

**THE  
COMMUNIST REVIEW**



# THE COMMUNIST REVIEW

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## THE BOND

An ugly, naked room.

Chairs, table and flickering light from naked gas jet that cannot clothe it.

You'd say a waiting room, such as grace our cheerless stations.

But for the people in it.

Men and women, they command your gaze.

All types, calloused in industrial shops or mine, some curved and  
sallow from the office stool.

Toilers all; a medley crowd; and yet bound in some way the casual  
eye cannot define.

Through the haze of smoke that floats in heavy coils,

Their tired eyes gleam with purpose.

Their self-taught lips surprise.

These men, you think, have studied life by living. Have trained  
the mind to cut through lying superfluities to the granite  
facts of life.

Here is patience; here is courage; here is the will to work; to  
suffer; to achieve!

What is the cause that fills them with such spirit and such  
thoughts?—you ask.

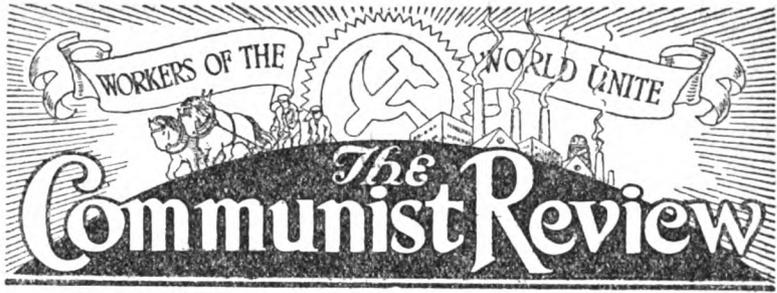
The secret is soon told.

The workers stretch and yawn. The rustling papers whisper that  
the work is done.

One man rises.

“Comrades, The Internationale!” he says.

L. A. B.



## THE EDITORIAL VIEW

### THE TESTING TIME.

**T**HE heroic fight of the miners has reached this month a critical stage. The simple issue facing the entire working class of Great Britain is: Shall we allow the miners to be beaten, and thereby be certain that attacks on all of us will follow: or shall we make up our minds and force our leaders to fight for the miners—which means the embargo on coal, with all its consequences?

A very few days after these lines appear in print, the Trades Union Congress will have assembled. In its hands lies the power to give a lead to the workers which will not only ensure victory for the miners, but open a new page in the history of the whole Labour movement. Refusal to face the issue now means further untold misery and degradation for every worker, at home and abroad. These are the plain alternatives.

\* \* \* \* \*

So far as the working miners are concerned, they stand unshaken. Where a few weaklings have crept back to work, they are meeting with the fierce resentment and withering contempt of the vast mass of their fellows. The safety men are being pulled out. When the Bishops' Memorandum was submitted, the rank and file recognised it for what it was—a voluntary, one-sided declaration of the miners of their readiness to accept wage reductions and compulsory arbitration, which would have the effect of disheartening and disarming them without in the least affecting their enemies, the coalowners and the Government. The miners rightly rejected it.

It is a tragedy that they had to reject it against the wishes, instead of under the leadership, of their leaders. There is no reason, and indeed it would be a great peril, to hide the truth from the workers—that Herbert Smith and A. J. Cook have weakened. It was natural enough, in face of the tremendous odds against which the miners are fighting, and the united front which begins at Baldwin and extends to Bromley. It is quite true that, within the first three weeks after the General Strike, the miners' leaders approached the leaders of the railway and transport unions with the request for an embargo, and met with a categorical refusal: it is quite true that the General Council has been criminally passive all the way through. And nevertheless Cook and Smith had no business to weaken.

How was Red Friday brought about last year? Was it because the other trade union leaders wanted it? Or was it not rather because Cook and our Party, in utter defiance of all trade union traditions (traditions of mutual assistance in betraying the workers), went up and down the country for months beforehand, appealing to their rank and file over the heads of the leaders? How was the General Strike brought about? Was it because the General Council really wanted to fight against wage reductions? Or was it not rather because the General Council, although actually willing to force wage reductions on the miners, dared not face the workers with an open betrayal? Why, again, has no Conference of Executives met? Do Cook and Smith, does any other worker, really believe the General Council's profession of concern for the miners' cause? Do not all the facts point the other way—that the General Council is afraid of exposure in broad daylight, while the miners are still unbroken and still appealing to their fellow-workers?

If Smith and Cook had remembered their past experience, instead of suddenly developing a respect for trade union etiquette just at the moment when the miners' victory was in the balance, they would not have wandered off in chase of unreal phantoms like the Bishops' Memorandum, but would have gone direct to the rank and file of the other unions. Following that will-o'-the-wisp, they have been led into still more dangerous ground, admitting the possibility, first of lower wages, and later (Cook's speech on August 26th) of longer hours. Unless Cook and Smith are to be lost to the workers—and that would be indeed tragic, after the splendid fight they put up at first—the workers themselves must call them to order, and tell them to use their efforts in the sole direction whence victory can be brought: namely, the mobilisation of the whole British working class in active struggle on the side of the miners.

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An effective fight for the miners means only the embargo. Nothing else counts in the long run : for nothing else represents an *offensive* weapon against the capitalists. This is not to say that the *defensive* weapons have been exhausted, least of all the weapon of finance. In four months the two national miners' funds have received about £950,000, of which not more than £400,000 comes from Great Britain. We may allow another £50,000 for sums raised locally and sent to the various districts of the M.F.G.B. But the unalterable fact remains that a levy of 5 per cent. on the wages of the 2,500,000 trade unionists who are in work (a minimum figure) would have brought in £250,000 a week, even allowing for an average wage of only £2, and would have brought in at least three million pounds during the three months since the General Strike.

But we repeat that financial assistance remains a defensive weapon. So long as the capitalists are in a position to supply their iron and steel works, their textile factories, their railway depots and electricity plants with the minimum coal necessary to keep them going they can afford to laugh at the miners. Their purse is longer than ours : we shall be starved out sooner than they. Between May and the beginning of July the average weekly import of coal was 130,000 tons : during July it averaged 650,000 tons : for the first three weeks of August it was 945,000 tons. The Editor of the "Economist" notes that this import "more than compensated for the exhaustion of the domestic supplies in hand at the beginning of the stoppage." Even if we add to these figures the roughly 300,000 tons weekly produced in the feebler districts, and by outcropping, the total is still less than a third of the average weekly consumption, during the first four months of this year, of 4,000,000 tons ; but it is sufficient to keep a skeleton industrial life going, and the fight becomes one of our reserves against theirs.

In such a fight, the workers cannot win. The only way to win is to beat this skeleton down to nothing, so that the whole capitalist class will feel our pressure in its most vital part. The Russian Unions—Coal, Transport, Seamen—recognised this at the very outset, and no coal or oil have been loaded for Britain since May 1st. The delegate of the French C.G.T.U. at the Minority Conference described how, in port after port—Rouen, Boulogne, Dunkirk, Dieppe—the French dockers have refused to load coal for Britain, while French railwaymen, by an accidental exchange of labels, have diverted coal hundreds of miles into the South of France. The British workers are not really more apathetic than their Continental comrades, as the numerous resolutions passed

by railwaymen's and transport workers' branches, and by the South Wales and London District Committees of the N.U.R.—as well as the resolutions adopted by Trades Councils in such important centres as London, Glasgow, Liverpool, Bristol, testify. But the difficulty is trade union discipline, and the hold on union finance which the leaders who want to sabotage the miners' struggle still retain.

Yet unless the Railway and Transport Unions fight now, unless they receive the support of the whole movement, they are as certain of subsequent defeat individually as they were in 1921. Which is better—to fight now, as a united movement, or to fight later, as isolated sections without any claim to sympathy from one another? The dilemma before the workers is not whether they will be charitable to the miners or not, but whether they will defend their own bread and cheese interests in the most effective way possible or not.

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It is the Trades Union Congress that will have the first chance to say the word to the workers which will change the situation. From the General Council nothing can be expected. Just as it sabotaged the miners' struggle all through the General Strike, so it has done everything ever since except to mobilise the workers effectively on the side of the miners. Grandiloquent manifestos in plenty, secret conclaves big with promises every week, but no clear lead for action. At the T.U.C. it is intending to continue this policy, using the same excuse as it did to postpone a conference of Trade Union Executives—that it would hurt the miners.

This excuse is worth investigating. What would the General Council put forward at such a discussion? Presumably its draft report, nominally a private document, but conveniently published by Mr. Bromley. What would this report show? That the General Council from May 1st onwards was trying to get the miners to accept wage reductions in principle, without any limit so far as any guarantee was concerned, and that they called off the Strike without the least undertaking from the Government in respect of the Samuel Memorandum, let alone in respect of the other workers who had been called out to support the miners. Thus the report would show that the chief concern of the General Council all along was the defeat of the miners, and their excuse for non-publication would be proved mere hypocrisy.

The real reason, of course, is different. The real reason is that, so long as the miners are struggling and the workers are feeling that in some way they ought to be helping, the General

Council is afraid of publishing openly a report, let alone permitting a discussion, which would expose them as the traitors or cowards that they are. So long as there has been no discussion, it is still possible to maintain a vague uncertainty in the workers' minds : but a discussion would blow it away for good. And a further reason is that, more even than their fear of responsibility for the past, the General Council fear being placed face to face with the responsibility for action to-day. They do not want to risk an open appeal by the miners to the other workers and the other unions for an embargo on scab coal, as happened on Red Friday and Red May-Day.

The National Minority Movement has done its duty by the working class in adopting the Open Letter to the Trades Union Congress at its Conference the other week. The Movement as such will not be represented at the Congress : but, apart from the fact that several of its prominent members will be delegates, there is no union that can afford to ignore its firm demand. The National Minority Movement has grown from the 200,000 represented at its first Conference in 1924 to 950,000 represented last month : and it is particularly significant that the big jump in unemployment and short time, the weakened financial position of the unions, and the increasing pressure of the reactionary leaders against the revolutionary trade unionists who dare to press for a line of their own, have not succeeded in lowering the representation as compared with the March Conference of Action, which admittedly came at the highest point of feeling of British Labour, and which was summoned for a special purpose. The Minority Movement has laid down lines for future work, both as regards the reorganisation of the trade unions and for the tightening up and extension of its own organisation which are a pledge that to-morrow it will be the majority. In these circumstances, when the Minority Movement reminds the Trades Union Congress that the miners are still fighting desperately, that the only way to assist them and protect all the workers is to impose an embargo, and that no Standing Orders can justify passivity, the Minority Movement is speaking for the working class, and no delegate dare pretend he has not heard.

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On the issue of Trade Union Unity, the Congress must also speak without uncertainty. The need is more pressing than ever. The miners have already felt the full "benefits" of the Dawes Plan : the new scheme that is threatened for France will hit other sections of British workers. But even more threatening than the economic peril is the menace of new war. The remarkable successes of the People's Army of Canton against the robber chiefs hired by foreign imperialism : the increasing dangers to peace in the Mediterranean expressed in the new Spanish-Italian Treaty,

which all the world knows is directed against France : the quarrels between Britain and America over Brazilian coffee and rubber, Chilean nitrates and Mexican oil—all of which so far are taking the form of wars between the secondary partners of either side : the never-ending menace to the Soviet Union from Britain's puppet dictator in Poland, Pilsudski—from all of these causes an imperialist war may spring literally at any moment, and the working class is totally unprepared, save for the degree of organisation and influence achieved by the Communist Parties and their immediate sympathisers.

Yet in face of such a situation, the General Council has been criminally inactive for nearly a year. Let us recall the facts. At the Anglo-Russian Meeting in April, 1925, it was agreed that Amsterdam should be asked to summon a preliminary unconditional conference with the Russian unions, as a first step to world unity. This agreement was ratified by both sides, and later on by the Scarborough Congress. The General Council of Amsterdam formally rejected the suggestion at its December meeting. The Anglo-Russian Committee thereupon recommended to the General Council that it should proceed with the second decision arrived at in April and ratified at Scarborough : namely, that in the event of Amsterdam refusing, the British General Council would itself summon such a Conference. This was at the beginning of December : from that day to this, nothing has been done.

What is the reason ? Not merely pressure of business, as the General Council will no doubt plead. If the workers were guaranteed that the Conference would take place within a few months, it would make up for much lost time, because the workers in general are free with their forgiveness. But a new tendency in the General Council which has become apparent lately, both suggests that the delay was due to political and not merely formal causes, and inspires the worst fears for the future of the unity movement. Comrade George Hardy traced this tendency in his speech at the Minority Conference, and again in his interview in the "Workers' Weekly" ; the incredible and cowardly refusal of the Russian workers' money during the General Strike, the sabotage of discussions at the Paris meeting of the Anglo-Russian Committee at the beginning of August, and the prevention of any practical help to the miners being discussed at the subsequent Berlin meeting. It is quite clear that, for the Left as well as for the Right leaders of the General Council, the unity campaign was simply a means of currying favour with the workers without any intention of prosecuting their struggle.

In particular, while endorsing everything said by comrade Hardy, who fully expressed the point of view of the Central Com-

mittee of our Party, we emphasise his point that the principle of "non-interference" invoked by the General Council leaders is a capitalist principle, which has nothing to do with the working class, because it only plays into the hands of the workers' enemies. Complete world-wide solidarity, mutual assistance, mutual criticism—these are not merely slogans, they are vital necessities for every section of the world working class, without which it cannot conquer. To borrow the phrases of Lord Curzon in working-class relationships means to go on doing Curzon's work after the world has been rid of his living presence.

# The Party and the Opposition Bloc

Report given by Comrade Bukharin at the Functionaries' Meeting of the Leningrad Organisation of the C.P.S.U. on 28th July, on the results of the Plenary Session of the C.C. and the C.C.C.

**C**OMRADES! My present report on the results of the Plenary Session of the C.C. and the C.C.C. will differ to a certain extent from the customary reports on this theme, for the reason that the work of the Joint Plenum itself has been of an unusual character. A number of practical questions which formed the agenda have been dealt with from a general and from a fundamental standpoint, with reference to those political declarations and those attacks against a majority of the Central Committee which have been made on a developed scale against the C.C. by the opposition during this Plenary Conference.

In my present report I shall thus have to restrict myself solely to fundamental questions of principle in the political life of our country, to questions of principle concerning our Party, both with regard to inner policy and in part to foreign policy, as also to special inner Party policy. Before analysing the standpoint of the new opposition, I must thus give a brief survey of the general situation in the country, for the fundamental differences existing between the overwhelming majority of the C.C. and the comrades of the opposition arise from the estimation of the situation in our country, and of the role played by our Party at the present juncture. It is these varying estimates which give rise to the varying opinions as to the correct measures to be taken by our Party at the present stage of its historical development.

Permit me then to first make a brief analysis of the general situation in our country.

## **THE ECONOMIC SITUATION.**

### **The Economic Growth of the Country.**

I begin with the analysis of the economic situation. I must apologise for having to make recourse to figures here, though only to a very few. In our own ranks, the growth of our econo-

mics, and the growth of the productive forces of the country, have become a generally acknowledged fact; and even our most obstinate opponents admit this fact. Even our bitterest and blindest enemies have been forced by the pressure of undeniable facts, facts which cannot be even ignored under present conditions, to acknowledge our economic progress.

But for us Marxist-Leninists, for us who are building up a new state of society, the question of the general economic progress of the country is no more than the first and most general point in the analysis of the economic situation. We must follow up this question by others, and ask ourselves if our industry, which is the basis of Socialist development, is progressing. If it is, we must ask its rate of progress, whether it is overtaking agricultural development, or if on the contrary agriculture is overtaking industry. We must ask whether the disproportion between our State industry and the 22 million farms is increasing, or if our industry is growing more rapidly. This is the first of the supplementary and decisive questions which we must put to ourselves after being assured of the fact of the general economic growth of the country.

### **The So-Called "Disproportion" in the Development of Agriculture and Industry.**

I now pass on to this first question of the relations between the development of agriculture and of our industry. Here the position may be characterised by the following figures: The gross production of agriculture has risen between the economic years 1922-23 and 1925-26 from 66.8 per cent. to 88.1 per cent. of the pre-war level. During this period the gross production of industry has increased from 34.7 per cent. to 95 per cent. Expressed in absolute figures, agricultural production increased from 7.8 milliard pre-war roubles to 10.3 milliards, that is, an increase of 32 per cent. in the time given. If we refer to the gross production of industry, we find the following figures: in 1922-23 production amounted to the value of 1,949 pre-war roubles, in the economic year 1925-26 to 5,215 million pre-war roubles. Our industry has thus increased by 274 per cent. during this time.\*

Now to the living basis of our industry, that is, to the strength of the working class, for the question of the class struggle—and our Socialist development is in reality a peculiar form of proletarian class struggle—will naturally be decided by those living people who represent in various combinations the main base of the Socialist structure. The working class forms the fundamental human material of this Socialist structure. It is the ruling

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\* "Gosplan" No. 3, and "Bulletin of the Dynamics of National Economy of the U.S.S.R." 1926.

class, the leading class, the vanguard class of the present transitional state of society.

If we ask how the working class itself is developing and in particular what changes have taken place in its numerical strength, which represents under uniform conditions the decisive factor of its social class force, we find the following dynamics of development:

In the economic year 1921-22, the average number of industrial workers was 1,240,000. By June 1925 this number had increased to 1,555,000; June, 1926 shows us the figures at 1,898,000, that is, in the course of one year, from June, 1925 to June, 1926, the most advanced stratum of the proletariat, the industrial working class, increased by more than 300,000. We can put the same question in another way, not merely with reference to the numerical increase of the persons belonging to the working class, but from the standpoint showing us what proportion of our total national income is represented by the income of the working class that is, by their wages. I may assume that you are fully aware that our country is in the first place an agricultural country. The working class is still an insignificant minority in this country. We must, therefore, not be surprised at the smallness of the absolute sum; the important point is the change which has taken place in the proportion of wages contained in our total national income. In the economic year 1922-23 the sum total of wages, that is, of the income of the proletariat, amounted to 20 per cent. of the total national income. By 1924-25 this sum had increased to 28.1 per cent. for the whole Union, that is, almost 50 per cent. increase in a comparatively short time.\*

Thus matters were up to now. We have, however, now reached a stage in our economic constructive work in which our organs of planned economics are able to set themselves the task of fixing plans of orientation for comparatively long periods in advance. For one thing we have worked out a statement, which, it need not be said, is only approximate and intended to serve as information, on the development of our economics during the next five years. This statement has been drawn up with the greatest caution by the collaborators in the Planned Economic Commission. According to this statement, the growth of agricultural production is calculated at about 20.8 per cent. for the five years 1925-30, whilst the growth of industrial production is estimated at about 110 per cent. The growth of all agricultural and industrial production is dealt with. The proportions change somewhat if we take into consideration not the growth of the gross production of agriculture, but only the part of this production put on the market,

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\* "Gosplan" No. 1. Article by comrade Buchmann on the "Total Income of the Soviet Union," 1926.

the part consisting of goods. Our provisional calculations would then yield figures anticipating that the goods obtained from the peasants' agricultural production will increase by about 42-43 per cent. during the next five years.†

This 110 per cent. growth of industrial production shows us that the informative calculations for the next five years, based upon a careful study of existing factors, indicate that the growth of industry will surpass that of agriculture. This is the fundamental tendency underlying our economics, and was consciously adopted as such at the last Fourteenth Party Congress.

If we ask at what speed industry and agriculture will develop, we may receive the confident answer, both with regard to the years behind us and those coming, that the balance is in favour of industry, that our industry has outstripped agriculture in its development up to the present. And a study of all available data enables us to prophesy for the next five years, with equal confidence, further progress for the industrialisation of our country.

### **The Extent and Importance of Private Capital.**

The second question which we must ask ourselves is: To what degree has private capital established itself in our country, and what are the comparative proportions of State economic development and private capital development? Here I must anticipate a little, and insert a small observation: We must differentiate strictly between private economics in our country and private capitalist economics, a point upon which many comrades—especially those of the opposition, as we shall see later—are by no means clear. Not all private economics are private capitalist economics. The agricultural undertakings of the poor peasantry, and of the medium farmer employing no outside labour, are private economic enterprises, but do not represent private capitalist economics. But when we speak of our competition and our class warfare with private capital, we must inquire into the comparative powers of our State economics in all their forms on the one hand, and private capitalist economics, that is, economic undertakings employing paid labour, on the other. It is unfortunate that precisely in this point we are short of statistics which should be compiled with special care on this point in our State.

The data at our disposal on the movement of private capital, its enlargement or diminution, cannot lay any claim to accuracy. We must devote particular attention to this aspect of this question.

A functionary of the People's Commissariat for Finance, Kutler, recently made an attempt at calculating the extent of private capital and the annual accumulation within the private capitalist undertakings. An enquiry was held among the private

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† Ibid. No. 4. Articles by comrades Tchidyansky and Strumilin.

undertakings, but was extended to only about ten per cent. of the private capitalist undertakings classed under the clearing tax. This last fact shows in itself how difficult it is to find firm ground in Kutler's conclusions. However, this may be, Kutler's investigations into the role played by private capital are more favourable for private capital than any other inquiries which have been made.

According to his calculations, the technical side of which I shall not discuss here, as involving an indirect and complicated method, the gross proceeds of the 323,855 private capitalist undertakings existing in our country are expressed in a very considerable sum, according to Kutler somewhere between 319 and 585 million roubles.

At the C.C. Plenum one of the most respected members of the opposition, and one of our highest economic functionaries, comrade Pyatakov, calculated the net gains of private capital at 400 to 500 million roubles, arriving at this result by another method, a method in which comrade Dzerjinsky and other comrades have observed a number of errors. I need not deal with these errors here. I need only mention that comrade Pyatakov made his calculation in the following manner: 11 per cent. of industrial production is placed in the hands of private dealers. In reality, however, the private dealer trades in a very much larger proportion of industrial production; his share has been calculated at 40 per cent. and even more. Comrade Pyatakov based his sum total of private capitalist accumulation on these figures.

Here he committed a number of errors, the chief of these being the following: If we place 11 per cent. in the hands of the private dealer by legal methods, and he receives in reality more than this 11 per cent., then this is done by means of repeated re-sales. Let us say that the co-operatives, or our subordinate State organs, which buy goods from our State organisations at wholesale prices, resell these to private capital. But where such things happen—and they do happen—we need not imagine that the private trader pockets the whole difference between the factory and the retail price. When he thus buys the goods at the third step of their sale, then the second link of the chain, the strata trade organ or the co-operative from which he buys, has already secured its profit, so that the private trade does not receive the whole difference between factory and retail prices.

Let us assume the gross proceeds of the private capitalists to actually attain the 400 million roubles of Kutler's favourable estimate (I take the mean between 319 and 585 million roubles). This figure is calculated to alarm us all, for either 300 or 400

million roubles is a very nice sum. If the gross proceeds of private capital are really expressed in such a sum, then this represents a very real social danger to our class. It would signify that private capital has intruded too far in its contest with us. But in my opinion this calculation neglects a fact of decisive importance. This sum does not represent net profits, expressing the amount of private capitalist accumulation, and, therefore, this sum cannot by any means be compared with the net profits of our State undertakings, our trade organs, and our State industry. Such a comparison is made the more impossible by the fact that the proceeds thus calculated include the whole gross profits of the capitalist trader, including that part of the profits which he consumes.

In the present case: What is the number of undertakings yielding this profit of 319 to 585 million roubles? There are 323,855 such undertakings. If we assume that it costs about 80 roubles monthly to maintain a family (here, of course, I may be greatly in error, but it is an error which can be easily corrected on one side or the other), this means a sum of about 1,000 roubles yearly. Thus 323 million roubles are consumed, and these 323 millions of "consumed" roubles must be deducted from the 400 millions of the gross profits, if we are to reach the actual accumulation fund of the private capitalists. This sum cannot, therefore, be compared for a moment with those figures expressing the net profits of our industry. When we calculate the net profits of our industry, we reckon our accumulation fund only, that is the sums which can be employed for further expanding industry, we do not calculate the costs of maintenance of the technical staff, of the requisite apparatus, etc. But as soon as private capital is concerned, then the accumulation fund, that is the net profit which can be employed for enlarging the undertaking, is merged in the gross profits. This one correction alone suffices to throw quite another light on the actual comparative forces.

I have examined a large quantity of correspondence from the provinces on the growth of private capital in these different districts. In the Leningrad district (this is the one extreme) private capital has, for instance, been steadily retrogressing during the whole time, and its importance decreases from day to day. There are other parts of our Union in which private capital has won further positions of late. The greatest strengthening of the position of private capital has taken place in the Ukraine. But even here, where private capital has grown at the greatest speed, it has just reached the level of 1924, our severe pressure upon it in 1923 having forced it to retreat. We have now loosened the reins again a little, so that private capital is beginning to press forward, and at the most dangerous point of its attack it has regained the level of 1924. Thus matters stand at present.

Turning to our State economics, communal undertakings, and co-operatives, we find the net proceeds of our socialised economic enterprises to have been 1,025 million roubles in the year 1924-25; for the year 1925-26 the sum will probably be 1,586 million (the final calculation is not yet finished, so I can only take the probable figure). This is clear profit. Thus if we accept the most favourable estimate of the gains of private capital, as calculated by Kutler, first correcting the amount in the manner described above, by deducting the amount of capital consumed by private capital from its net profits, then we shall see that our State economics are established on a firm basis, and give no cause of anxiety as to the future of our development towards a Socialist state of society. I believe that the further progress of our economics is bound to strengthen our position.

We must not forget that we have already proved our manœuvring capacity in this sphere. A few years ago, quite a comparatively short time ago, we exercised pressure upon private capital, and began to supplant it with extraordinary rapidity; as soon as we saw that we had drawn the reins a little too tight, we loosened them again. It has been seen that we are able to do this. These repeated tactics for the control of private capital have shown clearly that our State power is fully able to regulate at will and that, should actual danger arise from private capital, we can at once apply the lever of our credit system—as we have already done before—the lever of our railway transport, of our taxation apparatus, and of our whole economic apparatus, and thus rapidly push aside private capital if needs be.

The existing relations of class forces show us where to apply the necessary levers at any given moment. We see for instance, that private capital has now turned its attention to the villages. This must stimulate us to strengthen our own position there. We see that only recently private capital was using our State credit to too great an extent. Here we had to apply pressure. We see that we can learn from private capital how to increase the rapidity of circulation, for we observe that the means of private capital circulate much more quickly than our means in the more unwieldy and bureaucratic State institutions. Here pressure must be exercised to accelerate circulation. We see that private capital exploits the investor, especially the contractors with whom it deals, and attracts outside capital with the aid of a minimum of its own. We have not yet shown ourselves capable of doing this. We have not yet adequately exploited agricultural accumulation for the uplift of our industry and our co-operatives. Here it is again needful to draw the logical conclusions. That we must draw these conclusions is true, but it is quite wrong to say that private capital hangs over us like a threatening thundercloud. This is perfect nonsense.

### **The Class Differentiation in the Villages.**

A few words on the peasantry problem. There are some comrades who imagine the differentiation among the peasants to have already reached such a point that the problem of the medium farmer exists no longer. Unfortunately, our statistics fail to give us the required information here. We have no figures showing the present differentiation, or its progress of late. Still I should like to make a general observation on a point which in my opinion can and must be accorded attention. If you look at any capitalist country, even a capitalist country developing with tempestuous rapidity on capitalist lines, we Marxist-Leninists recognise (and Lenin himself would have recognised) that the solid mass of the medium peasantry cannot be changed within a few years; it can be hollowed out by the current of capitalist development, but the process will be much slower here than in the industrial class, where the middle class, the medium city bourgeoisie, is forced out of existence much more quickly.

And if this is the case in a capitalist country and under capitalist rule, where the whole mechanics of capitalist society drift forward at the speed prescribed by the maximum speed at which the middle peasantry is decomposed and the differentiation of the peasantry accomplished, it is much more the case in the Union, where the nationalisation of the land has rendered a rapid differentiation impossible in any case. Lenin emphasised this frequently. I may even refer to that speech of Lenin's which was recorded for the gramophone, and sent to all the villages and towns of the Soviet Union as one of the most important and popular speeches ever made by Lenin on the peasant question. This speech dealt directly with the nationalisation of the land, and with the importance of the middle stratum of peasantry in connection with this. Thus, whatever may be asserted on the subject, we cannot conclude that any very great change has taken place with regard to the differentiation of the various strata of peasantry during the past two years. It is impossible.

### **The Growth of the Co-operatives.**

One of the factors characteristic for the situation in our country, and one which is universally admitted to play an important role, is the stage of development attained by the co-operatives, especially by the agricultural co-operatives. If we examine the balance of the agricultural co-operatives, we see that this increased to four and a half times the original balance between 1st January, 1923, and 1st January, 1924, and between 1st January, 1924 and 1st October, 1925, it was again nearly doubled (90 per cent.). This extreme rapidity of agricultural co-operative growth speaks to a certain extent for itself. It shows that although our efforts are still extremely faulty in this direc-

tion, and though we are still lacking in the necessary energy in this task, still a mighty work is developing here.

### **The Total Balance is in Our Favour.**

Having established the fact of the general economic progress of the country, we may ask ourselves the second question, the question of the relations between the positions of State economics and of private capitalist economics. We shall find that private capital, expressed in absolute figures has increased, whilst at the same time the position of the Socialist elements in our economics has become comparatively stronger. It may be observed that this same specialist Kutler, to whom I have referred here, and who has estimated the maximum figures for the accumulation of private capital, himself declares that the comparative participation of private capital in our collective economics is falling steadily. That is, despite the fact that in his opinion the gross proceeds of private capital amount to 400 million roubles, still the sphere of socialised economics is increasing with so much greater rapidity that the percentage of private capital is sinking. Thus even this expert has acknowledged that our growth is outstripping that of the private capitalist, and assuredly and finally this is the decisive factor. If private capital has increased to this extent, and we still outstrip it, then this is a proof of the general growth of our whole country, and of the strengthening of our position within this growing economic life.

We thus see, firstly, that the city, city industry, and all industry, are outstripping agriculture; and secondly, that nationalised economics, that is, State economics, communal economics, and the co-operatives, are outstripping private capital.

These are the most important conclusions to be drawn from the analysis of our economic situation. It need not be said that when I speak here of these conclusions, I am not asserting that our progress is not accompanied by contradictions; on the contrary, I am assuming their existence. I do not in the least attempt to conceal, either from you or from myself (it would simply be stupid to do so) the fact that private capital is growing. I have intentionally adduced the figures showing most clearly the extent and importance of private capital in our country, and its—relatively—favourable position. And yet the total balance, after according due consideration to the contradiction involved in the growing power of our class opponent, is in our favour, in favour of the working class, in favour of the proletarian dictatorship, in favour of the Socialist part of our economics.

### **The Political Situation in the Soviet Union.**

We now pass on to the political situation in our country. I shall make this part of my speech extremely short, for the poli-

tical situation mirrors in all essentials the events of the economic situation.

### **The Pacification of the Peasantry.**

If we regard the situation from an entirely general standpoint, we must first mention, as one of the most important factors determining the political situation in our country, the pacification of the peasantry, the pacification of the mass of the middle peasants.

Our life develops at such a rapid pace nowadays, that we often forget what the situation was like only a short time previously. But if you will recall to your memories the time before our Fourteenth Congress, and go back a few months, you will remember the unrest at that time among the peasantry, including the masses of the medium and poor peasantry. In many districts the middle peasants joined with the kulaks, and actively expressed that dissatisfaction with the Soviet power which took its rise among the big peasant elements. We see that this peasant unrest has died away. Confidence is growing in the Soviet power, in the Communist Party. This is an immediate consequence of our correct political line, especially of our policy towards vitalising the Soviets, towards revolutionary legality, towards the regulation of the conditions in the whole system of our Soviet organs on the one hand, and towards creating a number of economic facilitations in the sphere of agricultural taxation on the other.

This pacification of the peasantry can only be rightly considered if taken in its connection to the strengthening of the proletarian dictatorship. The political state of the peasantry is one of the most decisive factors for the security of the proletarian dictatorship. A proletarian dictatorship at war with the peasantry and with its main mass, the middle peasants, can never be secure. It was not by accident, and not an empty phrase, when Lenin told us that the supreme principle of proletarian dictatorship is the alliance with the peasantry.

It is not by accident that this saying has become a winged word. It was and remains one of the most important theses of Lenin's teaching. The favourable alteration which has taken place in the political temperature of our peasantry, and not at the cost of growing passivity, but accompanied by growing activity among the peasants, is one of our greatest successes in the political life of our country. It signifies the firmer establishment of the proletarian dictatorship, and an increase in the guiding influence of our Party.

### **Our Growth is Acknowledged Abroad.**

The shifting of proportionate forces within our country, thus resultant on our economic growth, and on the increasing prepon-

derance of the Socialist section of our economics in our collective economics, has inevitably led to a re-grouping of forces in the international arena. Our growth is admitted by our enemies. The fact of our growth forces them in itself to trade with us, to negotiate with us, etc., and yet at the same time to attempt to paralyse our growth. I need only remind you of the various preparations made by the English Government and the English bourgeoisie for the financial and economic blockade against our Union.

With regard to our semi-friends, the broad masses of Social-Democratic workers, it is clear to everyone to-day that the fact of our growth and the strengthening of the Socialist element is making its way into Socialist heads, even through the fog of bourgeois mendacity. We see this in the increasing frequency of visits from workers' delegations. A Communist comrade accompanying a German delegation told me yesterday that anyone who still maintains, in Germany, that our steel industry is no Socialist industry, that the number of our workers is lessening, and that everything is going backward in the Union, would forfeit all confidence, even among the Social-Democrats, who would recognise this repetition of the lies of the bourgeois press and of the most reactionary leaders of Social-Democracy.

### **We Develop more Rapidly than our Opponents.**

The above is a brief sketch of the economic and political situation of our country. It is obvious that the strength of the enemy is growing, both in the sphere of politics and of economics. It is clear that we must face the political dangers confronting us. It is clear that we must face the danger threatening us from the rich farmers, the NEP-men, the bourgeois intelligentsia so often combining with these, etc. We must never forget these for a moment. We must realise that these dangers are growing. This is true. We should be very bad politicians if we did not cast a glance at this aspect.

But when we draw the general balance, when we observe the right proportions of light and shade, of our growth and the growth of our opponents, of our achievements and our faults, then we can tell ourselves the plain truth here, and this truth is: in general we are growing more rapidly than our opponents, in general there is no threatening thundercloud hanging over our heads, in general we are on the right road.

(To be continued.)

# The Transition Towards Socialism

By P. JEBB.

## The Way of Moscow or the Way of Westminster?

**I**T may be justly said that in this question of how the transition to Socialism is to be made is the kernel of the differences dividing the Communists from the Labour Party and Social Democratic theorists. Can Socialism be achieved "gradually" by a series of reforms within the undamaged structure of the capitalist State, or can it only come when the capitalist State is overthrown and its place taken by a workers' State in which the working class themselves, by virtue of the iron power they wield, succeed in laying the foundations of Socialist Society?

How rapidly the second theory is gaining hold of the working masses of Europe can be seen not only in the growth of strength and influence among the Communist Parties, but in the extreme poverty of theory among the defenders of the first point of view. In the Second International, Kautsky, the renegade, seeking to justify the ways of Noske in the light of Marx, is regarded even by the Social-Democratic workers as the apostle of the bourgeoisie. In England, the Labour Party has given its theoretical defence over entirely into the hand of the middle class intellectuals—Liberals like Angell, or Fabians like the Webbs. MacDonal and Snowden immersed in the day-to-day business of "practical (capitalist) politics," have no longer the time to defend in writing their own actions. The defenders of gradualism seek to prove their case by showing firstly that the "new" methods of Moscow have failed to do more than build private capitalism in Russia and secondly, that Revolution is unnecessary in England owing to the peculiar national character. In positive proposals of their own they are singularly lacking and all we have is the interesting confession of the Webbs of the failure of thirty years of Fabianism to "permeate" the structure of British capitalism with Socialism.

## What is the Moscow Road?

What is meant by the Moscow Road, which, according to MacDonal and the I.L.P., first became a factor in Socialist politics in November, 1917? In fact, the Moscow Road was first outlined in the Communist Manifesto in 1848 and the opposition to

it of the I.L.P. is only a re-echo of the Utopian Socialists and of the attempt of Bernstein and the German Reformists to "revise" Marx in the 80's and 90's.

According to the analysis of Marx and Engels in the Communist Manifesto, the more or less hidden civil war within existing society comes to the point "at which it is transformed into open revolution, and the proletariat establishes its rule by means of the violent overthrow of the capitalist class—the first step in the workers' revolution is the transformation of the proletariat into the ruling class, the conquest of democracy . . . . The proletariat will use its political supremacy in order gradually to wrest the whole of capital from the capitalist class, to centralise all the instruments of production in the hands of the State, *i.e.*, of the proletariat organised as the ruling class and to increase as quickly as possible the total of productive forces."

What Marx and Engels wrote in the Communist Manifesto in 1847 was proved by the experience of the Paris Commune in 1871, when for the first time in history the proletariat, organised as the ruling class, held power for two months. On the basis of the Communist Manifesto and the lessons derived from the defeat of the Commune and their own Revolutions of 1905 and March, 1917, the Russian people entered upon the Marxist Revolutionary road to Socialism in November, 1917, or as the I.L.P. prefer to call it, upon the Moscow Road.

It was one of the chief arguments of Bernstein and the Reformists against the Marxist revolutionaries that Engels in his preface to "Class Struggles in France," denied the possibility of revolution owing to the impossibility of barricade fighting under modern conditions. To-day, when the full text of Engels' preface has been restored, we know that in fact, his argument was simply that the old technique of bourgeois revolutions, the sudden erecting of barricades overnight, could no longer apply to the great mass proletarian movements of to-day, when the working class was led by its own political party. The argument was against the semi-terrorist tactics of the Blanquists and other petty bourgeois revolutionaries—not against working class dictatorship as the starting point for the construction of Socialism under the leadership of the revolutionary mass political party.

In a criticism of the "Moscow Road," a slick reviewer in the Glasgow "Forward" makes use of the following quotation from the same preface by Engels "The time is past for revolutions carried through by small minorities at the head of unconscious masses. When it gets to be a matter of the complete transformation of the social organisation, the masses themselves must participate, must understand what is at stake, and why they are to act." Exactly. This quotation clinches Engels' argument against

the terrorists and completes the statement of the Communist Manifesto that the organisation of the proletariat into a class inevitably means its organisation into a political party. The whole work of the Russian Communists themselves, the mass political party of the Russian workers, has been directed towards this work of enlightenment, towards bringing ever wider and wider circles of toilers into the conscious work of transforming the social organisation. And this work, as Marx and Engels recognised, as the heroes of the Commune proved, can only be undertaken when the working class is organised as the State Power.

### **The "Labour Revolution" or the Bolshevik Revolution?**

Kautsky, the apologist for Noske and the Second International, has written a book which he calls "The Labour Revolution," and which is at once an attack on Bolshevism and an exposition of the policy of "gradualism" as understood by the leaders of the Labour Party and I.L.P. It is interesting to contrast the actual achievements of the German and Russian Revolutions in the light of Kautsky's book. According to Lenin ("The Meaning of the Agricultural Tax") "History (which nobody except the leading Menshevik dullards expected would smoothly, peacefully, simply and easily produce 'complete Socialism') has proceeded in such a peculiar fashion that, in 1918, it gave birth to two separated halves of Socialism, like two chickens born within the same shell of international imperialism. Germany and Russia, in 1918, embodied in themselves, on the one hand the most obviously materially realised economic, industrial and social conditions, and on the other hand the political conditions for Socialism."

In Germany in 1918, as Lenin says, all the most favourable conditions for the development of Socialism were present, a highly developed modern technique of industry, a politically advanced working class and a tottering imperialist State. The political conditions, *i.e.*, the working class organised as the State power, were not there and when Liebknecht and Luxemburg, seeing the gains of the revolution slipping away, attempted to create them, they were murdered by Noske and the Social Democrats. Gradualism had every chance, for the Social Democrats were by far the largest and most influential party in the country and held most of the key positions in the capitalist State. In actual fact, they allowed the German bourgeoisie to nullify or take away every single one of the gains of the revolution.

Factory Councils became a farce, the workers' defence corps were placed at the mercy of Fascist black hundreds. The workers' governments in Bavaria, Saxony and Thuringia were overturned by armed force, and even the republican constitution was placed in grave peril. By 1923 Germany, the most highly developed country in the world, was on the verge of barbarism.

The Social Democratic solution was simply to sell the country lock, stock and barrel to Anglo-Saxon imperialism. With the Dawes Plan "gradualism" witnessed its greatest triumph. Wages fell, the railways and transport passed out of State control, even the eight hour day was set aside. Last and most glorious, the German workers had the joy of seeing Hindenburg elected President of the Republic as a kind of place-warmer for the Hohenzollerns.

In Russia, as in Germany, the workers had to face the united opposition of world imperialism—but with this difference, in Russia the workers held political power. The dictatorship of the working class under the leadership of the Communist Party was able to defeat not only the counter-revolution of the bourgeoisie and rich peasantry, but also the armed intervention of the allied powers. In addition to their military victory the Russian workers have used their dictatorship to cement the alliance with the middle and poor peasantry, without which the workers' State could not exist a day, and to lay the foundations of socialist society. Foreign trade, banking, transport and heavy industry are all under State control, while a great proportion of retail trade is done by the co-operatives, who also to a great extent control exchange between town and country.

Compared with 1916, the last year of Czarism, Russia has made great progress, agriculture and industry having both easily passed the norm for that year and now almost reaching the level of 1914. When we remember the completely ruined economy which was the heritage of Czarism to the young Workers' Republic, some idea of the magnificence of their achievement can be obtained. And all the benefit of this advance has gone to the workers and peasants, not a penny to foreign imperialism. In Germany, where nothing like the same difficulties were encountered, exactly the reverse is true.

In England too, gradualism has had an opportunity of proving itself. During nine months the Labour Party operated the capitalist State, greatly to the benefit of British imperialism, but so far as the working class were concerned without any effect whatever. Indeed their conditions were worsened by the introduction of the Dawes Plan which put German industry, especially coal-mining, in a distinctly favourable position, as compared with Britain. In the first nine months of Soviet rule, land, banks and transport were nationalised, workers' control of industry instituted and the monopoly of foreign trade established.

### **Is the New Economic Policy Reformism?**

Recognising, as they must since facts cannot lie, the immense material progress of Soviet Russia, the Reformists now try to

make the workers believe that the New Economic Policy is a reversion to reformism, and a fundamental denial of the Communist position. Further, they allege that N.E.P. is in no way the precursor of Socialism and that capitalism naked and unashamed is reigning in Russia to-day. The sneers of Angell and his reviewer, MacDonald, the observations of Robert Williams who has taken advantage of the opportunities provided for foreign business men and other such visitors, to take a thoroughly bourgeois holiday in Russia, are all on these lines. Even the "Forward" reviewer informed us that "It is just possible that Kautsky, Boudin, Martov and Masaryk were not and are not, the poor fools that Trotsky and others in the past have so contemptuously called them" Maybe, for some years ago the Bolsheviks erected a statue to Martov, but as for the other heroes, well Boudin himself called the distinguished President of the Capitalist Republic of Czecho-Slovakia a "prating, popular professor." But our English reformists know nothing of this, as they know nothing of Soviet Russia.

N.E.P., when it was introduced in 1921 was a distinct recognition that War Communism as an economic system was a terrible failure, but War Communism as a military factor was a success and enabled the revolution to defeat its enemies. Once this was done, it was possible to return to the position in 1918 before the civil war. That position was the one outlined by Marx and Engels, in the Communist Manifesto, namely that the ruling class, the proletariat, should "use its political supremacy, to wrest, *gradually*, all capital from the bourgeoisie." In other words only with the conquest of power by the workers can the *gradual* transition to Socialism take place. How quickly it is taking place every fresh delegation of workers to the U.S.S.R. bears enthusiastic witness.

### **The Choice Before the British Workers.**

It is for the British working class to choose out of the knowledge gained from their own experience of the Labour Government, of the General Strike and the Miners' Lock-out, which is the real road to Socialism, the road which the leaders of the Labour Party and T.U.C. thought of, the road of treachery and disillusion, or the road of the Communist Party, the real constructive work of building up Socialism under the protection of the dictatorship of the working class. Germany, and to a lesser extent England, have shown the first policy in operation, Russia the second.

Even under a reformist Government could the English workers raise their standard of life? With the basic industries of coal, iron and steel gasping for life's breath, the only possibility of saving them lies in drastic reorganisation which must involve nationalisation under workers' control and without compensation. What would a Labour Government do but make confusion worse

confounded by half-hearted attempts at reform which the employers would resist, and sabotage to their utmost?

The General Strike and Lock-out have shown the workers that one section of the employers is willing to use, in open alliance with the Government, the whole force of the capitalist State to enforce wage reductions and prevent the most futile and elementary attempts at reorganisation. The attempt by a Labour Government to use the same capitalist State to enforce such reorganisation on not one, but many sections of industry, would be foredoomed to ignominious failure. Any cool examination of realities should prove conclusively to the British worker that only by organising a political party ready to capture the State power and using it as a dictatorship to crush reaction can the work of building Socialism be safely commenced. Evolution, after the conquest of power by the workers is a very different thing from Labour reformism, is in fact, its very reverse—revolutionary Marxism as outlined in the Communist Manifesto of 1848 and put into practice by the Russian working class under the leadership of the Communist Party. As Lenin said in his speech on the N.E.P., “Cultural tasks cannot be accomplished so quickly as political and military ones . . . . Politically, it is possible to conquer during a period of acute crisis in a few weeks. In war it is possible to conquer within a few months, but it is impossible to achieve a cultural victory within any such period. By the very nature of things, a much longer period is necessary, and we must adapt ourselves to this longer period, calculating our work in advance and exhibiting the greatest possible perseverance, steadfastness and orderliness.”

This is the real theoretical basis of the “Moscow Road.”

# The Fight for a Militant T.U. Movement

By G. HARDY.

(Acting General Secretary, National Minority Movement.)

**T**HE phenomenal influence of the National Minority Movement within the Trade Unions, in comparison with its numerical strength, still surprises many of our enemies.

After our First National Conference, in 1924, the Right-wing Trade Union officials tried to damn our Movement by a conspiracy of silence. The Trade Union bosses thought, by merely ignoring its birth and withholding recognition of its existence, the result would be a still-born child. However, the positive propaganda of our Movement compelled them to recognise it as a growing force. Ridicule was then poured upon the idea that it was to be a factor in Trade Unionism.

The next step was misrepresentation as to what would happen to the Trade Unions should they adopt our tactics and policy, with slanderous statements galore against our officials, and malignancy in general. The latter was of the usual "week-end spleen" variety, let loose by Labour leaders against the Minority Movement.

This having failed, a definite united front has been formed between the capitalists and the Right-wing reactionaries, and a frontal attack has been launched by expulsions of M.M. members from the N.U.G.W.M., and the disaffiliation of Trade Union branches from Trades Councils affiliated to the M.M., tactics definitely calculated to *split* the Labour Movement. In spite of all this, the Minority Movement grows stronger!

Why is it?

It is because all that is said against us in the capitalist press each Monday morning, quoting from Sunday speeches of Thomas, Clynes and Co., is exactly what we do *not* stand for. The very fact that such material appears in organs like the "Express," "Daily Mail" and "Morning Post," should be sufficient to convince the worker with the most *elementary* knowledge of the Labour Movement that these statements and quotations deliberately express the reverse of our true aims and objects.

## The Facts about the M.M.

The Minority Movement is a natural product of British con-

ditions. Since 1920 the organised employers have been on the offensive. In one industry after another, the workers have been defeated without one serious, effective attempt being made by the Trade Union officials (including the so-called "Left-wingers") to prepare to check this offensive. This being obvious, the revolutionary trade unionists, urged forward by economic forces, and with favourable objective conditions, were bound to organise on a national scale.

The demand and consequent struggle for power to resist the capitalist offensive was bound to arise. Against the combined forces of the capitalist State and the employers, attempts to use sectional unions for securing improved conditions would merely have served to indicate our manifold weaknesses.

The Minority Movement was formed to give an impetus to the Trade Union Movement, to lead it out of the impasse, and to overcome all obstacles impeding our path to a stronger fighting Trade Union organisation by eliminating the many divisions and solidifying our ranks.

We must organise to fight, or accept the alternative—economic degradation, longer hours and oppressive conditions.

The Minority Movement has co-ordinated the hitherto scattered Left-wing and revolutionary Trade Unionists into a national body organised nationally around a national policy.

### **The M.M. and Scarborough.**

The effect of a year's propaganda was demonstrated at the Scarborough T.U.C. The Agenda for our Second Annual Conference, in August, 1925 (as we called it, our "Preparedness Conference"), held prior to the Scarborough T.U.C., contained many resolutions which were officially adopted at the T.U.C. At Scarborough, also, the Dawes Plan was repudiated, Shop Committees were agreed to, and should have been officially set up by the unions. An anti-imperialist resolution was carried, designed to oppose the oppressive measures being used against our colonial fellow-workers, to aid them in organising their Trade Unions, and to assist them in their deplorable economic, social, and political status.

The resolution on the need for one all-inclusive International Trade Union Movement, the endorsement of the Anglo-Russian Joint Advisory Council and "more power to the General Council" was agreed to with great enthusiasm. These resolutions had been carried at our Conference and sent into the Trade Union branches for endorsement previous to their adoption at Scarborough.

But what has been done with all these resolutions since?

J. H. Thomas and Right-wing reactionaries decided it was

time to check the General Council, as to them it seemed to be proceeding too rapidly and "dangerously" in the direction of the Left. This they commenced to do by sabotaging the operations of the resolutions which were so urgently necessary and so enthusiastically carried.

### **Why the M.M. must be Strengthened.**

Now what is the present position, two weeks previous to the 1926 T.U.C.? The General Council has been dumb on the devastating effect of the Dawes Scheme on Germany, and has allowed the financiers of Wall Street and Lombard Street to impose their oppressive measures upon the German workers without a protest—over two million German workers unemployed, to some extent due to longer hours, and living standards "stabilised" far below the pre-war level. Members of the General Council have not protested against Snowden's suggestion for the application of a similar "Dawes Plan" on the French workers, and have not uttered a word against the denationalisation of the Belgian State Railways, notwithstanding the fact that the Scarborough T.U.C. expressly accepted the fact that the Dawes Scheme was lowering British standards.

Shop Committees or Workshop Organisation could have been a vital factor during the General Strike, had this question received the serious attention its importance merited. The Minority Movement pointed out at its 1925 Conference that in creating Workshop Organisation we would take the first step towards industrial unionism and complete unity of the workers. However, nothing has been done; and we are where we were when the resolution was adopted at Scarborough.

The same may be said of the anti-imperialist resolution. Except for a protest from the General Council against the massacre of our Chinese comrades and fellow-workers, no measures worthy of comment have been taken. The Minority Movement was the only Trade Union body that gave authentic information to the trade union branches concerning the Chinese workers, and urged action to aid them against the murderous British imperial forces responsible for the shooting of Trade Unionists. It lay within the power of the General Council to send a commission of investigation to China to ascertain the facts. The facts were sufficient to have justified a boycott against the shipment of munitions and British forces to China, to say nothing of an embargo to force the withdrawal of troops from the Treaty Ports.

The General Council, however, did not even give Trade Union branches and Labour Councils the facts regarding the refusal of the British Government to allow the constitutionally elected representatives of the Egyptian people to form their own Government. When Alexandria was threatened by British battleships, no undue

alarm prevailed on the General Council—the affair was treated as a mere incident not worthy of special note.

The same charge can be made regarding imperialist action in India, Turkey, South and East Africa, and the recent Foreign Office manœuvres towards making war on the U.S.S.R.

As for International Trade Union Unity, and the continuance of the work of the Anglo-Russian Joint Advisory Council recommended in the International Trade Unity resolution, the General Council's act of refusing the financial assistance offered by the Russian Unions was a direct blow at any semblance of unity between the unions of Britain and the U.S.S.R.

### **Preparing for the General Strike.**

Except for the experience gained by the rank and file out of the General Strike and the miners' lock-out, we stand where we were previous to the Scarborough Congress. The Minority Movement gave the lead, Scarborough T.U.C. agreed, "leaders" sabotaged the decisions, and neither a public nor any other kind of protest has been heard from the "Lefts" on the General Council. The ever-growing vigilant Minority Movement, its followers and adherents, alone continue to show concern.

After Scarborough it was evident that little could be expected from the General Council. A wavering element was in evidence, and a determined element led by privy councillors bent upon destroying every vestige of rank and file unity. Such tactics necessitated rank and file preparation for action, and our March, 1926, Conference of Action was called to stimulate activity against the Government's legal and semi-legal preparations.

Our Conference gave the correct lead. We called for the creation of Councils of Action to deal with the political onslaught that would result from the preparations of Baldwin's Government and the employers: the formation of Defence Corps to safeguard Trade Unionists carrying on legitimate Trade Union work (this was a demand the workers understood and responded to in many centres): the need for showing the workers the political significance of the employers' preparations within the Forces (a matter of vital importance and yet so obvious that it should have ranked as an elementary task of the General Council among the rank and file of the Trade Unionists).

The need for an understanding as to credits between the General Council and the Co-operative Unions which was essential: the careful planning of communal kitchens for the feeding of those in want, and likely to be immediately affected by a General Strike, which at that time was manifestly inevitable: and the need for careful preparation of strike machinery: were all matters we urged, aiming at strengthening the working class in the struggle.

In all this the General Council failed miserably, not even

attempting to inform the workers of the political implications of the Governmental preparations. To the contrary, they tried to administer a quietus to the stirring consciousness of the workers by asking them not to criticise the Coal Commission Report until an official pronouncement was made. They adopted the attitude of "not queering the pitch," pretending to believe that a basis of settlement would be revealed in this Report. *In failing to prepare, they betrayed the workers before the General Strike began.*

When the General Strike became inevitable and the General Council was forced to enter into it, they did not alter their tactics. All that the Minority Movement had urged was tabooed by them, Councils of Action were never mentioned in their official bulletins. These, the General Council chose to regard as Communist instruments, not to be recognised. Right-wingers even entered the local Councils of Action for the purpose of preventing them from functioning in a positive fashion. The General Council's policy and tactics were the antithesis of all that would have made for victory—of all that had been adopted by the 883 delegates attending the Minority Movement Conference of Action representing 957,000 workers.

The T.U.C. will meet again at Bournemouth on September 6th. Its first concern should be to ensure that this time its decisions will be carried out. A full discussion must be allowed on the lessons of the General Strike and definite resolutions aiming at the elimination of all weaknesses in the Trade Union Movement and its leadership. Unlike the Agenda for the forthcoming Minority Movement Conference, the preliminary Agenda for the T.U.C. while including several distinctly progressive resolutions, does not include a single resolution seriously challenging the old leadership and giving definite political direction to Labour's Trade Union and political forces.

#### **Minority Policy in the Present Situation.**

Several of our comrades, including our General Secretary, Harry Pollitt, are imprisoned under the Sedition Act of 1797—an Act designed to prevent an approach to the workers in the Forces. There have been over 1,700 arrests, and hundreds have been sent to prison under E.P.A., for their loyalty to their class in carrying out Union and working-class activities. In addition, new-made anti-working-class law under Baldwin's Government in the future is to operate against our Trade Unions. The Government has been actually encouraged to proceed along the line of anti-Trade Union legislation, designed to cripple Trade Unionism, by the fact that Executives of the Railway and other unions made a statement wrongfully admitting that the General Strike was illegal, to the everlasting disgrace of the signatories.

The National Minority Movement will define a political policy at its Conference on August 28th for the guidance of all workers

inspired by our Movement. It will call upon the next Labour Government to repeal the E.P.A., the Eight-Hour Law for miners, and the musty laws of the 17th and 18th centuries, together with any other anti-working-class legislation.

Our Conference will also draw attention to the fact that, when the Tories are challenged with regard to certain tactics, Baldwin's ministers invariably reply that MacDonald's regime was responsible for similar acts or alternatively, initiated the proposals being carried out by the Tories. For a Labour Government to leave itself open to such attacks only proves its non-working class policy, and is inexcusable. Unless a Workers' Government is prepared to use all the State Forces on the side of the workers, even as the Baldwin Government uses them for the capitalists, it cannot remain a working-class Government.

There are several resolutions down regarding the affiliation of Trades Councils to the T.U.C. Hitherto Congress has refused to give to the Trades Councils their proper place in the Trade Union Movement. This problem has been dealt with at every Conference of the Minority Movement, and hardly a Trades Council, District Committee or Union Branch can be found to oppose this demand, which is definitely regarded as an elementary necessity.

### **Strengthen and Reorganise the Unions!**

Many workers have had their confidence shaken with regard to "All power to the General Council." This demand, however, is as sound as it ever was, except that we must find ways and means of securing courageous and militant leadership to which we may safely render all power. That the Trade Union Movement still believes in this policy is seen by the many resolutions demanding *full* powers for the General Council—power to call strikes, power to levy the unions, etc., and resolutions are down for a national 44-hour week and a £3 minimum for all workers. These are some of the Minority Movement demands (albeit modified and only partially accepted) which must be amended, strengthened and adopted by Congress, *and then acted upon*.

The reorganisation of our Trade Union Movement should receive serious attention. Two tendencies are visible in the T.U.C. Agenda, one, not too clearly defined, which seeks to create real industrial unions, the other, to build up one conglomerated big union. The latter is down in the name of the National Union of General and Municipal Workers. The Executive of this Union, led by J. R. Clynes, is attempting to split the Trades Councils affiliated to the Minority Movement by disaffiliating their branches and expelling active Minority Movement members from the unions.

The reasons put forth by adherents of the O.B.U. are, first, that even though we reduce the number of unions catering for the

workers of an industry (presumably reducing them to one only), their power of resistance to the employers will not be developed to any degree. This argument is on a par with the other statements of J. R. Clynes and his colleagues, to the effect that the General Strike is not an effective industrial weapon for use against the bosses. Is it only the desire of Clynes and Co. to obtain voting power at the T.U.C. in order to dominate the greatest possible number of workers through a class-collaboration policy? It cannot be because of the second reason given by the supporters of the O.B.U., for Clynes does not believe in class rule. They suggest that the O.B.U., without industrial divisions, is class unionism, eliminating all divisions and breaking down craft barriers; but wherever in the past the O.B.U. was established we found no more differences regarding craft barriers than was the case when industrial unions—one union for each industry—were established.

The National Minority Movement stands for one union for each industry, and one big industrial union of all industrial unions—the Trades Union Congress, with its General Council. This form of industrial unionism is scientific and powerful. It allows concerted action by industry, and mass or class action by the whole National Trade Union Movement, a form of action Clynes and Co. do not believe in.

Our forthcoming Annual Conference will also deal with the reorganisation of our Trade Union Movement. We shall, and the Trades Union Congress at Bournemouth should, be concerned with definite concrete methods for converting our 1,135 sectional unions into industrial unions.

### **Lessons of the General Strike.**

The lessons of the General Strike will occupy the attention of the delegates to the Minority Movement Conference. The following points will be emphasised :

1. Getting Trade Unionists generally to recognise that in the period of capitalist decline the failure of conciliation and arbitration become more apparent, and nothing but united action can protect the interests of the workers.
2. That industrial reorganisation schemes within a capitalist framework do not afford a safeguard for workers' wages.
3. The agitation throughout of the Trade Union Movement in favour of a thorough reorganisation of the Movement.
4. Urging the General Council and the local Trades Councils to prepare their strike plans with regard to communications, commissariat, picketing, defence, etc., beforehand.
5. Showing the workers the rôle of the State in strikes, and demonstrating that there are no adequate means of working-class defence without the mass strike, and there can be no mass strike which does not come up against the Government.
6. Recognising, that as the State as an instrument of the

capitalist class is doing what it can to weaken the working class, it is the duty of the working class to struggle against the capitalist State.

7. That as the State is only able to oppress the Labour Movement in proportion to the fact that the workers in the Fighting Forces are loyal to it, an intensive working-class campaign in the Forces is necessary.

The Minority Movement pledges itself to work for the acceptance of these ideas in the Trade Union Movement and to press forward with the development of the leadership standing for this policy. It declares that the fundamental failure of the Left Wing in the General Council was due to their domination by many Right Wing ideas, and to their lack of trust in the masses and asserts that no Left leadership is of any use to the working class unless it breaks with the Right Wing policy and allies itself with the Left Wing Trade Unionists in the Minority Movement. The foregoing will form part of the Agenda for our forthcoming Annual Conference.

### Our Fight for World Unity.

Probably the most important item on the Agendas of the T.U.C. and the Minority Movement is International Trade Union Unity. The Minority Movement is determined to maintain Anglo-Russian unity. Recent actions of the General Council have been calculated to destroy unity with the Trade Unions of the U.S.S.R. —apparently in return for their splendid response to the call for help by the British miners!

The capitalist class, encouraged as they are by the betrayal of the workers on May 12th, are preparing to operate Baldwin's slogan "The wages of all workers must come down." They will attack every grade and category of the workers. Therefore we as workers must prepare nationally and internationally.

The Minority Movement realises that if the bosses are allowed to fasten another Dawes Scheme on the French workers, this will ultimately reflect itself in bringing down wages still further in Britain. We must prepare an organisation to aid our Continental fellow-workers to resist these impositions, thereby creating a weapon to aid ourselves.

The capitalist class of this country are using the excuse of collecting French debts in order to obtain another supply of slave-labour. Again we must prepare resistance.

We are daily threatened with a war against the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics. The Foreign Office under Austen Chamberlain is guilty of intrigue and inciting the border States of Russia into an attack on the Workers' Republic. The relationship of the Russian and British unions must become more clearly defined, even more fraternal, so that further mutual aid may be developed. *The workers cannot afford to have this bond broken.*

The I.F.T.U. still remains the great obstacle to International

unity. The Social Democrats still refuse unity. But no less criminal is the deliberate inaction of our own General Council, who were mandated at Scarborough to summon a preliminary conference to deal with International unity between the Amsterdam International and the Russian Unions.

### **Our Reply to their Sabotage.**

The duty of the delegates to the T.U.C. will be to demand an account of the actions of the General Council in refusing the generous aid offered by the Russian Trade Unions. They must demand why, to add insult to the injury, the delegates of the General Council of the Anglo-Russian Committee have held up discussion of support for the miners because the Russian representatives refuse to withdraw a manifesto criticising the General Council for their acts of treachery and cowardice during the General Strike.

The Minority Conference will prepare the rank and file to take up the fight for International Unity more actively than ever. We shall go on demanding that an International Conference be held at an early date of all Labour Unions, from East to West, affiliated to R.I.L.U. or I.F.T.U., or unaffiliated to either, to form one united World Trade Union Movement. An International Federation of all organised workers must be formed without regard to race, colour or creed.

It is absolutely necessary, our resolution will declare, for the General Council to summon immediately a preliminary International Conference between the Trade Unions of the U.S.S.R. and the I.F.T.U. : to dispatch delegations from the General Council to the Continent to explain the reasons for the British decision on International Unity to the German, French, Belgian, Dutch workers, etc. : to promote support by the British unions to the corresponding Russian unions in their struggle for admission to the International Trade Secretariats : to invite Russian fraternal delegates to the various union conferences : to dispatch British workers' delegations to Soviet Russia : to organise mass meetings and demonstrations on the Continent, through the Anglo-Russian Unity Committee, to press for an International Conference to create one International Trade Union Organisation : to publish official information bulletins for the workers on the Continent and in Britain giving the latest news and development of International Unity : to encourage members of the General Council favourable to unity, to attend mass meetings and demonstrations, the organisational work to be done by the Trades and Labour Councils.

Unless the T.U.C. is prepared to pursue a militant and constructive policy courageously and energetically, the Forces of the Government and the Federation of British Industries will smash our Trade Unions one by one and reduce the workers to industrial serfdom. This is the message which the Minority Movement Conference is sending to the organised Trade Unionists of Great Britain.

# The Anglo-French Conflict in the Near East

By J. MACDOUGALL.

**T**HE signing of the Anglo-Turkish Agreement at Angora on the 5th June last marks the end of a period in the struggle between France and Britain for supremacy in the Near East. Under this treaty the Mosul vilayet is awarded to Britain and Turkey accepts the Brussels line, which she rejected at Lausanne. It provides further that Turkey is to be allowed 10 per cent. of Iraq's share in the Mosul petrol revenues, and also 10 per cent. of the entire oil production of Iraq for 25 years. Turkey is given the option of capitalising her share for the whole period, if and when she desires. In an illuminating commentary on the treaty, "The Glasgow Herald" of June 8th, 1926, observes :

"It may be presumed that the aspiration, expressed by Mussolini during his African tour, that Italy should become a great Mediterranean Power, did much to reconcile Turkey to the decision of the League, as she apprehended that any contravention of the decision would provide an excellent excuse for Italy to lay violent hands on a part of Turkish territory which she has long coveted."

That such action would not be a result of Mussolini's independent volition, may well have been suspected by the Turks, in view of the recent conversations at Rome between the British Foreign Secretary and the Italian Dictator. At any rate the long-drawn out conflict over Mosul is now, at least temporarily, settled ; and in a way much more favourable to Turkey than the high-flying European imperialists could ever have anticipated in the halcyon years after the war. We will endeavour here to outline the various phases of Anglo-French rivalry in the Near Eastern cockpit, of which the conclusion of the Mosul Treaty is the present result.

## 1. The Treaty of Sevres.

When Turkey, after having inflicted by the victories gained at the Dardanelles, Kut-el-Amara and Gaza, permanent injuries on the prestige of European arms in the East, after stirring to a sense of their latent powers the whole of the subject races of Asia, went down with her Western allies to defeat, her term as a Great Power was thought to be finished. The first concern of the Versailles Treaty was, of course, to deal with German interests in Turkey ; Germany being deprived of the Baghdad Railway—the principal bone of contention in the decade before the war—and of

the whole of the capital she had invested in Turkey; but the future status of the Turkish nation was left over for decision to a further conference. It was not until 1920 that the Allies had so far composed their differences as to get completed the Sevres Treaty, by which Turkish affairs were to be regulated.

The Treaty realised the old demands of English Liberalism—the Turks were to be driven from the European Continent and Turkey as a Great Power abolished. On the European mainland Turkey was robbed of all the territory left to her by the peace which concluded the Second Balkan War in 1912. She lost also the territories in which the Turks were a national minority. An independent Armenia, which was to find an outlet to the Mediterranean at Alexandretta, was created. In the name of self-determination for the Arabs, Turkey was deprived of Syria, Mesopotamia, and Arabia. In Western Asia Minor she had to hand over to Greece the port of Smyrna, along with a hinterland extending deeply into the country. In addition, the Straits and Constantinople were to remain in the possession of the Allies, camouflaged behind the League of Nations. But this disastrous peace was not ratified by Turkey. The surviving elements of the broken-up staff of officers, led by Kemal Pasha, refused their recognition to the Treaty. Following on his flight from Constantinople Kemal Pasha proceeded to organise the defence of the country against the Allies, so that the Government of the Sultan, although entirely under the thumb of the Allies, was compelled in face of such developments to refuse its consent to the Treaty.

At the time when Turkey was being dismembered, Britain was in a stronger position than France. Despite the adjudication of the Mosul oil region to France by the Sykes-Picot Agreement of 1916, France agreed at San Remo in 1920 that it should go to Britain. During the war, oil from being merely a lubricant and lighting material rose to tremendous importance as a motive power, above all for aircraft and naval vessels. By the acquisition of Mosul, Britain completed the chain of oil-bearing lands in the neighbourhood of the Persian Gulf under her sway, one of the most valuable results she achieved by the war. The Treaty of San Remo by which the oil resources of Mosul were ceded to Britain, merely pledged her to allow France 25 per cent. of the output at current prices. This success was gained by Britain not simply because France was dependent on her in connection with reparations, but was due also to military pressure. During 1919 the British, while in occupation of Syria, encouraged the pretensions of the Emir Feisul and provided him with munitions for use against the French. France had to agree to British control of the world's oil resources as the price for the cessation of Feisul's attacks in Syria. Having lost her oil resources France was now incapable of making war without the permission of Britain, unless she could obtain the support of the other great oil Power—America.

Britain's policy of economic determination in the Near East found yet another buttress in the old-standing connection between British capitalism and Greece. In the Near East, Greece disposes of a relatively large trading capital; and while capitalist production is but weakly developed in their country, the Greeks possess a strong merchant fleet and excellent commercial connections, more extensive even than those of the Armenian mercantile community. For a long time British commercial capital has been accustomed to make use of Greek agencies for the sale of its commodities in Asia Minor. These, then, constituted the economic roots of British Philhellenism. The relinquishing of Smyrna to the Greeks meant actually its annexation by British merchant capital.

## **2. The Revival of Turkey's Military Resistance.**

During 1921 the rebuilding of Turkey's military organisation was actively taken in hand. At the same time the Turks were looking around for allies to assist them in the serious struggle they saw to be impending. Even in 1919, while Soviet Russia still remained separated from Turkey by the Forces of Denikin, the White armies in Transcaucasia, and the Dashnak troops in Armenia, Kemal's Government and the emigrés from Turkey endeavoured to establish a connection with Soviet Russia. In so doing they revealed a political foresight, which should be estimated all the higher, seeing that it was given expression to at a most critical moment in the history of Soviet Russia, when Denikin's forces lay in front of Orel and Yudenitch was approaching Petrograd. In September, 1919, negotiations were commenced at Berlin between the representatives of Turkey and Russia. Simultaneously, by breaking through the Denikin front, Soviet Russia was able to get into direct contact with Turkey and to work for a combined resistance of the two countries to the Entente. These diplomatic conversations were concluded by the signing of the Peace Treaty of 1921. It will be self-understood that the Soviet Government cherished no illusions as to the social character of the Government of the National Assembly at Angora, which it knew to be not even a bourgeois national government, such as would endeavour to accomplish a bourgeois revolution, let alone a workers' and peasants' government. Soviet Russia understood quite clearly that it was dealing with the government set up by a particular clique of officers, supported by the bureaucracy. On the other hand, she also recognised that nowhere had the masses passed through the war without their sentiments and ideas being profoundly changed in the process; something which must apply likewise to the Turkish people. The damage done to the land not only ruined the whole of the peasantry but also weakened the formerly powerful landlord class, and thus placed on the order of the day as the most pressing problem confronting the country the settlement of the peasant question; a problem which, in the case of Turkey, was far less a matter of the redivision of the land in favour

of the peasantry as of abolishing the Mediæval customs still followed in gathering the taxes and of attracting the peasantry to take an active part in the country's political life. The future of the country rested primarily with those democratic layers such as the school teachers, the younger officers, and the peasant intellectuals, which were of peasant origin.

Soviet Russia, therefore, while bearing clearly in mind the possibility of diplomatic fluctuations on the part of the ruling clique, considered its duty to lie in supporting Turkey's struggle for national independence; such action being taken in the interests of the world revolution, which cannot gain the day without the help of those peasant masses in the Near and the Far East, who are at present being sacrificed to the profit-making lusts of imperialism.

### **3. By her Success, Turkey gains Allies.**

When Kemal Pasha started his insurrection he was looked on by the Allies as little better than a chief of bandits. Even in the spring of 1922 the British Government refused to receive his representatives or to negotiate with them. At the beginning of August, Lloyd George delivered a great speech in the House of Commons on British policy in the Near East, in which he simply re-echoed the ideas of Gladstone. But the forces at the disposal of British imperialism were inadequate to the carrying out of its threats. After giving up Mosul oil at the San Remo Conference and withdrawing in favour of Britain in the Near East, France was still without any guarantee that in return Britain would give support to her policy in Europe. Influenced by regard for her own commercial interests Britain wanted to safeguard Germany and to see that country restored as a market for British wares. When all the British demands upon Germany had been met—the German war fleet sunk and the merchant fleet handed over—Britain began to think that France in the intoxication of victory had gone too far in the destruction of German industry. To prevent the institution of a French hegemony over the Continent Britain needed to a certain extent the restoration of Germany as a political power. In connection with the Versailles Peace, Britain played a kind of double game: defending in public the literal interpretation of the phraseology of the Peace Treaty, while secretly thwarting every attempt by the French to use stronger measures against Germany. At times, indeed, Britain could not prevent such means being applied, but felt herself thereupon all the more entitled to protest against them, whereby she hoped to win the reputation of a protector of the weak and to appear in the guise of an angel of peace in Germany. And, when France on its side had to recognise the gradual whittling away of the Versailles Treaty, she began to look for a means of putting pressure on Britain or for a trump which could be played when occasion offered against the latter Power.

On France becoming convinced that Kemal Pasha, with the assistance of Soviet Russia, was in a position to defend Turkey, she opened negotiations with him. Franklin Bouillon travelled to Angora as the French representative and concluded a treaty with Turkey, according to which the French were not only to evacuate Cilicia but were also to leave behind their munitions for the use of the Kemalists. French nationals, moreover, with the secret approval of their Government, landed arms on the coasts of Anatolia. The British assert that the treaty signed by Franklin Bouillon contained unpublished clauses to the effect that the French would throw no obstacles in the way of Turkey should the latter attempt the reconquest of Mosul then in the hands of the British. After France, Italy followed, being driven to come to an agreement with Turkey through fear of any strengthening of Greek power in the Mediterranean. Thanks to this favourable position of affairs, *i.e.*, her alliance with the first revolutionary Great Power, Soviet Russia, on the one hand, and the agreements with France and Italy, on the other, Turkey became so strong that in March, 1922, the Allies on their own initiative summoned a conference at Paris for the revision of the Sevres Treaty, and offered to give back possession of Constantinople, and, on certain conditions, Smyrna to the Turks. Turkey declined the proposal. Whereupon Greece prepared for a fresh offensive. Being amply supplied with British munitions, the Greeks pushed their first advance with such success that their forces almost reached Angora, while the Turkish Army had to retire before them into the interior. In a hard-fought battle, however, the Turks managed to save their capital. There then ensued a long interval, filled by the busy machinations of the Allied and belligerent diplomats, in which the two armies lay facing one another, doing nothing. At length the Greeks, gingered up by Lloyd George, began to get ready for a second offensive; but this time the luck had turned; and the Turkish Army, seizing the initiative, passed over in its turn to the attack; the worn-out soldiers of the Greek Army went on strike, refusing to fight, and soon the whole of the Greek Forces were in full retreat, flowing tumultuously towards the coast pursued by the Turks.

Turkey's victory directly confronted her with the question of her existence as a Great Power. Greece, the vassal of Britain, was defeated but Britain, herself, was still unconquered. When the problem shortly arose, whether Kemal Pasha should attempt to force the Straits in order to invade Thrace, it had to be considered in the light of the military and political factors governing the possibility of Turkey being able to undertake a new war with Britain. Turkey appears, moreover, to have conceived the matter not simply statically but in a dynamic fashion and to have come to the conclusion that though at the moment Britain was unable to deliver

a counter-blow, it was certain that, after the lapse of a certain time, she could attack in overwhelming force.

#### 4. The Treaty of Lausanne.

At the end of 1922 a conference was held at Lausanne for the settling of Anglo-Turkish differences. It was not until 1924, after long-drawn out negotiations, that the treaty was signed. Soviet Russia though deeply concerned in the matters to be discussed was excluded from participation in the conference. Despite this, however, a Russian delegation, ably led by Tchitcherin attended and gave valuable support to the Turkish representatives in their efforts to secure the fruits of the victory. The Russian delegation published a declaration in which they protested against any settlement of the problem of the Straits without Russia's consent and demanded the full recognition of the sovereignty of Turkey in all that concerned courts, banks, customs tariffs and the status of foreigners. The declaration also called on the capitalist Powers to renounce their conquests in the Near East and to allow the Arab nations to decide their destiny for themselves, claiming this to be the *sine qua non* of enduring peace in that quarter of the world. In spite of the procrastinating tactics of the British diplomats, they had finally to grant most of the Turkish demands. Under the treaty the Straits were demilitarised and freedom of passage was secured to the ships of all nations. The abolition of the Capitulations—privileges of extra-territoriality enjoyed by foreigners—was ratified. Constantinople and the surrounding territory were to remain in the possession of the Turks. The settlement of the Mosul question was to be relegated to a future conference, and, failing agreement there, would be referred to the League of Nations. This special conference was held at Constantinople during May, 1924, but despite the offer of various concessions by Britain—a reduction of the debt due from Turkey, the granting of a loan and some advantages in connection with the Baghdad Railway—the Turks continued to adhere to their claim for the Mosul vilayet. The question was then taken up by the League of Nations, which at first adjudicated the Mosul territory to Turkey, and then later on, as a result of British manipulation, reversed this decision and granted Mosul to Britain. The Turks were very reluctant to accept the verdict, but have finally been compelled, as we have already mentioned, to submit.

#### 5. Intrigues against Each Other conducted by Britain and France in the Near East.

The Arab nations of the Near East had long been discontented with Turkish rule, when the world war broke out, Arab Nationalism constituted, therefore, a weapon for use against Turkey which the Allies were not slow to utilise. By glowing promises of support in their struggle for national independence, they stirred up the Arabs to revolt against the Turkish Empire. Like many other

fine sentiments invoked in the course of the war, these promises were promptly disregarded when they had served their purpose and the enemy lay defeated. Britain, it is true, set up the Shereef of Mecca as the King of the Hejaz, but he remained simply a British agent. His son, Emir Feisul, was recognised as the ruler of Syria and was used as a thorn in the side of the French to force them to make concessions. When this result was achieved he was incontinently withdrawn and, after a farce of consulting the wishes of the inhabitants, thrust upon the unfortunate natives of Mesopotamia in the capacity of King of Iraq. Palestine, under cover of a League Mandate, became a British colony and a national home for the Jews, Arab aspirations being deliberately flouted. The hinterland of Palestine, Trans-Jordania was entrusted to another scion of King Hussein's, the Emir Abdullah.

*Troubles were fomented in Syria, and in June, 1921, a band from Trans-Jordania attempted to assassinate the French High Commissioner.* The arrest of the criminals, who took refuge in Trans-Jordania, and the removal of Abdullah, the probationary Governor, were the steps which the French naturally expected the British authorities to take. This proof, however, of loyalty to their ally was not forthcoming. But the French soon took revenge by concluding on October 20th, 1921, the Franklin Bouillon Agreement with the Kemalists Turks. As we have already noted, the Allies were completely at loggerheads regarding the Greek encroachments upon Turkey, and when Britain's aim of creating a great naval stranglehold on the Dardanelles became clear, a complete break took place between them.

The French, moreover, are exceedingly jealous of the British occupation of Palestine. France for centuries has been the traditional protector of the Catholics of the Levant; French ecclesiastical institutions are numerous in Palestine; and though, as Radek wittily observes in this connection, the French Radicals believe in the Devil much more than in the Catholic God, they are not at all averse to using the religious tradition as a cloak for their schemes of colonial expansion. There was even a rumour, which got credence from some British officials, that French agents had instigated the riots in Jaffa in May, 1921. We must now dwell for a moment on the Druse revolt in Syria.

### **6. The Druse Revolt.**

The peoples of Syria are no more content with French than the Egyptians are with British rule. The Syrians aspire to the national independence, which they were told would result from the war. When, therefore, after having been the sport of Anglo-French jealousies, they were consigned to the tender mercies of French bureaucracy and militarism, they could hardly be expected immediately to become loyal French citizens. The country has scarcely been free from disturbance since 1921. The town population led by the intelligentsia has worked in every way it could to

get rid of the French yoke. But it is in the country that the French have encountered really serious opposition to their pretensions. There closely-knit semi-feudal and clan communities, driven to distraction by stupid official interference, have from time to time broken out in open revolt. One of the causes responsible for the recent insurrection of the Druse nation, with the support of other democratic elements, was the tying of the piastre to the value of the French franc. This aroused discontent among sections that would otherwise have been immune. The Druse nation numbers only 60,000 people, but they are a fighting race, and the broken, roadless nature of their country has enabled them to inflict several serious defeats on bodies of French troops sent against them. The French bombardment of Damascus, in the course of this struggle, was of a barbarous character; but the severe censures which appeared in the press of this country would have led one to believe that nothing similar had ever happened in Britain's dealings with subject races.

A comment by the "New Statesman" of February 6th, 1926, shows that the confidence of the Allies in one another's good faith is no stronger than before :

"In the French newspapers it is sometimes assumed that the British, if they do not openly rejoice in French difficulties, if they do not deliberately encourage revolt, are nevertheless more or less on the side of such movements as that which has broken out in Syria. Atrash [the Druse Chieftain] shares this view. It is possible that local officials in the Near East have lent some colour to the belief; Near East contacts necessarily produce friction."

### **7. The Consolidation of Turkey.**

Since the successful defence of the country against Greek aggression, the Turkish State has managed to progress steadily in the direction of consolidation. The Government of the National Assembly, though its republican forms may be largely nominal, is taking energetic steps for the modernisation of the country. The State has been secularised; the Caliphate being abolished. The wearing of the fez has been prohibited by law. Women are coming out of the harem, and striving for emancipation. Latin characters are being introduced for the printing of the Turkish alphabet. But Turkey has lost much through the war. The expulsion of the Greek population from Asia Minor meant the loss to the country of many busy traders, clever artisans, and hard-working peasants. There will remain for many a day a gap to be filled in Turkish industry, which will probably not disappear until large-scale capitalist production is extensively established. Turkey needs in the first place railways and roads, these being necessary precursors of all other developments in agriculture, commerce, or manufacture. Perhaps now that the Mosul Treaty is signed she will be able to

get the credits required for these enterprises. The new Turkey, as has been hinted, is governed by a dictatorship of officers and officials; but the public opinion of the peasants counts for more than ever it has done. A new word—"Moscow," has been added to their vocabulary; they know that the peasants and workers are now supreme in Russia; and that that country so long Turkey's implacable foe has become her closest friend. Soviet influence gradually filtering into Turkey is bound to hasten the democratising of the country.

The real security for the continuance of Turkey's independence consists in the internal dissensions in the camp of her enemies. Mussolini's recent speeches, the fortification of a great naval base in the island of Rhodes, the rumour of an Italo-Greek Treaty, all these are of menacing import to Turkey. But, on the other hand, the more hostile Italy shows herself towards Turkey, the more support will be extended to the latter country by France. France and Italy are enemies of old standing in the Mediterranean, competing in the Levant and North Africa. Britain might possibly desire to see Italian influence increased in the Near East, as a counter-weight to France; but it is also possible that Britain is merely utilising the ambitions of the weaker country to further her own purposes, without having any serious intention of ever allowing them to be fulfilled.

#### **8. The Aspirations of Arab Nationalism.**

The Arab nations of the Near East are struggling for the right of self-determination. These peoples of Asia treated only the other day like dirt by Europeans are now in process of developing into one of the first-class political factors of the modern world. With the world war and the collapse, amid dust and confusion, of the mediæval fabric of the Ottoman Empire, the Arab Nationalists might be pardoned for thinking that they were now on the eve of attaining their aims. They were doomed to disappointment—as we have seen. Undoubtedly the great post-war Swarajist movement in India and the political disturbances in Egypt have served to strengthen the convictions of the Arab Nationalists and to nerve them to a persistent and tenacious resistance to the domination of the imperialist Powers. But their greatest source of inspiration is Soviet Russia; and, indeed, the moral backing of the Proletarian Republic is probably an indispensable factor in any victory of the Arab cause.

Anglo-French antagonisms in the Near East will continue, for the simple reason that it is in the very nature of capitalist jealousies to be incapable of being settled by any other means but war. The troubles in the Near East will not permanently die down, nor the ferment in that part of the world come to rest, until the imperialist yoke has been broken, and the Moslem and Christian nations of the Near East have formed themselves into a federal union, in which every national minority enjoys complete cultural autonomy.

# Building the Party

3.

## SOME LOCAL DIFFICULTIES.

By H. BEAKEN.

Industrial Organiser, Bethnal Green Group, C.P.G.B.

**C**OMRADE E. H. BROWN'S article has laid bare many, if not all, of the shortcomings of many Party members who occupy more or less prominent positions in the working class movement. Many of them are constantly giving lip service to the principle "the Party first," but when it comes to putting this into actual operation, then appears a discrepancy in the spoken word and the deed.

### Keep an Evening for the Party.

There may be reasons for this, one of which is that many of our members are so taken up in various phases of working class activity, that it is almost a physical impossibility for them to attend the meetings of the Group, or the L.P.C. This may seem strange, but it is what has been actually happening in this district for a long time past.

What these members have yet to learn, is the absolute necessity of attending our own Party meetings, even if it does mean the abandonment of a particular position at the moment. After all a few jobs well and properly done, are surely better by far than a countless number of activities receiving scant and insufficient attention. For this is what it amounts to if each member is acting in this manner, and owing to non-attendance at Party meetings the local is unaware of what he, or she, is doing.

One striking instance of this kind of thing was on a particular evening when there was a meeting of the I.M.S. of the local Labour Party—not terribly important, by the way—and a Group meeting of our own. There were fifteen of our members attending the former meeting, and somewhere about seven or eight present at our own.

### Duties of Older Members.

These older members have yet to learn the cultivation of the habit of regular attendance at Group meetings for two reasons. First, being older members they can in many instances supply the guiding hand, the advice and wisdom, which is only acquired by experience. Secondly, they should consider the good effects of a well-attended meeting upon the newer membership. Nothing can be more discouraging to one just entering the Party, than to see a mere handful of persons attending the meeting. Then there is the question of starting to time, which may seem insignificant, but is also important.

One can quite imagine the probable effect upon a new member, who is present at the supposed time of commencement, and after waiting for an hour or so the meeting finally opens. If any business is done at all it is rushed, and insufficient attention is given to it owing to lack of time. The old idea that if you

want to start your meeting at 8,30, you must announce it as commencing at 7.30 has to go, and comrades who profess a desire for the advancement of the Party must be punctual in their attendance.

The tendency of some comrades to "show off," and displays of "intellectual snobbishness," are also inflictions, that we, too, have suffered from, and there is little doubt that this has resulted in the loss of what might have developed into good Party members. Even if the new candidate is not a member of a trade union when joining the Party, nobody has a right to assume that he is a "wash-out," and does not possess all the potentialities of a good member.

Here is an instance of what actually happened at one of our Group meetings. A new comrade applied for membership, and on being questioned, admitted he was not in a trade union, being under the impression that the job he was employed on was not catered for. Immediately, one of the older members, whose fund of eloquence far exceeded his good sense, began to hurl an avalanche of sarcasm, and what almost amounted to invective upon this innocent victim, who, perhaps, had acquired just a glimpse of revolutionary aspiration. The stream of invective was finally put a stop to by the other members, but the new candidate went west as far as we were concerned. We are now sadder and wiser men from this experience; all candidates are now referred to the L.P.C. for consideration, but our experience may serve as a lesson to other Locals.

### **Training Difficulties.**

With regard to training, or shall I say, lack of training, this also has played a large part in the fluctuating progress we have made both before and since the General Strike. Like many other Locals, we had an influx of members, and made the necessary arrangements for their training. Unfortunately for us, the trainer is extremely active in the National Minority Movement, and failed to appear at classes on account of this. The result has been, that the bulk of our new membership has left us owing to their disappointment at continually attending classes that did not materialise; at any rate they no longer come to our meetings.

The obvious lesson to be drawn, is a more careful selection of the trainer, coupled with his regular and unflinching attendance at classes. It would be better, perhaps, if he never undertook the training, if he cannot be sure of regularly attending.

Another defect that must be attended to, is the one referred to by comrade Brown, the more frequent assembling of members at social and cultural functions. In Bethnal Green, we have all the possibilities of a strong, virile, Party membership, and with a sufficient concentration by our members upon the removal of the defects referred to, there is no reason why we should not occupy a leading position in the working class movement of London.