in the Reichenberger "Vorwaerts," the organ of the C.P. of Czecho-Slovakia:

"We must admit that our influence in a trade union sense is still very weak and that we ourselves are responsible for this, since according to the last report of the Party Congress still 40 per cent. of the Party membership was indifferent as to trade union organisation and only 17 per cent. (in the Reichenberger district 26 per cent.) belonged to the Amsterdam trade unions."

In the Workers' Party of America, there are only 32.08 per cent. of the Party members organised in the trade unions; for example, of 2,080 metal workers, only 480 belong to trade unions, and of 1,165 Communist miners, only 920 are trade unionists.

The facts here quoted prove that it is quite time to develop our trade union fractional work systematically, and that the activity of the fractions should be regularly controlled.

The chief tasks of the Communist Party at the present moment are two-fold, namely: (1) the making active, politically and generally, of factory nuclei; activity of the nuclei in all branches of Party work; assignment of Party work to all nuclei members. (2) Formation and development of Communist trade union fractions; creation of fractional executive bodies capable of carrying on the work.





ADDITIONS TO THE LENIN LIBRARY

"The State and Revolution" (Second Edition). 1s. 6d.

"Imperialism, the Last Phase of Capitalism."

"On the Road to Insurrection."

Of these three books by Lenin, the first-mentioned is well-known as a masterly statement of revolutionary theory, which should be carefully read by all working class militants and Party members and sympathisers. Its re-issue in a new and revised edition should stimulate any who have not yet read the book to do so at once.

"Imperialism" had previously appeared in English in an American edition, but the present issue is more complete (there were some considerable omissions in the American translation), and it has been carefully translated and compared with the original. This book, written at the beginning of the World War, provides us with a view of Lenin, the Marxist up-to-date. The penetrating analysis of capitalism in the Monopolist and Imperialist phase is all the more convincing because subsequent events have proved it to be tremendously exact. It is in many ways regrettable that this book has not appeared earlier in wide circulation in Britain, for a fair study of it is enough to convince

the most hardened Labour Imperialist that he cannot consistently fight capitalism and support Imperialism, seeing that, in the twentieth century, these two terms mean the same thing.

"On the Road to Insurrection," (part of which has appeared in serial form in the "Labour Monthly") was written by Lenin immediately before the events of October. It is in the form of a series of letters to the Party, written from exile, or from a hiding place. These letters are naturally of the highest historical importance, for they provide a running commentary on the stirring events of that mighty social upheaval which shook Russia to its depths and reverberated around the world. Apart from their historical value, the letters are full of that wise revolutionary counsel which Lenin knew so well how to give. All the world's workers can learn from the experience of the Russian workers on their path to power, and this book of Lenin's letters is the best available source for such information.

Note.—Only "The State and Revolution" is on sale at the time of writing. Notification of issue of "Imperialism" and "On the Road to Insurrection" will be made in the Party press shortly. The books are reviewed from the manuscript.