

THE
LABOUR
MONTHLY

A MAGAZINE OF INTERNATIONAL LABOUR

Volume I
JULY
TO
DECEMBER
1921

THE LABOUR PUBLISHING COMPANY, LTD.

6 Tavistock Square, London, W.C.1



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A MAGAZINE OF INTERNATIONAL LABOUR

Volume 1

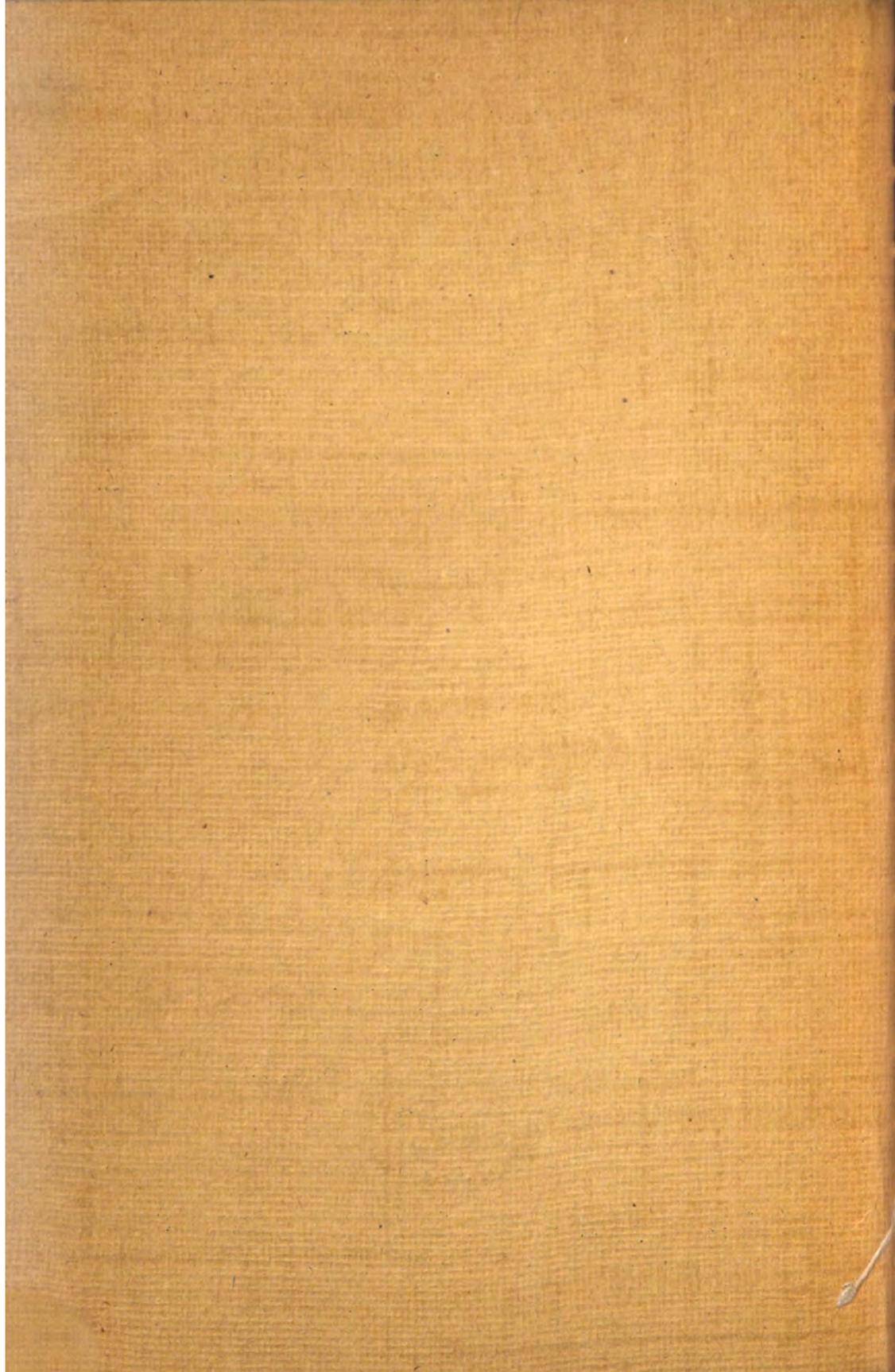
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Number 1

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THE
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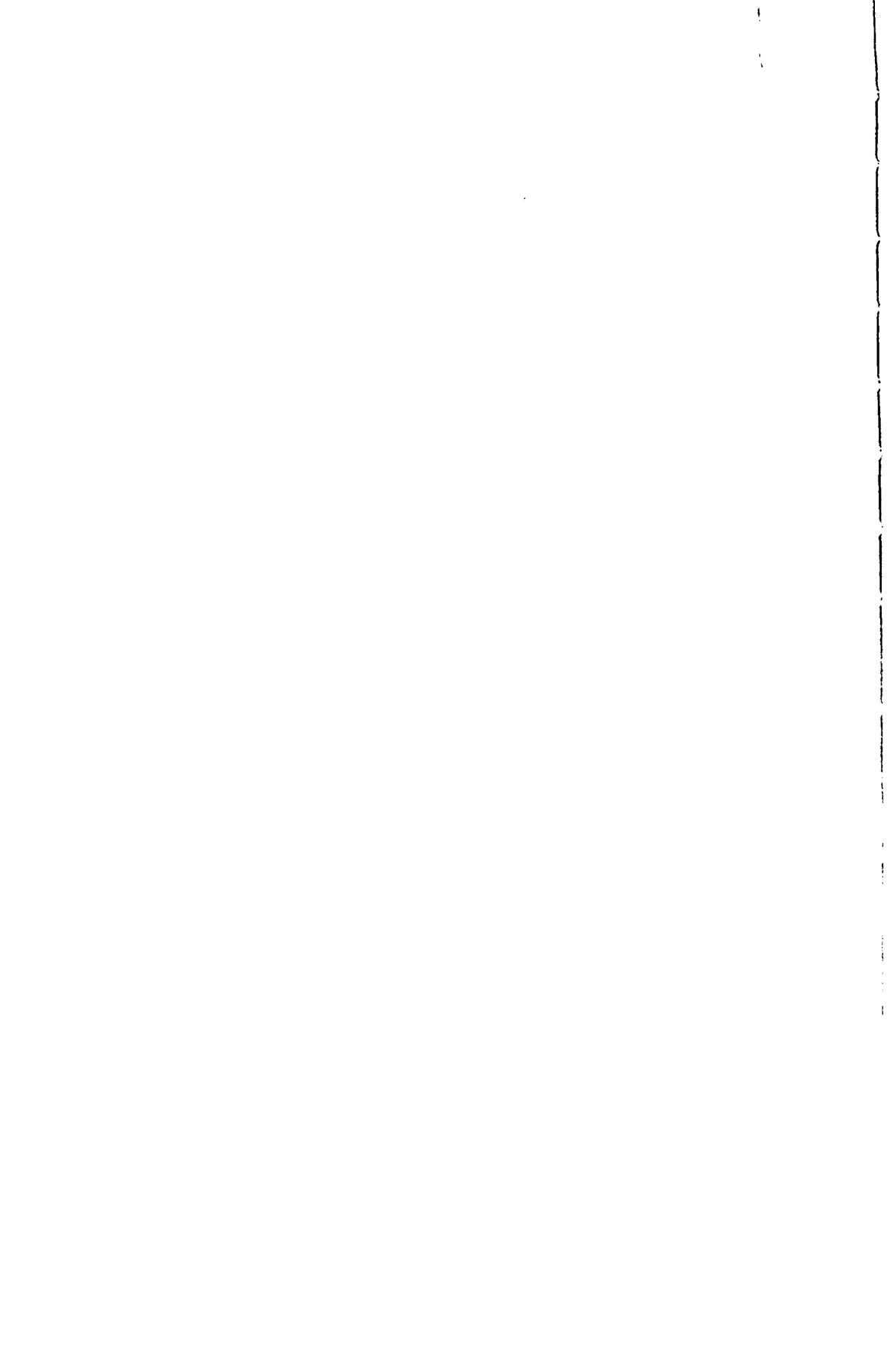
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NOTES of the MONTH

*The World-Attack on Labour—The Struggle in Britain—
The Crisis in French Trade Unionism—Right and
Left in Germany and Italy—The General
Strike in Norway—Changes
in Russian Policy—The
“Open Shop” in
America*

THE appearance of the **LABOUR MONTHLY** calls neither for apology nor for justification. It has been brought into being to meet an evident need, for there has, until now, been no magazine in this country devoted primarily to reporting and explaining to British workers the developments of the Labour movement in other countries: and of the need for such reporting and such explanation the world situation of Labour is the clearest proof. In the first place, the present attack of capital on Labour is international in its character. From every country comes the same story of economic depression, all-round cuts in wages and ineffectual resistance. This is not necessarily to say that the present campaign is internationally planned, although the Secret Report that we publish elsewhere reveals a conscious co-operation of the various capitalist Governments to-day in evoking measures to crush the resistance of Labour. But it does mean that a single set of conditions is operative throughout the world to an extent that had never been reached before even in the complex interdependence of the pre-war world. Victorious America and England are equally affected with defeated Germany; revolutionary Russia is faced with the necessity of temporary concessions. The situation of Labour in any country has become a part of a general international situation and is only comprehensible in relation to it. That is the first lesson of the present crisis. The second lesson is of still more immediate importance. The present time of trial is putting the organisation of Labour in every country to the severest test it has experienced since the beginning of the war. In every country it is being found that the organisation

of Labour is inadequate to the tasks that now confront it. Lack of co-ordination, cumbrous machinery, sectional division, and absence of foresight and strategic policy are again and again leading to disastrous results. The re-organisation of the whole Labour movement on a scale adequate to the problems before it has now become the first practical question in every country.



IN Great Britain the world situation is reflected in the series of tremendous conflicts between Labour and capital, which opened with the lock-out of the miners in April, and has since involved practically every other important industry. When the first attack from the employers was made, with the assistance of the Government, Labour turned naturally to its old weapon of the refusal to work. In the isolated industrial conflicts of the past, the strike weapon was effective, and was indeed the only weapon that could be used in isolated disputes. The struggle of the working class, conceived as a struggle to improve the lot of sections of the workers, was inevitably bound up with craft-unionism and the sectional strike. The struggle of the working class, conceived as the struggle to alter the wage system, spreads beyond the old forms, not only of craft-unionism, but even of industrial unionism, and requires a new conception of working-class organisation. The position of Capitalism, bloated and triumphant at the end of five years of war, made it inevitable that Capitalism should challenge the whole basis of the industrial organisation of the workers which had developed so rapidly during the war. When the challenge came it became apparent that Labour had not realised the importance of the changes which the war had created. The struggle was still thought of on the lines of sectional disputes. The failure of the Triple Alliance was only the outcome of the policy of separatism in which British Trade Unionism was steeped. It revealed what had long been becoming clear, that the cry of industrial unionism alone is not enough. A real working-class unity of action is needed to meet the challenge of united capital operating in conjunction with the Government. If this lesson is driven home by the present crisis, the struggle will not have been in vain, whatever may be its immediate outcome. But the lack of prepara-

tion, the lack of a clear realisation of the nature of capital's world-attack on working-class organisation, has resulted in a series of disheartening and exhausting struggles. It will take many years of organisation to recover the ground that has been lost in the first half of this year.

THE attack on the workers' organisations in France came earlier than in Britain, and was more definitely under the control of the Government. The Government's attack on the General Confederation of Labour (the C.G.T.), which followed the events of May, 1920, has not, in fact, led to any material change in the position of that organisation. But the attack came at a critical point in the development of French Trade Unionism, and served as the occasion for the internal crumbling of an organisation which was already rent by opposing tendencies. These tendencies are the familiar opposing views of Right and Left. In France this division in the Trade Unions has a special significance, because of the traditional basis of French Trade Unionism. The opposition to political action, always a feature of Trade Unionism in its early days, was crystallised in France in the constitution of the C.G.T., and in the decisions of the famous Congress of the C.G.T. at Amiens in 1906. Both Right and Left base their contentions on the "Amiens Charter," as the resolution passed at that Congress has come to be called. But although at every step the conflict between Right and Left refers back to the traditional basis of French Trade Unionism, the issues that at present divide the C.G.T. are the issues that have developed in every country since the war and the Russian Revolution. The C.G.T. itself is so paralysed by internal disorganisation, and in consequence unable to face the industrial situation at the present time, that the decision to hold the next Congress in July instead of September must be welcomed. This Congress will be called upon to decide definitely the future direction of French Trade Unionism. Whatever happens, it seems likely that there will be a split. If the Right Wing wins, it has declared its intention of expelling the Communists. If the Left Wing wins, the Right Wing will secede. In either case there seems little hope for unity in the C.G.T.

NOWHERE else has the issue reached so sharp and clear-cut a division as in France, but the same type of situation will be found reproduced elsewhere under varying conditions. In Germany the struggle is proceeding in a more dispersed fashion within the various Unions: and a detailed survey of the position will be given in our next number. In Italy the political aspect of the issue between the two wings of Labour is at present dominant, but the real struggle is over the body of the General Confederation of Labour. And in Norway, where the Trade Union Federation is already decidedly to the Left, the calling off of the general strike in support of the seamen has led to an attack upon the older leaders represented by Ole Lian. It is a matter of regret that these divisions should occur at a time when there is so much need of united action; but it is probable that these regrets are vain. The internal divisions are only the inevitable reflection of the present general depression; and they may even be of service if they lead, not to prolonged bickering, but to healthy self-criticism and stronger reorganisation.

ALITTLE fuller attention may be given to the general strike in Norway, because it illustrates in a specially valuable way the practical problems which to-day face all wings of the movement. The complete story of the Norwegian general strike has not yet been told in this country, but the main outlines are clear. The wage-reduction campaign in Norway began with the main industry, the seamen, just as, in this country it began with the miners. A reduction of 30 per cent. in wages was demanded, and although the Swedish and Danish seamen had yielded without resistance, the Norwegian seamen stood out. The dispute began in April and covered all seamen by the second week in May. The same problem now faced the Norwegian Trade Unions as had come up in other countries, the problem whether they would be defeated in detail or make a united stand. The Norwegian Trade Union Federation Executive hesitated at first, but on May 9 they called for a general strike on May 26, failing satisfaction of the seamen's demands. On May 26, the seamen's demands not having been satisfied, the general strike took place, involving 150,000 workers (the

total population of Norway is 2½ millions) and covering all trades except workers in public services. So far, so good. The Norwegian movement had shown itself in advance of other movements. But once the general strike had begun, weakness in its conduct appeared. On June 2 the Federation put forward a programme of demands which seem thoroughly unsatisfactory in relation to the strike. The demands covered (i.) the appointment of a special Conciliator in the shipping strike; (ii.) the control of industry, on which a memorandum was presented couched in vague and general terms (reprinted on page 88); and (iii.) a State grant of 50 million kroner for the relief of unemployment. The Government took the opportunity, and conceded the first and third demands; and on June 8 the general strike was called off. The seamen's strike continued. It is not surprising to learn that the result of the general strike has led to heated controversy within the Norwegian movement.

IN its own special form Russia is undergoing no less of a process of self-examination and new direction. Whether the Russian Revolution has "failed," as we are told, is quite another matter. These reports might be more convincing if they did not come with such unanimity from just those journals which have always been wrong about Russia, from Tsarism to Kerensky and from Kerensky to Lenin. It is clear that the "failure" of Communism in Russia exists only in the eyes of those who imagined that Communism had been set up in Russia—a view never held by the Russian Communists themselves, as a cursory inspection of their writings would reveal. In the view of the Russian Communists it would be said that the Soviet Revolution has always represented the setting up of a working-class state or "proletarian dictatorship," and not of a Communist society. The full realisation of a Communist society in Russia depends, not only on further internal economic development, but on the co-operation of the international working-class in other countries. Until then, the maintenance of power must necessarily be at the cost of concessions until the time is ripe for a further advance. But if these concessions leave the maintenance of power intact, then their object is gained. This would appear to be the line of argument behind Lenin's new pamphlet on the Agricultural Tax which we

print in the present number in order that our readers may be in possession of an authoritative statement on the new economic policy.

IT is not only in Europe that Labour is being driven on to the defensive. The real centre of the capitalists' offensive is America. The concerted attack on Trade Union organisation and standards has reached a pitch in the United States of America not yet equalled here. Side by side with the successful wage-reduction campaign of the last three months (signalled in the United States Steel Corporation's cut of twenty per cent. at one stroke for all workers last May, the Standard Oil cut of ten per cent. following on a previous ten per cent. earlier in the year, the Railway Labour Board's decision of June 1 for a twelve per cent. reduction, and a successful forcing of a fifteen per cent. reduction on the seamen), the employers have been delivering a direct attack on Trade Union organisation itself. The great steel companies, not satisfied with smashing Trade Unionism within their own industry, have been, according to their own statements, developing this into a national policy by refusing to supply steel to contractors who work on the Union shop basis. In West Virginia the miners, originally locked out in May, 1920, for attempting to organise, have, after a protracted struggle under terrible conditions, been placed under martial law by President Harding. On every side the law is being invoked in favour of the capitalist offensive. Injunctions have been served on Unions for the most ordinary Trade Union activities. Union officials have been sentenced to imprisonment in Indianapolis for causing by a strike the prevention of an employer from fulfilling a contract. Tramwaymen's Union officials have been sentenced to imprisonment in Denver, Colorado, for refusing to obey a Court order to call off a strike. The United States Supreme Court has declared the refusal to handle non-Union goods illegal. In every district and industry the campaign for the "open shop" (which is only a euphemism for the non-Union shop) is being pushed with all the tremendous political and economic power of American capitalist organisation. It is not too much to say that on the issue of this struggle of the "open shop" in America depends the future of Labour in the Western World.

"BLACK FRIDAY" AND AFTER

By G. D. H. COLE

BLACK FRIDAY" will be long remembered in the British Labour movement, not merely as the day on which the big guns of the Triple Alliance failed to go off, but as the day on which with startling clearness the weakness and pitiful inadequacy of the British Labour movement stood suddenly revealed. The Triple Alliance had often failed before—above all, in the railway strike of 1919, throughout the events which followed the Coal Commission, and in the mining dispute of 1920. But, while these failures were discouraging enough, and led men to reflect on the futility of a weapon which those in charge of it lack the courage to use, they caused no such sudden awakening to a sense of the truth as "Black Friday." If the leaders of the railwaymen and transport workers had, from the first, refused to make common cause with the miners, that would have been bad enough; but it would have proved no more, and probably produced no greater psychological effect, than the failure of the previous year. The really crucial fact about "Black Friday" was not that the railwaymen's and transport workers' leaders refused to declare a strike, but that, having repeatedly and most explicitly promised to do so, they climbed down at the last moment and handed the miners over to what seemed certain defeat by the Government and the coalowners.

The reason for this horrible collapse is not difficult to discover. A great deal—probably for the most part justified—has been said about the attitude of certain leaders whose part in causing the collapse is not denied. But these leaders would have been impotent if the main body of the three Executives

concerned had not been in a condition to listen to their advice. These followers—themselves leaders in a secondary sense—share the responsibility of the leaders who advised them to call off the strike. We cannot fall back on the convenient theory that a few leaders alone were wicked, while the hearts and wits of all the others were in the right place. There was present, among the Executive members who made their momentous decision at Unity House, an un-accredited delegate, who cast his vote against the vote of loyalty and good sense. And that delegate's name was Panic.

From the first there were influences working against the strike. There were leaders who were not prepared to take any risks in the cause of Labour, and had even, perhaps, made up their mind that the defeat of the miners was economically unavoidable. And there was a section of the "rank and file," apathetic, without that profound loyalty born of the long experience of union which the miners, more than any other section of Trade Unionists, possess, fearful of the consequences of striking even before the military preparations of the Government became apparent, and still more fearful when the extent of these preparations became known. But it is most improbable that these elements could have carried the day had the question of action come earlier to a positive issue. Each respite, each postponement of the strike ultimatum, helped to strengthen these elements, and made less certain the success of the strike had it been declared.

Nevertheless, although the delays had worsened the position and caused some wavering among the "rank and file" of the Unions, it was not this wavering that caused the strike to be cancelled. After a good deal of inquiry among the men actually affected, I feel fairly sure that, even on that fatal Friday, quite enough men would have come out to paralyse nearly the whole of the vital railway and transport services. The trouble was that the influences which reacted upon the "rank and file" to some extent, reacted far more seriously

upon the chosen leaders who made up the Executives of the three Trade Unions concerned. Every rumour of possible defections here or there was by them magnified a hundred-fold. Panic-stricken themselves at the Government's preparations, and at the impossibility of prophesying at what point a strike such as they had contemplated could be made to stop short, they transferred in imagination to their followers all the fears which they themselves experienced. When their most popular orators addressed them as to the "full sense of responsibility" which they ought to feel, they became convinced that such a burden would be unbearable by their followers. The leaders who deliberately set out, from whatever motive, to get the strike notices cancelled, told their Executives ghost stories, and the Executive members most obligingly "got the creeps."

The result was a panic stampede. If we were to judge the British Labour movement by the last few hours of the Triple Alliance proceedings that Friday, it would not be worth while to go on with the Labour movement at all. The citadel of Capitalism will not fall at a blast of trumpets or the sound of a big voice; it will fall only to sustained and courageous assaults, in which many casualties are bound to occur. As long as Labour is led by men who are determined not to be in the casualty lists, Capitalism is safe from its assaults.

But how far can we judge the Labour movement by the body of men who failed so egregiously at Unity House that day? So far as one knows them from other actions, they were a fair, average sample of the stuff of which the movement is made. The Transport Workers, indeed, who showed up worst, were mainly permanent Trade Union officials; but the Executives of both the National Union of Railwaymen and the Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers consisted of men who actually worked at their trades, and had, for the most part, won their way to the front by work done for the Labour movement in their own particular districts. Tested either by intelligence or by actual work done, they

would obviously be above the average of the rank and file. And yet they, as well as the ageing full-time officials of the Transport Workers, failed so signally as to draw upon Labour the triumphant contempt of the capitalist Press.

Everyone knows that the psychology of a conference is a very different thing from that of a mass meeting. The mass meeting is short and sharp, and easily excited by any appropriate stimulus. The conference may at times acquire for an hour or so the temper of a mass meeting; but, if it is prolonged from day to day, it speedily becomes listless, unexcitable, prone to take the course that demands least effort. Even if it has made up its mind, a few persistent men, given time, can wear it down and persuade it to abandon its high resolves, unless a powerful stimulus can be applied again and again. This is what happened to the Triple Alliance. Its resolve, reluctantly made even at the first, was gradually worn down. Postponement after postponement of the hour of action undermined the faith that would have prevailed against difficulties and doubts. The most powerful advocates had made up their minds to prevent the strike; and they knew how to practise upon the tiring conference the arts of enervation. At the earlier sittings, any proposal not to strike would have been certainly defeated by the combined power of shame and solidarity. The advocates of defeat, therefore, waited for their time. They secured postponement, hoping most that they would be able to bluff the Government with a mere threat of action, but hoping too that, if bluff failed, it would be possible at a later stage to cancel the strike order.

Two things could have helped the combined Executives to stand up against the influences which were working to bring the strike threat to nothing; but both these influences were absent, or not present in a sufficient degree. First, close contact between the Executive members and their own rank and file would have been of help; but the leaders were in London, isolated day after day from their members, and getting their reports on the state of feeling throughout the

country largely from the lying tales printed in newspapers intent on causing the defeat of the workers. Mass meetings in the industrial districts would have helped to undo the work of defeatism accomplished at Unity House.

But even more important in its effect would have been the possession, even by a few of these chosen leaders of the workers, of any clear conception of aim or method. The fundamental trouble at Unity House was that even those who knew that they were acting wrongly in cancelling the strike order had very little idea what it was that they were seeking, or how it was to be accomplished. They were, doubtless, most of them, in a sense, Socialists, and had given their votes for Socialist resolutions again and again; but they had never squared up to the problems of method which the Socialist aim really involves, or understood the nature of the struggle to which any real conflict with Capitalism would necessarily lead. They had watched their Unions growing rapidly in membership during the war; and every addition had given them an increased sense of power and importance. But they had never understood that this increased power would be real only in proportion as it brought increased courage and devotion to the cause, and that, without these things, it might well become a positive danger and a source of defeat.

From 1914 to 1920 the Unions were top-dogs, in so far as they chose to use their power. The Union leaders swaggered and bragged a good deal; but during this period of opportunity, even when the war was over, they accomplished little. They did not perceive that, while it was easy enough to be a loyal Trade Unionist when trade was good and labour scarce, it would be hard when the period of artificial prosperity came to an end, and was replaced by a period of depression equally born of war conditions. They made plans for a gradual advance in the industrial and social status of Labour, all unconscious that a change was speedily coming in the material situation to sweep all the gains of the war period away, and to

force the workers back into a more degraded condition than ever. And they failed to understand that their chance of maintaining their position, in face of adverse circumstances, rested mainly on the *morale* of their members.

These leaders, more from lack of foresight and imagination than from any other cause, took things easy, or busied themselves with small affairs, when they should have been straining every nerve to prepare for the coming struggle. The result was that the slump towards the end of 1920 took them altogether unprepared. As they had no policy for taking advantage of favourable conditions, they had none for bearing up against unfavourable conditions. And, conscious of their own helplessness and lack of ideas for dealing with the situation, and of the panic which was laying hold of them, they attributed helplessness and panic to the rank and file in an even higher degree.

Although soldiers or officers who show cowardice in the field are shot or degraded, it is of little use in the Labour movement to waste time in recrimination. We need a new spirit in our movement, and, in order to get it, we shall have to adopt new methods. It is not that most of the men at Unity House were worse than other men, or unfit material even for leadership, but that they were forced by a situation which need not have been, but was, too big for them, because they had never faced, or even realised, the necessity of preparing for it.

Leaders in the political Labour movement have been used, recently, to account for the paucity of the results secured by Labour in Parliament by pointing to the number of nominees of the Federation of British Industries, the "Big Five" of Banking, and other great capitalist interests who sit there, and use their votes to keep the workers down. But what we have to realise is not merely that the capitalist few can outvote the propertyless many, but that these few will stick at nothing in order to preserve their powers and prerogatives. The threatened violence of the Government in face of the miners'

lock-out and the sympathetic strike-threat of the Triple Alliance is only a very faint foreshadowing of what may be expected. For the miners were waging a purely defensive struggle, in which they had already indicated their willingness to make big concessions in the hope of a settlement; and the proposed action of the railwaymen and transport workers was equally defensive. It will be a very different matter when the Trade Unions attempt to use their big potential power for purposes of definite aggression against Capitalism. Then there will be scant chance for those who are scared by the mobilisation of a few Reservists and the formation of a Defence Force.

All the indications seem to point to the conclusion that, for some years, British Labour, having lost its opportunities for successful aggression in 1919 and 1920, will be kept definitely on the defensive. It will need all its skill, during this time, to keep its organisation together, and to prevent a positive collapse. But this adversity is not altogether a bad thing; for it affords an opportunity which can be used, not, indeed, for establishing Socialism, but for conscious preparation for the next time. The collapse of “Black Friday,” and the comparative calm with which it has been received, indicate that neither in leadership nor in vigilance among the rank and file is the British Labour movement yet ready for the assumption of power, or for the critical struggle with the forces of Capitalism. The miners have, indeed, shown a magnificent example of rank and file solidarity and power of concerted resistance to greatly superior forces; but how many Unions possess the staying power of the Miners’ Federation, or have devised forms of organisation so amenable to effective control by the public opinion of their members? Neither the N.U.R. nor the Transport Workers’ Federation could emerge successfully from such an ordeal as the miners have come through, with their resources exhausted indeed, but with their Trade Unionism unimpaired.

We must look forward to a period of preparation; and the

chances of success when the next opportunity presents itself will depend on the use to which this period is put. Our business is to make a sufficiently large proportion of Trade Union members understand fully what they are up against, and what demands are bound to be made upon them in the war against Capitalism. It is essential during the formative period, to keep the Trade Union organisations intact, and for all to work within them, however dissatisfied many may be with their leadership, stamina, class-consciousness, or forms of organisation. We want, not to isolate the few who understand the magnitude of the struggle and of its demands from the many who do not yet understand, but to work upon the many in such a way that understanding will come to them.

This demands real working-class education—not merely classes and lectures, but the turning of every possible Trade Union Branch, Trades Council, Shop Stewards' Committee, or other Labour body, into a centre of Socialist planning and discussion—a place in which the strategy of the next phases of the struggle is being worked out by the rank and file themselves. Not only has "faint heart never won fair wages"; still less can faint heart face the arduous struggle which is necessary if the workers are to win control. Fear and panic arise mainly from contact with the unknown and the unforeseen. It was largely because the Triple Alliance Executive had failed to realise that Triple Alliance action would inevitably provoke a huge conflict with the Government that the Triple Alliance itself failed to act. It is necessary to bring home to the minds of the workers both the magnitude of the resistance which they will encounter, and the strength which their own movement is capable of exercising against that resistance. We must get more men to see the struggle as a conflict of courage, in which faith in the workers will be the deciding factor.

The workers will never destroy Capitalism (though Capitalism may, perhaps, destroy itself) until they realise that success depends on their ability and preparedness to take the place of Capitalism, and to substitute workers' control for

capitalist control throughout the whole sphere of industry and politics. This lesson the great majority of the present leaders have neither taught nor learned. They work without a philosophy, defending here an established right, aiming there at accomplishing a piecemeal change. But, viewed in relation to these sectional issues, the means needed to make success possible seem often too drastic. It seems absurd to paralyse industry over a mere sectional dispute.

And so it is absurd, unless the issues in the sectional dispute bear, in the minds of those who have to bear the struggle, a conscious relation to a larger purpose of fundamental social transformation. It is not worth while to use “revolutionary” means for purely reformist ends, although it is clear that, under present conditions, reforms can only be secured, if at all, by revolutionary means. The moral lies, not in a useless contraction of means to fit the smallness of the aims; for reformist means have already been found wanting. It lies in an expansion of aim which will make the means worth while. That, and the truth about the inevitable severity of the struggle, is the truth that must be learned during the coming period of preparation. And, if “Black Friday” helps to make the lesson easier, it will not, disastrous as it was, have been unmixed evil for British Labour.

THE MEANING OF THE AGRICULTURAL TAX

By N. LENIN

THE question of the Agricultural Tax at the present moment is attracting considerable attention and is the subject of considerable discussion. This is quite understandable, for it is indeed one of the most important questions of policy under the present conditions.

It will be all the more useful, therefore, to attempt to approach this question, not from its "everyday aspect," but from the point of view of principle; in other words, to examine the background upon which we are sketching the plan of the definite, practical measures of policy of the present day.

In order to make this attempt, I will quote from one of my pamphlets published in 1918.

The polemic is now unnecessary, and I leave it out, but I retain what relates to the discussion of "State Capitalism" and to the basic elements of the economics of the present period of transition from Capitalism to Socialism.

This is what I wrote :

The Present Economic Position of Russia

" . . . State Capitalism would be a step in advance in the present state of affairs of our Soviet Republic. If, for example, State Capitalism could establish itself here during the next six months, it would be an excellent thing and a sure guarantee that within a year Socialism will have established itself and become invincible."

I can imagine the noble indignation with which some will scorn these words. What! The transition to *Capitalism* in

a Soviet Socialist Republic a step in advance? Is this not a betrayal of Socialism? It is precisely with this point that one must deal in detail.

There is not a single person, it seems to me, who, examining the economics of Russia, would deny their transitional character. There is not a Communist, it seems to me, who would deny that the expression Socialist Soviet Republic means the determination of the Soviet Power to realise the transition to Socialism, and does not by any means signify that the present economic order is regarded as Socialistic. What is the meaning of the word—transition? Does it mean, when applied to economics, that in the present system there are elements “partly capitalist and partly Socialist”? Everybody will realise that this is so, but not everybody who realises this thinks of the numerous kinds of elements, of the various socio-economic strata, which we have in Russia. And this is the very crux of the question.

Let us enumerate these elements :

1. Patriarchal, i.e., to a large degree primitive, peasant production.
2. Small commodity production. (This includes the majority of peasants who sell corn.)
3. Private Capitalism.
4. State Capitalism.
5. Socialism.

Russia is so large and so varied that all these varying types of socio-economic strata are interlayed in it. The peculiarity of the position lies precisely in this fact.

The question is, which is the predominating element? It is clear that in a petty peasant environment nothing but petty bourgeois ideas can prevail. The majority—and the vast majority at that—of the peasants are small-commodity producers. Our outer shell of State Capitalism (corn monopoly, control of manufactures, merchants and bourgeois co-operative societies) is broken, first in one place and then in another, by *speculators*, and the chief article of speculation is *corn*.

The main struggle develops precisely in this sphere. Between whom is this struggle conducted? Is it between the fourth and the fifth elements in the order in which I have enumerated them above? Certainly not. It is not a struggle between State Capitalism and Socialism, but a struggle of the petty bourgeoisie plus private Capitalism fighting against State Capitalism and Socialism. The petty bourgeoisie resists every form of State interference and control, no matter whether it is State Capitalism or State Socialism. This is an absolutely indisputable fact, and the failure to understand it lies at the root of quite a number of economic errors.

The speculator is our chief enemy from within, and works against every form of Soviet economic policy. Even if it was excusable for the French, 125 years ago, to attempt to rid themselves of speculation by executing a small number of notorious individuals, we know only too well that the economic cause of speculation lies in small Capitalism and private industrial enterprise, and that every tiny capitalist is an agent of the latter.

We know that the million tentacles of petty bourgeoisism grasp, in many places, certain sections of the workers themselves.

Those who do not see this reveal by their blindness their servitude to the petty bourgeois prejudices.

State Capitalism is incomparably higher *economically* than our present economic system—that is one point; and secondly, there is nothing in it that is terrible for the Soviet Government, for the Soviet State is a State which guarantees power to the workers and the poor.

In order to make this question clear, I will, first of all, quote a concrete example of State Capitalism. Everybody will know this example: Germany. Here we have “the last word” in modern, large capitalist technique and systematic organisation subordinated to *junker-bourgeois imperialism*. In place of the military, junker, bourgeois imperialist State put another State, a State of another social type, a State with a different class content, a Soviet, i.e., a

proletarian State, and you will get the sum of conditions which gives Socialism.

Socialism is impossible without large capitalist technique constructed according to the last word in science, without systematic State organisation subjecting millions of people to the strict observation of a uniform standard of production and distribution of products. We Marxists have always said this, and it is hardly worth wasting even two seconds in arguing this point with people who do not understand it, like Anarchists and the greater part of the Social Revolutionaries.

Moreover, Socialism is impossible without the domination of the proletariat in the State; this is also pure A B C. 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.

A victorious proletarian revolution in Germany would immediately and with tremendous ease smash the whole shell of imperialism (unfortunately constructed of the finest steel and therefore unbreakable by any kind of "chicken"), and would for certain bring about a victory of world Socialism without, or with very little, difficulty, granting of course, that "difficult" is understood not in a narrow sense, but from a universal-historical point of view.

If the revolution in Germany is delayed our task becomes clear, to learn State Capitalism from the Germans, and to exert all our efforts to acquire it. We must not spare any dictatorial methods in hastening the Westernisation of barbarous Russia, and stick at no barbarous measures to combat barbarism.

At the present moment in Russia it is precisely petty bourgeois Capitalism that predominates, from which *a single road, through the same intervening stations called national accounting and control* of production and distribution, leads both to State Capitalism and to Socialism. Those who do not understand this commit an unpardonable error, and either do not see facts, cannot look beyond the surface, or limit themselves to the abstract contradictions between Capitalism and Socialism, and do not enter into the concrete forms and stages of the period through which we are now passing.

It is just this theoretical mistake which has led astray the best members of the *Novaja Jéisin* and *Vpered* groups, while the worst and centre have joined the rearguard of the bourgeoisie. Even the best of them did not comprehend what Socialist teachers have again and again pointed out; the "long birth-travail" of the new society, which, in its turn, would at first be only an abstraction, and would only come into the fullness of life after many and various practical attempts to set up this or that form of Socialist Government had been made.

It is precisely because it is impossible to advance from the present economic position of Russia without passing through *what is common* to both State Capitalism and Socialism—national accounting and control—that to frighten others and oneself by talking about "evolving towards State Capitalism" is absolute theoretical stupidity. It means to allow one's mind to stray from the actual path of evolution. In practice this is equal to *dragging us back* to small private Capitalism.

In order to convince the reader that my "high" valuation of State Capitalism is not made here for the first time, but was made by me previous to the Bolsheviks taking power, I will quote the following from my pamphlet *A Threatening Catastrophe and How to Combat It*, which was written in September, 1917:

"In place of a junker capitalist Government, try and put

a revolutionary democratic Government, i.e., a Government that will in a revolutionary manner destroy all privileges and not fear to employ revolutionary methods in order to realise the most complete democracy. You will then see that State Monoplist Capitalism under a really revolutionary Government will inevitably mean a step towards Socialism.

“ . . . For Socialism is nothing else than an immediate step forward from State capitalist monopoly.

“ . . . State Monoplist Capitalism is the most complete material preparation for Socialism, it is the ‘porch’ to it; it is one of the steps in the ladder of history between which and the step called Socialism there is no intervening step” (pp. 27-38).

The reader will observe that this was written in the period of Kerensky, that I speak here *not* of the dictatorship of the proletariat, *not* of a Socialist State, but of “revolutionary democracy.” Surely it is clear, therefore, that *the higher* we raise ourselves on this political step, *the nearer* do we approach to a Soviet Socialist State and to the dictatorship of the proletariat, and *the less* imperative is it for us to fear “State Socialism.” Surely it is clear that in the *material*, economic, industrial sense, we have not yet reached the “porch” of Socialism, and there is no other way of entering Socialism except through this as yet unreachd “porch.”

There is a great outcry from the Left Social Revolutionaries against the so-called policy of “compromise” of the “Right-Wing Bolsheviks.” These men do not know how to interpret the history and evolution of the revolutionary movement and what it has to teach us in these matters; they do not clearly understand what it is exactly that is prejudicial in any policy of compromise.

Kerensky’s policy of compromise meant handing over the administrative power to the imperialistic bourgeoisie, and the problem of power is the root problem of all revolutions. Now that the Government is firmly in the hands of one party—the Proletarian Party—to speak of compromise, when there can be no question of sharing power or going

back upon the dictatorship of the proletariat in favour of the bourgeoisie, is the mere empty repetition of senseless parrot-cries. To designate our policy as "a compromise with the bourgeoisie" when we, as the Government of the State, are endeavouring to obtain in our employ the most highly educated elements of the capitalist regime, to help us against the threatening chaos of small ownership, shows an entire ignorance of the Socialist policy of reconstruction.

In the above-quoted arguments of 1918, there are a number of errors in connection with periods. Periods prove to be much longer than was then assumed. This is not to be wondered at, but the basic elements of our economic life have remained as they were then. The peasant "poor" (proletariat and semi-proletarians) in large numbers have become converted into middle-class peasants. Out of this the small private ownership and petty bourgeois movements have increased; meanwhile, the civil war of 1919-1920 extremely intensified the ruin of the country and retarded the re-establishment of its productive forces. To this must be added the bad harvest of 1920, the lack of fodder, and the death rate among cattle, which still further retarded the re-establishment of transport and industry in that the transport of our chief kind of fuel, wood, was carried on by the peasants' horses. As a result conditions in the spring of 1921 were such that it was absolutely essential to adopt the most determined exceptional measures for the improvement of the conditions of the peasantry and for raising its productivity.

Why improve the conditions of the peasantry and not those of the workers?

Because for the improvement of the position of the workers it is necessary to have bread and fuel. The "hold-up" which exists at the present moment in national industry in the largest measure is due to this, and there is no other means of increasing productivity, of increasing the stocks of corn and fuel, except by improving the position of the peasantry and increasing its productivity. It is necessary to

commence with the peasantry. He who does not understand this, he who is inclined to regard this as showing preference to the peasantry, and a "departure" of the same kind as a departure on our part from the dictatorship of the proletariat would be, has simply failed to study the subject, and simply gives himself up to phrase-mongering.

Thus, the first thing that is necessary is immediate and serious measures for raising the productive power of the peasantry. This is impossible, without seriously altering our food policy; and the substitution of the food requisitions by an agricultural tax, connected with at least Free local Trade after the tax has been paid, is such an alteration.

What is the essence of the substitution of the requisition by the Agricultural Tax?

The Agricultural Tax is a form of transition from the peculiar "military Communism" made necessary by extreme necessity, ruin and war, for the purpose of a proper Socialistic exchange of products. "Military Communism" in its turn is one of the forms of the transition from Socialism, with peculiarities created by the predominance of a small peasantry in the population, to Communism.

The peculiarity of "military Communism" lay in that we actually took from the peasantry his surplus of produce and sometimes a part of that which was absolutely necessary for himself, for the purpose of maintaining the army and the workers. Mostly we took the produce on loan for paper money. There was no other way by which we could defeat the landlord and capitalist in a ruined small-peasant country. The fact that we came out victorious (in spite of the support given to our exploiters by the most powerful States in the world) proves something more than the wonderful heroism which the workers and peasants are able to reveal for the sake of their emancipation. It proves also what lackeys of the bourgeoisie were the Mensheviks, the Social Revolutionists, the Kautsky and Co., when they *blamed us* for this "military Communism." This indeed should be placed to our credit.

It is not less necessary however to know the real extent of the service which we rendered by establishing "military Communism." "Military Communism" was made necessary by the war and the state of ruin. It did not and could not meet the problems of proletarian policy. It was a temporary measure. The correct policy of the proletariat when carrying out its dictatorship in a small-peasant country is to exchange for corn the products of industry which are necessary to the peasantry. Only such a policy can satisfy the requirements of the proletariat; only such a policy can strengthen the foundation of Communism and lead to its complete victory.

The Agricultural Tax is a transition to this policy. We are still in that state of ruin, still crushed by the burden of war (which raged yesterday and which, owing to the greed and anger of the capitalist, may break out again to-morrow), and we cannot give to the peasant sufficient products of industry in exchange for *all* the corn we need. Knowing this, we introduce the Agricultural Tax, that is, we take the minimum quantity of corn necessary for the arming of the workers, in the form of a tax, and the remainder we will exchange for the products of industry.

In this connection we must also bear in mind that our poverty and ruin is such that we cannot *immediately* establish large State Socialist Factory Production. For this purpose it is necessary to have large stocks of corn and fuel in the great industrial centres, and to replace the worn-out machinery by new machinery. Experience has convinced us that this cannot be done all at once, and we know that after the destruction caused by the imperialist war, even the richest and most advanced countries can solve this problem only during the course of a rather long period of time. This means that it is necessary to a certain extent to assist the re-establishment of *small industry*, which does not require machinery, which does not require large Government stocks of raw material, fuel and food, and which can immediately give certain assistance to agriculture and raise its productivity.

What is the result of all this? Fundamentally, we get a certain amount (if only local) of Free Trade, a revival of the petty bourgeoisie and Capitalism. This is undoubted, and to close one's eyes to it would be ridiculous.

We are asked—Is this necessary? Can this be justified? Is it not dangerous?

These questions are asked by many, and in most cases they only reveal the naïveté (expressing oneself politely) of those who ask them.

Refer to the manner in which in May, 1918, I defined the economic elements (component parts) of the various socio-economic strata. It is impossible to dispute the existence of these five rungs or component parts of these five strata, from the patriarchal and the semi-primitive. It is most evident that in a small-peasant country the small-peasant strata, that is, the partly patriarchal and partly petty bourgeois, will predominate. The development of small industry when we have exchange, means the development of petty-bourgeois capitalist industry. This is an indisputable truth, an elementary truth of political economy, confirmed by the everyday experience and observation of even the ordinary man in the street.

What policy can the Socialist proletariat conduct in the face of such economic circumstances? The most desirable and most "correct" policy would be to give the small peasant *all* the products of industry, of the large Socialist factories, that the peasant requires, in exchange for his corn and raw materials. This is what we have commenced to do, but we are far from being able to give all the necessary products, and we shall not be able to do this for a long time, at least until we have finished the work of electrifying the country.

What, then, is left for us to do? We can either completely prohibit and prevent the development of private non-State exchange, i.e., commerce, i.e., Capitalism, which is inevitable with the existence of millions of small producers. Such a policy would be stupid and suicidal for the party

which attempted to carry it out. It would be stupid because it is economically impossible. It would be suicidal because the party that attempted to carry it out would inevitably collapse. It is useless trying to conceal the sin which some Communists "in thought, in word, and in deed" have fallen into on this policy. We will attempt to rectify this error. It is essential that we rectify this error or else it will go hard with us.

Or (and this is the only *possible* and sensible policy) we can refrain from prohibiting and preventing the development of Capitalism and strive to direct it in the path of *State Capitalism*. This is economically possible, for State Capitalism exists in one or another form and to one or another extent everywhere where there are elements of Free Trade and Capitalism in general.

Is it possible to combine and to have side by side a Soviet State, the dictatorship of the proletariat and State Capitalism?

The whole question, theoretically and practically, lies in finding the correct means of properly guiding the inevitable (to a certain extent and for a certain time) development of Capitalism along the path of State Capitalism, and what conditions to establish and how to secure in the near future the conversion of State Capitalism into Socialism.

In order to approach a solution of this question, it is necessary to have as clear an idea as possible as to what State Capitalism will represent in practice within our Soviet system, within the framework of our Soviet State.

One of the simplest cases or examples of how the Soviet Government guides the development of Capitalism along the path of State Capitalism, of how it "plants" State Capitalism, is concessions. Everybody now agrees that concessions are necessary, but not everybody fully appreciates the significance of concessions. What are concessions in a Soviet system from the point of view of socio-economic strata and their inter-relations? They are a treaty, a block and alliance of the Soviet, i.e., the proletarian, State with

State Capitalism, against small private ownership (patriarchal and petty bourgeois). A concessionaire is a capitalist. He conducts capitalist business for the sake of profits. He agrees to make a treaty with a proletarian Government in order to receive extra profits, or for the sake of securing such raw materials as he otherwise would not be able, or would find it very difficult, to secure. The Soviet Government secures the advantage in the form of the development of productive forces, and an increase in the quantity of products available immediately or within a short period. We have, say, hundreds of enterprises, mines, forests, etc.; we cannot develop them all, we have not enough machinery, food, or transport. For the same reasons we will develop badly the remaining sections. As a consequence of the bad or insufficient development of large undertakings we get the strengthening of this small private ownership movement with all its consequences: the deterioration of suburban (and later of all) agriculture, frittering away of its productive forces, decline of confidence in the Soviet Government, speculation, and mass and petty (the most dangerous) speculation. In "planting" State Capitalism in the form of concessions, the Soviet Government strengthens large production against small production, the advanced against the backward, machine production against hand production, it increases the quantity of products of large industry in its hands and strengthens the State regulation of economic relations as a counter-balance to the petty bourgeois anarchic relations. The moderate and cautious introduction of a policy of concessions (to a certain and not very great extent) will rapidly improve the state of industry and the position of the workers and peasants—of course, at the price of a certain sacrifice, the surrender to the capitalists of tens of millions of poods of most valuable products. The definition of the extent and the conditions under which concessions are advantageous to us and not dangerous for us, depends upon the relation of forces, is determined by struggle, for concessions are also a form of struggle, a continuation of a class struggle of another form,

and under no circumstances a substitution of the class war by class peace. Practice will show what the methods of this struggle are to be. State Capitalism in the form of concessions in comparison with other forms of State Capitalism within a Soviet system, is the most simple, the clearest, and the most clear-cut. We have here a direct formal written treaty with the most cultured, most advanced West European countries. We know exactly our losses and our gains, our rights and obligations. We know exactly the date on which we give the concessions and know the conditions of buying out on the expiration of a concession, if there is such a buying-out clause in the treaty. We pay a certain "tribute" to world Capitalism, we as it were "buy out" certain relations and receive immediately a definite measure of consolidation of the position of the Soviet Government, and an improvement in the conditions of our industry. The difficulty in connection with concessions is to think out and weigh up things in concluding a concessions treaty, and later to watch the carrying out of the treaty. No doubt there are many difficulties, and in all probability mistakes will at first be made, but such difficulties are the smallest things in comparison with the other tasks of the social revolution, and particularly in comparison with other forms of development, the introduction, the planting of State Capitalism.

The most important task of all party and Soviet workers in connection with the introduction of the agricultural tax is to adapt the principle that is at the basis of "concessions," to apply a policy similar to the concession or State capitalist policy, to the remaining form of Capitalism—local Free Trade.

Take the co-operative societies. It was not for nothing that the decree on the Agricultural Tax immediately led to a revision of the laws on co-operatives and a certain extension of their "freedom" and their rights. Co-operation is also a form of State Capitalism, but less simple and clear cut, more complicated and therefore creating many practical difficulties

for our Government. The co-operation of small commodity producers (it is of these and of workers' co-operatives, as the predominant and typical form in a small peasant country, that we speak) will inevitably generate petty bourgeois capitalist relations, facilitate their development, and will bring the greatest advantage to the capitalist. Things cannot be otherwise in the face of the predominance of small producers, and the possibility as well as the necessity for exchange. The freedom and right of co-operation under the present conditions in Russia, means the freedom and rights of Capitalism. To close one's eyes to this obvious truth will be stupid or criminal.

But "co-operative" Capitalism in distinction from private Capitalism under a Soviet Government is another aspect of State Capitalism, and in that capacity it is, of course, to a certain extent, useful and advantageous to us. In so far as the Agricultural Tax signifies the freedom to sell the remainder of produce (not taken as tax), it is necessary to exert all our efforts to direct this development of Capitalism—for freedom of trade is the development of Capitalism—along the path of co-operative Capitalism. Co-operative Capitalism is like State Capitalism in that it simplifies control, observation, and the maintenance of treaty relations between the State (the Soviet in this instance) and the capitalists. Co-operation as a form of trade is more advantageous and useful than private trade, not only for the reasons already indicated, but also because it facilitates the organisation of millions of the population and later the whole of the population. This in its turn is a tremendous gain from the point of view of a further transition from State Capitalism to Socialism.

Let us compare concessions with co-operation as a form of State Capitalism. Concessions are based on large machine industry, whereas co-operation is based on small and partly even patriarchal industry. A concession is granted to a single capitalist or a single firm, a syndicate, a cartel or a trust. A co-operative society embraces many thousands, even millions, of small masters. A concession permits of and even

pre-supposes a definite treaty for a definite term, whereas a co-operative society does not permit of definite agreements or definite terms. It is easier to repeal a law on co-operative societies than to break a concession agreement; for the breaking of a concession agreement immediately means the breaking off of economic relations, of the alliance or economic "cohabitation" with Capitalism; whereas the repeal of a law on co-operation, or the repeal of any law for that matter, not only does not break off the actual "cohabitation" of the Soviet Government with the small capitalists, but cannot affect economic relations in general. It is easy to "keep an eye on" the concessionaire, but it is difficult to do so on the co-operator. The transition from concessions to Socialism is the transition from one form of large production to another. The transition from the co-operation of small masters to Socialism is a transition from small production to large production, i.e., to a more complicated form of production. The latter has this compensating feature, however, that in the event of a successful transition, it is capable of tearing out a far deeper and more vital root of the old pre-Socialist and even pre-capitalist relations, of that which puts up the most stubborn resistance to all kinds of "innovations." The policy of concessions in the event of success will give us a few exemplary—in comparison with our own—large undertakings, standing on a level with modern advanced Capitalism; in a few decades these undertakings will come entirely into our possession. The policy of co-operation in the event of success will raise small industry and facilitate, in an indefinite period, its transition to large production on the basis of voluntary combination.

Let us take a third form of State Capitalism. The State invites the capitalist as a merchant and pays him a definite commission for selling State products and for buying the products of small industry. There is a fourth form: the State leases a factory or an industry or a section of forest or land to a capitalist; in this case, the lease agreement is more like a concession agreement. The question is whether we can recognise these types of Capitalism? In order to answer the

question we must remember the component parts of all, without exception, of those various strata of society which I enumerated in my article of May 5, 1918. "We," the vanguard, the advanced detachment of the proletariat, are passing directly to Socialism, but the forward detachments are only a small section of the proletariat, which, in its turn, is only a small section of the whole mass of the population. In order that "we" may successfully solve the problem of our direct transition to Socialism, we must understand what *indirect* paths and methods we must adopt for the transition of *pre-capitalist* relations to Socialism. This is the crux of the question.

Is it possible to realise the direct transition of this state of pre-capitalist relations prevailing in Russia to Socialism? Yes, it is possible to a certain degree, but only on one condition, which we know, thanks to the completion of a tremendous scientific labour. That condition is: electrification. But we know very well that this "one" condition demands at least tens of years of work, and we can only reduce this period by a victory of the proletarian revolution in such countries as England, Germany, and America.

For the years immediately ahead of us, we shall have to think of indirect links capable of facilitating the transition of patriarchy and small industry to Socialism. "We" are still too fond of saying "Capitalism is an evil, Socialism is a blessing," but such an argument is incorrect, because it leaves out of consideration all the existing social economic strata, and takes in only two of them.

Capitalism is an evil in comparison with Socialism, but Capitalism is a blessing in comparison with mediævalism, with small industry, with fettered small producers thrown to the mercy of bureaucracy. To the extent that we are as yet unable to realise the direct transition from small production to Socialism, to that extent is Capitalism to a certain extent inevitable as an elemental product of small production and exchange, and to that extent must we make use of Capitalism (particularly in directing it along the path of State Capitalism)

as an indirect link between small production and Socialism, as a means, a path, a method of raising the productive forces of the country.

Facts have clearly demonstrated that we shall have to defer the reconstruction of large-scale industry, and that it is impossible to carry on industry in separation from agriculture. Therefore we must first tackle the easier problem of re-establishing crafts and small-scale industry, which have been destroyed by the war and blockade.

It must be the main aim of all true workers to get local industry thoroughly going in the country districts, hamlets and villages; no matter on how small a scale. The economic policy of the State must concentrate on this. Any development in local industry is a firm foundation, and a sure step, in the building up of large-scale industry.

Formerly it was an inspector's duty simply to collect the full requisition duties; while the aim of the new Decree is to collect the Agricultural Tax as quickly as possible, and then as much of the surplus commodities as possible by means of barter. The man who collects 75 per cent. of the Agricultural Tax and then 75 per cent. of surplus is doing a better work for the State than a man who collects 100 per cent. of the tax and then only 55 per cent. of surplus commodities.

We shall compare the practical results obtained in various districts, in some of which private capital will be functioning, in others, co-operative societies, and in a few, pure Communist undertakings. The profits obtained by the capitalists will be their payment for instructing us.

This will mean unrestricted trade, in fact Capitalism. The latter will prove beneficial to us, in proportion to the extent that it aids us to combat the dispersion of small-scale industry and to some measure even bureaucracy. Practical experimentation will teach us the best method to adopt. There is nothing really dangerous in this policy for a Proletarian Government, so long as the proletariat fully retains the administrative power, the means of transport and large-scale industry.

FRANCE AND THE FUTURE

By HENRI BARBUSSE

I AM delighted to take the opportunity given me by the LABOUR MONTHLY to address an English audience. I have often had occasion to meet representatives of the Socialist movement in Britain, and I have always been struck, even where there has been some difference of opinion between us, by the seriousness and sincerity which has characterised their social faith and their practice of that faith. The more I go on, and the more I mingle with that movement—so chaotic still, yet so full of power and promise—which at the present moment is stirring up the old ideas and infusing into them a new and deeper meaning, the more I am convinced that sincerity is the most important civic quality for innovators and for fighters.

Indeed, the Communist movement is nothing else but a manifestation of intellectual and moral sincerity. There are at the present moment 150,000 acknowledged conscious Communists in France. This is not much if one considers that it means only one Communist in 250 Frenchmen; but this minority has on its side a solid body of positive and scientific strength of doctrine and of faith which will insensibly win for it the minds, and thus also the wills, of men. Even supposing the Russian Revolution, that central event of the history of our day, had never come to hasten in an almost miraculous way the upward march of ideas, and to unite theories with reality on one portion of the earth's surface, it was inevitable that the Communist doctrine should take root on every side, for the germ of it is contained in all the Republican and Socialist doctrines which have preceded it. This evident fact has never been sufficiently emphasised. Communism is not an aspect of Socialism; it is its very essence, it is an expression of it more adequate

than all those that have been attempted hitherto, those great truths to which one used to accord a more or less vague adoration without complete knowledge, and which one caught glimpses of rather than saw. Nothing is more mistaken than to present Communism as a doctrine produced by circumstances in the minds of the Germans and the Russians—in the one case, by a sort of abstract mathematics; in the other, as a response to the compulsion of events which they were claiming to guide. It cannot too often be repeated that the coming of the Communist idea is a logical and necessary outcome of the evolution of the revolutionary theory of those who have thrown themselves against the established order. It is the thought-out and orderly alternative to that existing system which only imposes itself by means of violence in the material world and of lies and imposture in the moral world. It is for this reason that the split at the Congress of Tours was as logical as it was necessary. The fact was that the Party was paralysed by a large number of elements which never grasped the full gravity and the wider implications of the cause they were representing. They refused to give to words their real meaning, and scarcely differed from the adherents of those old Republican, Radical or Radical-Socialist parties which had—or, at any rate, once had—the merit of disentangling the noble ideal of opposition from a setting that was almost entirely conservative.

The subsequent attitude of the dissident Socialists in France, after the split had purged the Party of them, has only confirmed the advantage gained by the casting off of these inconsistent and superficial comrades of yesterday. They now range themselves against Communism on the most orthodox capitalist lines. They attack it with the weapons employed by those who have always been the open enemies of working-class emancipation. They are doing the work of reformists; and this means the work of conservatives and (despite all their words and professions) of reactionaries.

There is at the present moment no greater or more imminent danger for the cause of humanity than that with which the reformists beset the path of the sincere champions of change; for this danger takes on every shape and form. We shall doubtless see little by little, by a sort of deceptive evolution, the bourgeoisie developing a liberal character and setting themselves up as the disinterested friends and enlightened defenders of the masses of the people in proportion as the Governments of the old world come to realise that they will never make an end of a just idea by open violence, and that in trying, as they are doing, to destroy in this way a revolutionary movement based on reason, they are only causing a momentary and insignificant inconvenience to its propaganda and development, while at the same time they are helping enormously to spread its propaganda in the ranks of those outside the political parties. The new Governmental Socialism or neo-Capitalism which will undoubtedly come next in historical succession to the present regime, will exhaust all its moral force (the need of a moral *façade* is the one real evidence of the general progress of ideas) in upholding the following principle: that every improvement desired in the condition of the working class can be realised by the democratic machinery which rules us to-day.

The extreme and intransigent attitude of the Communist Party is pure wisdom and shows deep knowledge of practical realities. The workers and their leaders have too long been misled by the bogey of Unity. Unity is nothing but an empty word if it consists in collecting and holding together, by means of obscure and half-expressed terms, parties fundamentally opposed to each other and who, as soon as they are faced with the need for action, come out in their true colours and break away, only to end by joining the obstinate and strangely heterogeneous ranks of the enemies of true progress.

All those who are working to save humanity from exploitation and ill-treatment by the old forces of privilege are beginning to perceive this danger. Half-reforms and

specious concessions which serve so well as a basis for fine speeches and are just bold enough to offer an excuse for high-sounding words, do our cause more harm than good. The Moscow militant party were right in fighting the reformist tendency with a determination that some thought exaggerated, and in removing the evil by a surgical operation; and the organisation of the Communist Party will not reach its full logical proportions until one can remove from the popular mind the sophism according to which a new order worthy of the name, capable of restoring sovereignty to all the workers, of destroying the unhealthy religion of nationalism and of establishing the suppression of classes and the equality of all citizens in regard to work, education and the management of public affairs, could ever grow out of the system by which we are still governed.

The Confédération Générale du Travail is still obsessed with this dangerous and fatal idea. It comes chiefly from the influence on the Confédération of certain leaders of whom the best one can say is that their principles were vague and confused, and who preserved a tendency which would be fatal to the liberation of the working classes if it continued; I mean the idea that workers grouped in Trade Unions can do nothing better with their vast united strength than to seek in turn a few immediate advantages, while disregarding the great political conquests which nevertheless would obtain for them at one blow the maximum of advantage that the community can give each of its members. The workers are thus thrown off the track and kept in ignorance of their real practical interests; although they would be invincible at any moment when they so willed it, they run the risk of some day losing the few slight professional advantages they have gained hitherto. It is still frequently said in proletarian circles that the general strike is a *disinterested* manifestation of the workers' solidarity. The expression would only be true if it were understood to apply to a far-reaching struggle for distant aims; but the aims in question are more positive even than those of

immediate advantage. The general strike by which the proletariat would really impose its will is much more useful and much more effective than a professional strike for limited objects. Until the workers realise this, they will be but marking time.

However, this state of mind of the Trade Unions and Trade Unionists is being strongly attacked to-day. A magnificent campaign in the very heart of the C.G.T. has produced a ferment among the theories in which it has been blissfully reposing. I do not know whether the Lille Congress will give a majority to the revolutionary Trade Unions whose valiant minority has attacked the passivity of the conservatives. But what can be foretold with certainty is that the triumph of the revolutionary Trade Union Committees is at hand and cannot be delayed; it is foreshadowed in the future as clearly as was for us the triumph of the Communist idea in the midst of the tottering Socialist Party.

Communism in France has not yet won a majority among the intellectual masses. The intellectuals are a force that it is rather difficult to deal with, because almost all of them bear the blemish of an intensely individualist tendency; and the sudden awakening which will disperse that out-of-date idea in favour of the larger ideas of collective organisation is as yet only in course of preparation in our country. But in this regard we may cherish the strongest hopes on account of the very clear bond between the sincerely revolutionary parties and that revolution in men's minds of which the intellectuals are the willing or unwilling representatives. We have said often and in many different ways that the revolutionary cause is idealistic, because it is not realised, and because it attacks what is realised around it; it is, indeed, thought itself at war with material things. The revolution is, whether one likes it or not, intellectual and moral in origin and spirit. Of course, the intellectuals have not now the monopoly of an idea which exists henceforth by reason of its own powerful life and takes its stand on the hope and

healthy determination of working men. Nevertheless, what is logical is always accepted in the end by persons of unbiassed and right-thinking minds.

It is two years since we founded the International group, "Clarté," which, without being affiliated to the Communist Party, arrived, by means of a free examination of ideas and of things as they are, at a doctrine exactly similar to that of the Communist Party—reason and thought can only arrive at a single doctrine. The mission it has assigned to itself is to fight effectively for the good cause by spreading among the ignorant and misinformed masses the irrefutable facts of social history and the clear statement of conflicting doctrines. In response to our appeal, magnificent and active goodwill has revealed itself in all parts of the world; and we are already in a position, thanks to this world collaboration of loyal minds, to increase and co-ordinate our work of preparation and of the spread of ideas.

"Clarté" has made a point of trying to dissolve the antagonism between manual and intellectual workers. This antagonism exists everywhere and is everywhere justified. If the manual workers are sometimes excessively and brutally distrustful of the brainworkers, this attitude is explained by the aristocratic, or what is even worse, incurably individualist tendencies of many intellectuals, and what is even more frequent and serious, by the lack of general intelligence which has too often been shown by the brainworkers. I have said that thought is not the monopoly of the intellectuals; the word intellectual must not be confused with intelligent.

The great efforts that my comrades and I have made during and after the war to group together the ex-soldiers have not, perhaps, from the point of view of numbers, resulted in the fulfilment of our expectations. Of all the associations of French ex-soldiers, those with the largest membership are the groups based on professional interest aiming solely at improving the condition of war victims and modifying in their favour the legislative and administrative provi-

sions made on their account. Besides these associations, which can hardly be counted as making any notable opposition to the systems which have provoked, and will again provoke, wars, there is the Republican Association of Ex-Combatants, of which I have the honour of being General Secretary, and which has quite a different conception of the civic duty imposed on those who have suffered from the catastrophe and are unwilling that others should suffer from it after them. They do not agree that the misery and horrors of slaughter should be forgotten; they give a deep and magnificent meaning to the memory that they aim at preserving, and they believe that war will not disappear through the incomplete methods urged at so many semi-diplomatic meetings by pacifists who are reformers. They consider that wars will only disappear with the system which makes their recurrence inevitable, and which is of such a nature that the persons interested have no means of controlling the causes and pretexts of public disasters or of preventing them from occurring, but are forced to undergo them as slaves and victims. It was natural under these circumstances that the militant members of the Republican Association of Ex-Combatants, with which should also be mentioned the Labour and Peasant Federation of Maimed Soldiers, should be more and more closely drawn towards the one sincere and integral Socialist party, that is to say, the Communist Party. The 50,000 members of the Republican Association of Ex-Combatants have been carrying on in France for some years an intensive and untiring propaganda which has certainly helped greatly in setting our cause free from fatally obstructionist elements. The agitation thus roused has grown from year to year, and even to-day, whenever it has been necessary to draw up a useful—that is to say, an active—protest against mobilisation and the reactionary manifestations of the French Government, the Republican Association of Ex-Combatants has played an all-important part in the Committee of Action against the War, which included representatives of the Committee of the Third International, the revolutionary Trade Unions and the Young Communists.

In addition, the Republican Association of Ex-Combatants has led to the formation of the International of Ex-Combatants, which unites at present over a million ex-soldiers of all the former belligerent countries with the object of binding together in common action all the various national associations of ex-soldiers that understand the true meaning of the cry: "War against War!"

It is necessary to face unflinchingly the difficulties which threaten our present and future power. I have already pointed out the greatest of these difficulties—the hydra-headed temptations of reformism, the menace of which made our comrades of Turin say recently, "Socialism cannot be killed, but it can commit suicide by making compromises."

There is another very real obstacle against which we shall have to struggle some day—and that is, anarchism. I render homage, as I have never lost an opportunity of doing, to the noble morality of the anarchist idea. I have many anarchist comrades, and I recognise that they prove by their whole life and their every act the truth of the idea that: "The truly good man has no need of the yoke of the laws." But we cannot base our calculations on the example of the chosen few; and the question we have to answer is this: Is it reasonable, is it possible, to expect that this individual morality which would make laws unnecessary could spread itself universally enough to secure us a peaceful and just state of society? While we may not consider this impossible some day, can it be treated as realisable at a moment not too remote, having regard to the present stage of evolution of human morality? There is, unfortunately, no doubt of the only possible answer to this question. In consequence, there is marked between the anarchists and ourselves the prospects of a division which may become extremely serious. True, at the moment we work together, united by common indignation against the barbarous yoke of Capitalism; but we are guided in this parallel action by motives whose divergence will appear so soon as the barrier of present institutions is overturned. We, on our side, stand for collective organisation, for the con-

sidered and calculated building-up of institutions which will cover the whole body of citizens and will give to each according to his need and to the dictates of the general interest. The anarchist propaganda of liberty, accordingly, appears to us as a future danger which we must not lose sight of, despite the advantage of a temporary alliance. In addition, one may add that the element of utopianism, and, so to speak, unfinished thinking in anarchist theory, will do us all the more harm with a whole section of public opinion, the more our present activities are mixed up with those of the anarchists.

This account of the Communist movement in France would not be complete without a mention of an important development taking place among us at present, chiefly in the ranks of the young—Christian Socialism. This title covers groups and programmes of very varying character and tendency. There are the Christian Social Democrats, of whom I shall only say that they fall under the criticism already made against reformism of which they are the mystical champions. But there are also the Christian Communists. These have a certain relation to the anarchists in the sense that they conceive of the establishment of the “City of God” by the deepening and perfecting of the individual. Nevertheless, they have also very definite resemblances to the Rationalist Communists because they are bound by a common intangible rule which sets itself above the individual will of each. The young Catholics and Protestants who detest as much as ourselves clericalism and the hateful and inhuman abuses of the official church, and go back to the pure springs of the original faith, have a claim to be honoured for their courageous loyalty. They have a claim also to be received into our ranks; but on condition that they do not endeavour to bring into our scientific and strictly rational system an element of mysticism. We put before them, in some sort, a minimum programme to which it is quite natural that they should adhere without reserve. The converse is not true. In this case, as in that of the anarchists,

we ought not to allow ourselves to be dazzled by the quality of certain of the choicer hearts and minds. We ought to guard against introducing anything other than reason into the organisation of the new order. Reason is common to all, but it is not the same with faith. In addition, the terrible experience of past history shows us the great evil which may be done by the introduction of supernatural power, of which no criterion exists which can be definitely expressed in each mind and conscience. The first Christians themselves were also pure and impeccable, and they were clearly even communist. Who can say that there may not arise again among those of to-day, when their numbers are grown, the same reasons for degeneration, and, above all, for social ill-doing, which has caused religious force to deviate from its path when it has been directly mixed up with temporal affairs.

These—together with the Young Communists who have energetically taken up the tentative and ineffectual work of the Young Socialists, and of those Young Republicans who are gradually disappearing and becoming either Communists or supporters of officialism—are the elements grouped to-day round the Communist cause or following a parallel course without direct affiliation and tending simply by the normal development of their ideas and their propaganda towards the same revolutionary result. This agitation cannot fail to progress in depth and in the number of adherents. France, as we all know, is a country in which the middle classes are strongly imbued with the bourgeois spirit with which Lenin found himself confronted even in mystic Russia. The parcelling-out of landed property easily inflames the peasant class with capitalist greed; but latterly there have been evident changes which should be hailed with joy. Those of our members who have concerned themselves especially with propaganda in rural districts have convinced a great number of peasants, hitherto debarred from Socialist ideas by the careful forethought of our enemies, and have shown them that they have just as much interest as the

workers in replacing the system of ruin and death which we now suffer (a system, moreover, which is manifestly being undermined by its own excesses) by a fair and just order.

At the present moment official reaction is loosed upon us with unprecedented force. The whole of the police and judicial machinery has been requisitioned by our rulers to find some pretext or other for impeding our action. Rumours of plots flourish more than ever, and we are carried back to the time of the denunciations and black lists that we endured during the war when the cry of "defeatism" was fashionable. The Government is preparing a scheme for a law against anti-militarism which will end in nothing less than the complete stifling—as in the time of the summary judgment of the War Councils—of liberty of speech—that is to say, of liberty of thought. We are threatened with public correction if we dare to state certain truths in speeches, in articles, or in books; and this is to be behind closed doors without any means of defence—one could almost say without trial. These regulations are not merely in order to frighten us. They mark, on the contrary, a kind of mad fury on the part of our enemies indicative of their approaching breakdown. Our strength is that we have reason on our side, and therefore we are supported by something stronger than men, however rich and well-armed they may be.

Our strength is the daily-growing minority which we are building up throughout the world, a minority inspired by a common hope and one day to act with a single and irresistible might.

A SECRET REPORT ON INTERNATIONAL COUNTER - STRIKE ORGANISATION

THE *Christiania Social-Demokraten* of June 1 states that it has obtained possession of documents which it asserts have been compiled by the Norwegian authorities for the information of other Governments, in return for which reports have been obtained from these as to methods of suppression of strikes. It is possible that the publication of this document may be connected with the prosecution of *Social-Demokraten*. The report opens with the statement that unrest has prevailed for some time in the various Norwegian transport services, for which reason very early steps were taken to draw up schemes for maintaining essential public services in the event of open labour conflict. Such schemes have been drawn up both by the State and by private organisations. The latter led to the formation of Norges Samgundshjælpen, or Voluntary Civic Aid Society, of whose programme an account appears in the organ of the Employers' Association, *Arbeidsgiveren*, No. 21, 1920. Preparations on the part of the State began with the appointment of a Transport Committee in the autumn of 1919. The reports of the committee were private, but access has been had to them, and the following statement is quoted :—

The Department of Labour appointed on November 5, 1919, a committee whose duty it was—in the event of a stoppage on the railways—to examine what measures should be adopted in order to limit as far as possible the difficulties that would arise and the most suitable steps for overcoming them. The terms of reference of the committee were also extended to include the determination of the necessary steps to be taken should there be a stoppage of steamship services.

The committee was composed of representatives of the Railway Board, the Food Control Board, the Post Office, the Department of Justice, and the Army (the chief of the Motor Corps). The State Steamship Adviser was also a member. Its meetings were secret; two reports were issued, a provisional one in December, 1919, a final one on May 31, 1920. The latter opens with a brief account of similar measures previously adopted in Norway and elsewhere.

Thus the threatened general strike in Norway in 1915 led to a scheme being drafted for military railway service. In view of the deterioration in military discipline this scheme was abandoned for one in which a limited railway service would be maintained by means of the administrative and other loyal staffs, the military only to be used for protective purposes.

As regards England reference is made to the creation of the Road Transport Board in 1918, originally for the purpose of guaranteeing the most economical use and distribution of road traffic in connection with the transport of munitions of war and important articles for the trade and industry of the country. Its organisation is described in the "Handbook on Road Transport." The Board was originally a military organisation, but has been retained and was used in the railway strike of September 27-October 8, of 1919.

With regard to Germany the report gives an account of the formation of the Technische Nothilfe, and for Denmark an account of the voluntary organisation, Samgundshjælpen.

In Holland very complete schemes were drafted in 1919 for transferring railway traffic to canal and road transport. In this connection the Minister for Agriculture was given authority to requisition all vessels adapted to inland water transport. The plans for the diversion of traffic were worked out in detail.

As regards Sweden, it was stated that the maintenance of the services on the private railways at the time of the engine-drivers' dispute in 1919, followed plans previously laid down in detail. Other proposed measures, both on the State and private railways, were strictly confidential.

The survey concludes with short notes on France and the United States.

To serve as a groundwork for its report the committee attempted to discover the extent of the demand for the chief necessities in the largest centres of consumption, but the information obtained from local authorities was of little value. On the other hand an account was obtained from railway statistics, showing in detail the quantities of the following commodities carried to important centres daily, based on returns for the year ending June 30, 1918:

Hay, straw and concentrated fodder.

Meat and bacon.

Corn and flour.

Potatoes and vegetables.

Herring and fish.

Butter, cheese and margarine.

Milk.

Livestock.

The proposed measures were classified by the committee under five heads:

- A. Railway traffic.
- B. Auxiliary transport, managed by Railway Board.
- C. Other auxiliary road transport.
- D. Sea transport.
- E. Air transport.

A. *Railway Traffic.*

A minimum service was drawn up, reproduced by *Social-Demokraten* in detail. Recommendations were made that:

Certain higher officials, e.g., locomotive and train inspectors, should be appointed in relatively large numbers.

Engineers should immediately on appointment undergo practical training in engine-driving.

Motor locomotives, e.g., Diesel electric locomotives, should be introduced wherever possible, as easier to manage and requiring fewer men.

Attempts should be made to use lorries for railway traffic. The Railway Board should itself arrange for the transport of goods on its own motors.

Negotiations should be entered into between the railway district inspectors and the local police with regard to preparations for protection.

Preference should be given to the transport of foodstuffs, particularly milk, butter, fish, meat, bacon, potatoes and vegetables; mails come next in accordance with a special plan, and passenger traffic as far as circumstances permit.

As a general rule the railways should cater for long-distance traffic, short-distance traffic being dealt with by other methods.

B. *Auxiliary Transport coming under Railway Administration.*

The Committee is of the opinion that the additional transport facilities to be obtained by instituting motor-lorry services should be placed under the direction of the railway administration. On the other hand, horse traffic is rejected for long distances, even where the nature of the roads is unsuitable for motor lorries, because the insignificant quantities that could be carried would not be worth the trouble of arranging for lodgings for the drivers, stabling for the horses, etc.

In order to obtain possession of the requisite number of motors with accessories, garages, etc., recourse may be had to the law of May 14, 1917, with respect to ensuring the country's supply of necessaries. Voluntary assistants should, however, be drawn on as far as possible. Naturally, the acquisition of motors must be reduced to a minimum. Only unavoidable goods traffic should be organised by the State, passenger traffic being left to private initiative. It is further maintained that lorries of more than two and a half tons capacity generally cannot be used over country bridges, while those of less than one ton would be uneconomical; electric motors, again, have too small a radius of activity (50 km.).

The supply of motors, subject to those limitations, was determined by the Committee, and it was estimated that 400 could be counted on in Christiania, 80 in Bergen, 70 in Trondhjem, and 50 in Stavanger. In

certain of the medium-sized towns a small number could be obtained, but probably there would not be much need of them.

Voluntary aid or requisitioning should be resorted to for obtaining, in addition to motors and accessories:

Spare parts, tyres.

Garages.

Repairing shops, with or without staff.

Petrol and other oils, if necessary, with storage accommodation and other accessories.

Motor stopping-places (halts).

Lodging for chauffeurs and other staff.

Buildings or land for reception and delivery of goods.

As regards *personnel*, it was recommended as desirable that relations should be entered into with the motor and flying corps of the Army, in order to obtain volunteer chauffeurs and officers and, finally also, as soon as secrecy could be given up, with the Automobile Club. The importance of appointing officers before the outbreak of a conflict was vigorously emphasised. Further, *personnel* would have to be obtained for opening recruiting offices, examining and valuing motors, material, etc.

C. Other Auxiliary Road Transport.

It was assumed that most of the suitable motors would be requisitioned by the State. Mere local transport would therefore be almost solely by horse-drawn vehicles. Extra motors would, however, be disposed of by local authorities to meet local requirements. Immediately after the outbreak of a strike, the farmers should be urged to satisfy the needs of the towns for foodstuffs, etc., as far as possible by horse traffic. In order to make this possible, it would be necessary to arrange for lodging and stabling in the towns. It was to be expected that in the smaller towns this traffic would fully replace the railway traffic.

D. Sea Transport.

The Committee was, of course, of the opinion that the coast traffic—already of such importance to Norway—should be used as a substitute for the railways, all the more so as the chief steamship lines are subsidised by the State. As well as heavier goods, the greater part of the mails can be transported by sea, supposing there is not a stoppage of those services, too. If only temporary measures are needed, their direction should be in the hands of the railway administration; if not, the Department of Trade would have to appoint a special Board to deal with this transport.

In the event of a conflict in the coastal trade, the Committee worked out a very detailed proposal for measures to counteract this; but as these conditions are specifically Norwegian, a full account is not considered. The idea is, however, that local traffic is to be maintained—largely under local administration—by the help of motor boats, fishing vessels, etc., and that as regards long distance traffic expropriation of ships must be resorted to as far as may be required. The difficulties in the way are recognised, but such measures are considered essential, especially for North Norway.

E. Aerial Transport.

It is stated that the nation's flying resources are insufficiently developed to be of any importance for goods transport. On the other hand, it may be of value to use military aeroplanes in special emergencies, when it is important to convey a person or a mail rapidly from one place to another.

Finally, emphasis is laid on the importance (in most cases finally decisive) of public opinion being in favour of the measures proposed by the authorities. It is therefore questionable whether it is desirable to continue to keep the preparations secret. In any case, if a conflict threatens to become acute, relations should be entered into with the Press, and a special Press department for this purpose is to be organised, under the direction of an experienced journalist.

The Transport Committee having submitted its report, the railway administration—in accordance with the Committee's proposals—began to work out detailed plans for supplementing such railway services as it was expected could continue to be maintained. The traffic on the individual railways was carefully examined, and motor services planned accordingly. When the strike broke out, their plans were said to be ready; but the question of obtaining staff was still open, as the proposed schemes were kept strictly secret. The last Government would undoubtedly have turned to the Civic Aid Society created by various industrial organisations, and the necessary staff would no doubt have been obtained with ease. The present Government, however, found this method less useful. Its principle was that the State should fight the strike unaided to the best of its power, and not seek the help of voluntary organisations.

In another respect of prime importance from the point of view of organisation, the plans worked out were less serviceable than expected. While the Transport Committee placed the direction of the country's whole transport system in the hands of the railway administration—in the event of a railway strike—the Government (in agreement with that administration) thought it wiser, from the point of view of tactics, to appoint an independent provisional authority, the Transport Commission, which assumed the management of the transport services—and *officially* possessed the initiative. By this means, the railway administration escaped from the organisation of blackleg labour, and the workers lost one important point of attack and subject for agitation.

ECONOMIC IMPERIALISM AND THE "SACRED TRUST"

By LEONARD WOOLF

THE economic exploitation of one human being by another has probably always existed since that unfortunate episode when the Almighty in His wrath altered the whole course of history because a man and woman ate an apple at the instigation of a snake. But it seems to be generally agreed that exploitation never became a fine art, never reached such perfection in quantity and degree, as in the nineteenth century. Despite the assurances of His Majesty the King and his Ministers, of the Church, University professors, and public school masters, of employers, financiers, and editors, that we are all one family within the nation, and that the reward for our labour is pretty equal, the conviction is spreading and deepening among the manual workers that in industrialised European nations there are two great classes of which one is exploited in the economic interests of the other. The worker argues that if A, B, C, D, &c., employ a, b, c, d, &c., and A, B, C, D, &c., earn an average of £1,000 a year for comparatively pleasant work, and a, b, c, d, &c., earn an average of £100 a year for comparatively unpleasant work, then, though they may all be members of one family, the less fortunate brethren are being exploited in the economic interests of the more fortunate.

But it is not so generally realised that this kind of economic exploitation has been extended in the last 100 years with great intensity and efficiency to the world of races, and that nowhere has the process been applied with greater success than in Africa. Consider the following hypothetical case. A white trader or explorer arrives in the territory of an African

chief or king and induces him to sign a treaty which he does not understand, but which in fact transfers the sovereignty of the land from the chief or king to the European State to which the trader or explorer belongs. Subsequently European troops arrive, and by hanging or shooting the chief or king—on the grounds that he is a sodomite or has too many wives or is a bloody cannibal—and by shooting a considerable number of his subjects, make the sovereignty of the European State “effective.” Next there arrives a European civil administration which proceeds to sell or lease the land, previously occupied by several hundred thousand natives, to a few European planters, traders, and joint stock companies. The natives are not only expropriated; they are either penned in “native reserves” consisting of land not coveted by the white settlers or they are left as interlopers without any legal rights upon the land which now belongs to the new comers. Then the civil administration proceeds to compel the natives, either by direct legal compulsion or by administrative pressure or by heavy taxation, to work for the white settlers. Sometimes the native is not paid at all, but his right hand is cut off if he does not work (in order to prove that he either has worked or suffered a merited punishment); in other more favourable cases he may be paid twopence or threepence a day. No case has yet been recorded of a white settler or joint stock company being satisfied with a salary or profit of threepence per day.

I have said that this is a hypothetical case, but, as a matter of fact, it is a pretty accurate description of what has taken place during the last fifty years over the greater part of Africa. It certainly took place in the Belgian Congo, the French West Coast possessions, Portuguese Africa, German East and West Africa, British East Africa and Nyasaland. The process may have varied in different countries; the Germans may have shot and hanged a few more chiefs, kings, and private persons than the British, and the Belgians may have committed more “atrocities” than other Europeans; but the result was much the same, and the result is the exploitation

of millions of Africans in the economic interests of a few Europeans.

The process which is here described is imperialism, or, as I prefer to call it more accurately, economic imperialism. It consists in the seizure of African territory by a European State, the expropriation of the Africans from all legal rights in their land, the alienation of that land to white settlers and companies, and compulsion upon the native to work for wages for the white man. This system is defended by those who put it into practice on the ground that the African is an inferior race which cannot make the economic use of African soil that the world requires, cannot, in other words, produce rubber and oil and minerals, and that therefore European States are justified in seizing the land and administering it and its inhabitants in the economic interests of their white subjects.

But there is another and totally different theory as to the way in which European States should deal with their African possessions. It has recently been briefly and clearly defined as the practical policy of all the great imperialist Powers in Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations. According to that article the African territory that belonged to Germany is inhabited "by peoples not yet able to stand alone under the strenuous conditions of the modern world," and this territory should be administered by a European State "on the principle that the well-being and development of such peoples form a sacred trust of civilisation."

Here then are two diametrically opposed principles or systems of colonial administration; first, the system of economic imperialism under which the main purpose of the administration is the economic interests of a few thousand white men who exploit the land and its black population; second, the "sacred trust," the system which makes the well-being and development of the natives the main purpose of administration. Now it is not true that this last system has been created or invented by the League and the mandate system; it has been proclaimed and professed spasmodically

ever since the first native dropped to a bullet from a modern rifle. For instance, up to ten or fifteen years ago the official policy of the British Empire in Africa was the policy of the "sacred trust"; in those days even Liberal Cabinet Ministers still paid lip-service to the principles of Liberalism and Philosophic Radicalism, and no Secretary of State for the Colonies would have dared to rise in the House of Commons and admit that the British Government was administering tropical African territory otherwise than on the principle that the well-being and development of the native inhabitants were a sacred trust of the Colonial Office. Liberal Ministers of those days were not entirely destitute of that quality of statesmanship which allows a Liberal Minister of Education to support and defend to-day the present policy in Ireland, the legal persecution of opinion, and a protective tariff, but the war and war propaganda had not yet completely convinced the world that you could make black white by calling it white. The Colonial or the Foreign Office not only professed to administer African territory in the interests of the inhabitants, but they actually did so occasionally. It may seem almost incredible to persons of this generation that less than twenty years ago, when the local administration in British East Africa attempted to bring pressure to bear upon the natives in order to make them work for the white settlers, a Secretary of State promptly ordered the practice to be stopped and saw that his orders were obeyed.

Twenty years ago, in fact, the principle of the "sacred trust" was accepted officially as the principle of colonial administration within the British Empire. But as a nation we went further even than this. We demanded, and we enforced our demand, that other nations in Africa should not too flagrantly violate this principle. That is the only explanation of the agitation with regard to the "Congo atrocities." In the Belgian Congo King Leopold only carried the principles of economic imperialism to their logical conclusion and applied them with drastic efficiency. All the features of this policy which have been described above appear under

his régime. The land of the Congo was handed over to white men or companies for economic exploitation; the native was compelled to work for these exploiters. That the system was enforced with appalling cruelties in many cases may have been the reason for much of the agitation in this country, but it is not the atrocities which accompany economic imperialism, but economic imperialism itself which is the really important point. A system which hands over African natives to isolated white settlers and allows those settlers to compel the natives to work, however unwillingly, for the white man's economic interests, is bound to breed cruelty and atrocities. And the agitation against the Congo régime and the official intervention of the British Government were eventually successful, because they were based on the demand that the Belgian Congo should be administered on the principle that the well-being and development of the natives were a sacred trust of civilisation.

In the previous paragraphs I have purposely referred to British East Africa and the Belgian Congo in sketching the past history of the two opposed systems of African administration. There is evidence that by one of those curious permutations in the psychology and ideals of nations, the principle of economic imperialism which was enforced in the Congo and repudiated in British East Africa twenty years ago, is to-day accepted in Kenya Colony (formerly British East Africa) and rejected on the Belgian Congo, while the system of the "sacred trust," which the British Empire less than twenty years ago compelled the Congo administration to accept, is still accepted on the Congo, but is now rejected in Kenya. I propose to prove this statement by examining the policy of the administration of British East Africa in recent years in the light of two Governmental Reports, and to contrast this with the policy recommended in a report to the Belgian Government on the native policy of the Congo administration. The East African documents consist of two reports, not easily obtainable in this country—first, the report of a Government Commission which inquired into the

shortage of native labour in 1912-13; and, second, a report made in 1919 by an Economic Commission which was appointed by the East African Government to frame "a commercial and industrial policy." The recommendations of both these Commissions are based frankly upon economic imperialism, and many of them have been accepted already by the local administration and the Colonial Office. The Belgian document is the report, also made in 1919, to the King by "la Commission instituée pour la Protection des indigènes"; its recommendations are based upon the principle of the "sacred trust."

The two opposed systems of African administration are to be distinguished, as I have indicated, mainly by the way they deal with two questions, the land and native labour. If the economic interests of the white settlers are the "sacred trust" of the administration, then it is necessary to give the land to the white settler and force the native to work for him on low wages; but if the "well-being and development of the natives" are to form the "sacred trust" of the administration, then the native must be given secure tenure of the land, and, instead of being forced to go and work for low wages on the white man's land or in the white man's mine, he must be encouraged and educated to develop and make an economic use of his own land. Let us see how the Briton in East Africa and the Belgian in the Congo ask their Governments to deal with these two questions.

In East Africa during the last 15 years continual pressure has been exerted upon the Government by the settlers to appropriate native tribes and alienate their land to white men. In early days the local Government, under direct orders from the Secretary of State, in some cases resisted this pressure, but in recent years there have been cases in which whole tribes have been removed from particularly fertile land in order that it might be sold to settlers. To-day the tribes are segregated in Reserves; the native has no secure legal tenure in this land, but theoretically it is not to be alienated by the Government to white men. But the system of

Reserves complicates the question of obtaining labour for the white settler. The native will not, unless compelled, leave his Reserve and come and work for a few pence per day on the white man's land. The settler therefore argues that if you cut down the Reserves so that the natives have not got sufficient land to support them, they will be forced out of the Reserves and come and work for him. The settler not only argues thus, but demands that the administration shall apply the argument in practice. Witness after witness before the Native Labour Commission of 1912-13 demanded that the cutting down of the Reserves should be adopted as a solution of the labour problem, and, while the Commission itself did not adopt the solution in theory, it did so in practice by recommending that the Reserves be "demarcated with a view to reserving sufficient land for the population only." The Economic Commission has gone a step further. They recommend that a Special Commission "should be appointed to delimit the Reserves and devise a scheme for concentrating the natives in a number of areas distributed as widely as possible throughout the Reserves, sufficient, but not more than sufficient, for their requirements, leaving the interspersed tracts not needed for native occupation as available for white settlement." What the Commission means by this policy they make quite clear. Under a régime "of universal peasant proprietorship," they argue, "the natives can only stagnate"; "the theory that provision should be made by the State not merely for the eldest but for every son in a family becoming a landowner would be regarded as absurd in Europe." The only way of preventing the stagnation of the native is to make him work for wages on a white man's farm; he must also be educated, but it turns out that in the opinion of the East African settler "education" for the native means "industrial education"—*i.e.*, a system of apprenticeship to industrial undertakings or farmers with State grants, and schools are to be staffed and equipped simply with the object of turning the African into a wage-earner for the white man. The Commission points out that the reason why their policy has not been previously adopted

appears to be "the unreasonable dread of 'exploitation' of black by white"; but the dread is quite unreasonable, because, "as a matter of fact, the wages in this country are . . . disproportionately high." (The Commission does not state the fact that the rate of wages is between 3d. and 4d. a day, and that there is an agitation among the settlers to reduce native wages throughout the country by one-third.) Finally, the Commission recommends that the policy of Government "encouraging" (the usual euphemism in Africa for compelling) the natives to leave the Reserves and work for the white settler should be "accepted and carried into effect far more thoroughly and unequivocally than hitherto." On the other hand, the Government should reverse the policy which "has lately taken shape in the publicly-made official statement of the Chief Native Commissioner that 'he did not see why a native should turn out to work for Europeans, if he wanted to develop his own land.'"

But the British settler in East Africa and the Government of Kenya have already taken other steps to prevent the native from developing his own land and to force him to work for the white man's "disproportionately high wage" of 3d. a day. The white witnesses before the Native Labour Commission asked the Government to find them cheap labour either by compelling the native to work for the settlers or by taxing the native more heavily, or by both methods. The Government has complied with both demands. A little while ago it applied for authority from the Secretary of State to raise the native hut tax; the Secretary of State authorised the proposal, but on condition that an income-tax was imposed. (The white man in Kenya is probably the lightest-taxed white man in the world; he pays practically no direct taxation.) The attitude of the settler to taxation is shown in the report of the Economic Commission, which holds that an income-tax, which would fall on the white man, "does not appear to be a method presently suitable to conditions of East Africa." "It is of capital importance that taxation should fall not upon production" (*i.e.*, the settlers), "but upon consumption" (*i.e.*, the natives), "and this object can

be attained by judicious imposition of customs duties." However, the Government decided to raise the hut tax and impose an income-tax, and a month or so ago the first payment of income-tax became due. Then a proposal was made in the Legislative Council that the payment of this income-tax, amounting to £80,000, should be waived; nine members of the Council voted for and nine against the proposal, and the Governor gave his casting vote in favour of it! But the hut-tax on the native remains raised.

As for forced labour, the Government has recently enacted legislation which gives the administration power to exact compulsory labour from natives up to a maximum of 60 days a year. The law theoretically exempts natives who have worked for three months in the preceding twelve months, but the Chief Native Commissioner has practically admitted that no native will be able to prove that he has done three months' work unless it was for a white man. Theoretically, too, the native can only be called out to labour on public works, but the law is so worded that public work can cover almost anything; for instance, in Zanzibar, where a similar law has been introduced, it has already been held that the picking of cloves for a private employer came under the head of "public work."

To turn straight from the reports of the two British East African Commissions and the recent legislation of the British East African Government to the report of the Belgian Royal Commission on the Congo is to enter an atmosphere of completely different ideas and ideals. The aim of the British Commissioners and Government is to expropriate the native from his land, sell the land to the white settlers, and make the natives work for the settlers on a wage of 3d. or less per day. That, according to the Economic Commission, is the only way to civilise the African, and "authorities" on education support their view that the African should be educated only in order that he may become an employee of some joint stock company on 3d. a day. But apparently on the Congo and the West Coast of Africa civilisation means something

quite different from what it does on the East Coast and in British East Africa. Instead of aiming, as the Commission does in East Africa, at breaking up the Reserves and forcing the native to leave his land and village, the Belgian Commissioners recommend that the Government shall take every step possible to "keep the native in his customary environment" and to encourage him to develop his own land. So clearly does this seem to be the duty of the administration on the West Coast of Africa, and to a Belgian Commission with a Congo official at its head, that the Commissioners do not even give any arguments for it; "no proof is necessary," they merely say in passing, because "the whole world is convinced of the good results of this policy." As the aims of the Belgians are the opposite of the British, so, too, are their concrete recommendations. Where the British Commission proposes that the Government shall carry into effect "far more thoroughly and unequivocally than hitherto" the policy of "encouraging" the natives to emigrate from the Reserves and work for wages, the Belgian Commission recommends that the Government shall carry into effect more thoroughly and unequivocally the policy of preventing the native from leaving his land and village. "It is with reason," write the Commissioners, "that the legislator has required every native who leaves his tribe to obtain an administrative permit, and has made illegal emigration subject to legal penalties. But the existing regulations appear to be insufficient. The native leaves his village too readily. Numerous illegal emigrations take place at the instigation of Europeans. . . ." The Commission, however, is not content with trying to keep the native on his own land and in his tribe. It recommends, first, that the Government shall encourage the native to develop his own land by providing him with agricultural implements. Secondly, it recommends that the Government shall take steps to compel an increased attendance at the ordinary schools. But still more significant is the way in which it proposes to deal with the large number of natives who, at the instigation of Europeans and companies, have left their land and have become detribalised in "cités indigènes." The Com-

mission holds that the first requisite is to "stabilise society" in these "native cities," and that the only way to do this is for the Government to allot to these communities land. Thus where the British Commission proposes to take land away from and break up native society, the Belgian Commission proposes to reform the detribalised natives into native communities by giving them land.

The antithesis between the British and Belgian points of view is just as remarkable on the subject of native labour. Twelve months ago the East African administration and the British Colonial Office introduced compulsory labour for sixty days in the year. A similar law had been passed in the Congo in 1917. The Belgian Commission reviewed the whole question of this compulsory labour, and were unanimously of opinion that the term of sixty days for which the Government could call out labour was excessive, as it "caused profound disturbance to native economic life, necessarily interrupted the natives' regular occupations, kept them in some cases for months away from their villages, and entailed neglect of their agriculture and homes." The Commission, therefore, recommended that the term of sixty days should be reduced to thirty and that every native should be permitted to make a payment in money, equal in value to the work demanded of him, in lieu of labour.

It is unnecessary to insist further upon the difference in spirit in which the Belgian and the British reports are conceived. But it is a curious instance of the rise and fall in national moralities. If you want to find to-day the spirit of economic imperialism of Leopold II. of Belgium and the exploiters who twenty years ago converted the Belgian Congo into a desert, you must go to Kenya and Downing Street, and if you want to find a remnant of that spirit of fairplay and, decent administration which most people twenty years ago considered one of the glories of British Colonial Government, you must go to the Belgian Congo.

THE CONFLICT IN FRENCH TRADE UNIONISM

THE conflict between the Left and the Right has become acute in the Confédération Générale du Travail (the C.G.T.). The divergence of views which showed itself after the conclusion of hostilities has now become defined in two opposing conceptions—a Right-Wing policy which favours association with the International Federation of Trade Unions and the International Labour Office of the League of Nations, and a Revolutionary policy which favours co-operation with the Red Trade Union International.

Formally, each side bases its arguments on the “Amiens Charter”—the resolution of the C.G.T. Congress at Amiens in 1906, which defined the relations between the C.G.T. and political parties.

Merrheim, writing on the conflict last September (*l'Information: Sociale*, September 26, 1920) argued that:—

It was inevitable that the discussion concerning the relations between political parties and the C.G.T., provoked by the efforts of the Third Communist International to seize upon international Trade Unionism, should go back to that resolution of the Congress of Amiens, the “charter” of Trade Unionism, which defined these relations with precision.

Majority and Minority sections of the C.G.T. both entrench themselves behind this resolution; the first, as we have seen from the discussions of the last National Council of the C.G.T., and by the polemics which have been printed, affirm that they are opposed to any subordination to Socialist or Communist parties, a subordination inevitably involved by adhesion to the Third International. The others maintain that the Amiens resolution was intended to combat only the Parliamentary and reformist Socialist Party, which was at that time using the Trade Unions as electoral instruments; but they admit absolutely that these same Trade Unions are to be the instruments of insurrection.

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The Amiens resolution is such an important factor in the present controversy that we reproduce it below :—

THE "AMIENS CHARTER": RESOLUTION ADOPTED AT THE CONGRESS OF THE C.G.T. AT AMIENS, SEPTEMBER, 1906

The Congress of Amiens confirms Article 2, which forms the basis for the constitution of the C.G.T. :—

"The C.G.T. groups together, independently of all political schools, all workers who are conscious of the struggle to be carried on for the abolition of the wage system. . . ."

The Congress considers that this declaration is a recognition of the class-struggle, which, on an economic basis, places the workers in revolt against all forms of exploitation and oppression, material and moral, put into operation by the capitalist class against the working class.

The Congress makes this theoretic affirmation more precise by adding the following points :

In the sphere of everyday demands, Trade Unionism aims at co-ordinating the efforts of the workers and improving their conditions through the realisation of immediate ameliorations, such as the shortening of hours, increase of wages, etc.

But this is only one aspect of its work; Trade Unionism is preparing the integral emancipation, which can be realised only by the expropriation of the capitalist class; it commends, as a means to this end, the general strike, and considers that the Trade Union, now a grouping for the purpose of resistance, will be in the future the basis of social organisation, as the group for production and distribution.

The Congress declares that this double task of everyday life and of the future follows from the very situation of the wage-earners, which exerts its pressure upon the working class, and which makes it a duty for all workers, whatever their opinions or their political and philosophical tendencies, to belong to the essential group, which is the Trade Union; consequently, so far as individuals are concerned the Congress maintains entire liberty for every Trade Unionist to participate, outside of the trade organisation, in any forms of struggle which correspond to his philosophical or political ideas; but asks of him only one thing in return—that he shall not introduce into the Union the opinions which he professes outside of it.

In so far as organisations are concerned, the Congress decides that, in order that Syndicalism may attain its maximum effectiveness, economic action should be exercised directly against the class of employers, and the Confederal organisations must not, as Trade Union groups, pay any attention to parties and sects which, outside of them and by their side, are at full liberty to work for the transformation of society.

The controversy, which was based, at any rate formally, on the application of this resolution to (1) relations with the International Labour Office of the League of Nations; (2) relations with the Communist International, divided the

C.G.T. at Lyons in 1919 and at Orleans in 1920. The division at the latter Congress was of special importance because of a Conference of the Left elements which preceded the Congress and which decided to set up the Comité Syndicaliste Révolutionnaire (the C.S.R.) to organise and develop their following within the C.G.T. At the same time they prepared a resolution for submission to the Congress which, in conjunction with the official resolution, defines the divergence in views, and explains the subsequent developments towards the scission of the C.G.T.

C.G.T. CONGRESS AT ORLEANS, SEPTEMBER, 1920:
RESOLUTION PROPOSED BY M. JOUHAUX ON BEHALF OF
THE OFFICIAL MAJORITY, AND CARRIED BY 1,479 VOTES
TO 602

The extraordinary Congress of Orleans, which has been called on to determine the policy of Trade Unionism and the future action of the General Confederation of Labour, maintains the continuity of Labour activity and its allegiance to the methods and theories independently evolved by the organisation.

It recalls that the Amiens resolution, born of experience and developed in the successive congresses of Limoges, Rennes, Paris, Montpellier and Bourges, is of an irrevocable and not of an incidental or provisional nature. As at Lyons the Congress repeats that the Amiens resolution remains the fundamental charter of French Trade Unionism.

It reiterates without reserve that the revolutionary aims defined by this resolution, which should be pursued with all the vigour and courage demanded by circumstances and social events, both foreseen and unforeseen, is more than ever incompatible with existing institutions, with Capitalism and its political expression.

Confirming the resolution of Lyons, it emphasises the revolutionary value of the daily victories obtained, which improve the conditions of life of the worker and partially free him from the insecurity of bondage; it declares that French Trade Unionism has given precedence to the control by the workers of industry and commerce. In this way, through the direct action of the workers, a part of their power is wrested from the employers, a part of their authority is wrested from the Government. This procedure will eventually lead them to profound and absolute change by increasing their numbers and by developing their power and their means for revolutionary action.

Renewing the Declaration of Lyons, the Congress proclaims the urgency of nationalisation, on industrial principles, of the essential industries and means of exchange, and demands the co-operation of all Trade Union organisations in carrying on an intensive campaign for strengthening the General Confederation of Labour.

Recognising that this is the general wish of the workers in all countries, the Congress requests the International Federation of Trade Unions, in

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which the Congress has the fullest confidence, to promote common action for the immediate attainment of this social change, and points out that the present revolutionary period through which the labour world is passing is a most propitious one for similar action and discussion.

The Congress has entrusted the International Labour Office with the essential task of introducing to the colonies and smaller nations the legislation for the protection of labour, imposed by the Trade Union organisations in countries with a greater industrial development, and to devote itself to the vital problem of the equitable distribution of raw materials. For this purpose only and in consideration of the fact that the International Labour Office is mainly an intelligence office, the General Confederation of Labour is represented in this institution, where it is determined to claim respect for the fundamental principles of international Trade Unionism. In case of any deviations from the above aims, or in the absence of the necessary initiative, the General Confederation of Labour would have to reconsider the question of the continuance of its representation, which up to the present has been granted with that independence and dignity of Trade Unionism which the organised workers are entitled to expect.

The Congress expresses its absolute sympathy with the workers of other nations. . . .

The Congress is convinced that the union of the proletariat, the defeat of universal reaction and the total emancipation of the wage earners, irrespective of their doctrines, creeds, race and nationality, can only be accomplished by their complete independence, by mutual respect for their individual principles in accordance with their organisations, for their traditions, their ideas and their particular spirit.

For these reasons the Congress proclaims that the constitutive basis of the General Confederation of Labour, the principles of self-government, which it has proclaimed up to to-day its methods of action and realisation, are in absolute agreement with the present exigencies of the struggle. The General Confederation of Labour proclaims once again, in the face of the whole world, its ideal of economic freedom attainable by the suppression of wage-slavery.

C.G.T. CONGRESS AT ORLEANS, SEPTEMBER, 1920: RESOLUTION PUT FORWARD ON BEHALF OF THE LEFT (DEFEATED, 602 VOTES TO 1,479)

The Congress of Orleans declares that it would be disastrous if the present sessions should result in the same disillusionment as those at Paris (1918) and Lyons (1919).

At these two Congresses formal and solemn pledges were given by the Confederation Executive that the political "union sacrée" inaugurated during the war, i.e., submission to employers and the bourgeois, would be definitely repudiated; that a sharp turn to the left would be taken; that, in short, the Charter of Amiens would once more regain its position as the beacon-light of the French Trade Union movement.

But, on the contrary, immediately after the Congress, the resolution of Amiens was deliberately trampled under foot, and has since been constantly violated.

A month after the close of the Lyons Congress, a Confederal delegation, without any mandate from the Congress, left for Washington to take part in the International Labour Conference, organised according to the terms of the iniquitous Treaty of Versailles by the League of Nations, that new Holy Alliance of Capitalist States. The delegation participated in its labours, despite the fact that before the war the C.G.T. had made it an inflexible rule to combat relentlessly all working-class participation in organisations, such as the Supreme Council of Labour, or the International Association for Labour Legislation, by which Governments sought in the past to corrupt the workers' organisations and turn them aside from the class-struggle. Moreover, it not only participated in the labours of the Conference, but was directly responsible, in collaboration with the French employers' delegation, for the choice of the former French Minister of War, Albert Thomas, as Director of the International Labour Bureau.

Proceeding in the same spirit as that which took them to Washington, in violation of both the spirit and the letter of the Amiens resolution, which commands us to prepare for the complete emancipation of the workers, the Confederal Executive gave a place of first importance to the rationalisation of essential services, projects involving the maintenance and the guarantee of the interests of the present exploiters, and the retention of control of labour in the hands of the former directors, or others of a like stamp.

From past experience, reinforced by the great May strike, we declare to the workers that on the day of the triumph of nationalisation they will still be very far from integral emancipation. Nationalisation cannot constitute a step toward the revolution unless it is accompanied by expropriation. In France, as elsewhere, Capitalism will oppose savage resistance to our efforts, as the May strike showed us.

For another year, the C.G.T., which should have taken a decisive step to the left, has navigated in the waters of the right, totally abandoning direct action, its methods and principles.

The Congress calls upon all affiliated organisations, realising the grave danger of twice-broken pledges, to prevent it from happening a third time. The Confederal Executive have for the last twelve months acted contrary to the debates and resolutions of Lyons. They have not hesitated to nullify the Lyons decision, which conceded to the Revolutionary Minority representation on both the Administrative and Confederal Committees in accordance with the strength shown at that Congress.

The Congress of Orleans must force the C.G.T. to return to the path it followed before the war; to break with the Government office known as the International Labour Bureau; to draw its inspiration, both for daily action and for preparation for the future, from the revolutionary principles enunciated in the Amiens resolution.

The Confederal Congress of Orleans, believing that the place of a Trade Union movement based on the class-struggle cannot be in the nationalist International of Amsterdam, of which the President, Appleton, and the Vice-Presidents, Jouhau and Mertens, were, throughout the war, the champions of jusqu'aboutisme and the sending of the workers to slaughter one another, and that their presence at the head of

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an International cannot but signify the survival of national hatreds, decides in favour of the adhesion of the C.G.T. to the revolutionary Trade Union International of Moscow.

The Amsterdam International, by looking for support and by taking pride in an intimate alliance with the International Labour Office of the capitalist Governments, makes it clear that it has repudiated the class-struggle, and is only a caricature of a workers' International.

Far from adherence to the Trade Union International of Moscow constituting a violation of the Charter of Amiens, the Congress declares that this course is the obvious duty of the C.G.T.

It is to-day incumbent upon the C.G.T. to go to Moscow, as in 1915 it should have gone to Zimmerwald. There exists but one International of the revolution, the Third, the International of Moscow. The C.G.T., faithful to the revolutionary tradition, must adhere to that International, and declares that, while maintaining its complete autonomy, it is prepared to collaborate with this political organisation which will act upon revolutionary lines, not in words but deeds.

Immediately after the Orleans Congress, the formation of the Comité Syndicaliste Révolutionnaire was announced, and the affiliation of Unions to the C.S.R. was invited. At the meeting of the National Confederal Council (the C.C.N.) of the C.G.T. on November 8, 1920, the official intention of expelling the Unions which affiliated to the C.S.R. was indicated in the following resolution, adopted by 72 votes to 25, with 23 abstentions:—

RESOLUTION OF THE NATIONAL CONFEDERAL COMMITTEE OF THE C.G.T., NOVEMBER 8, 1920

The C.C.N., reaffirming the decisions of the Congress of Orleans, declares that the Trade Unions which have given their allegiance to the C.S.R. have placed themselves in a position which involves hostility, moral division, and disorganisation of the forces of Trade Unionism and of the unity of the established Trade Union International.

It declares that the position thus chosen places these organisations under the obligation of applying the methods of division indicated by the International of Moscow, among which the process of forming nuclei is one of the methods contemplated and already employed.

The C.C. cannot refrain from warning the organisations of the inevitable consequences of their adhesion, which may provoke on the part of the Federations and Departmental Unions measures of expulsion against them in which the C.G.T. will not be able to intervene.

Following on the publication of this resolution, the controversy between the official elements of the C.G.T. and the C.S.R. became more bitter, and the charge of disruption of the C.G.T. was freely made on both sides. The decision to expel the Unions affiliated to the C.S.R. was made more

definite in a resolution adopted by the National Confederal Council of the C.G.T. in February, 1921, which is given below, together with a manifesto issued in reply by the Seine Federation of Trade Unions, which had identified itself with the C.S.R. since September, 1920.

RESOLUTION OF TRADE UNION DISCIPLINE, ADOPTED BY THE NATIONAL CONFEDERAL COUNCIL OF THE C.G.T., FEBRUARY 8, 1921, BY 82 VOTES TO 31, WITH 12 ABSTENTIONS

The C.C.N. declares that it cannot profitably examine the economic programme of the C.G.T. until it has taken all available measures to put an end to the disease which is causing the paralysis and impotence of the Trade Union movement.

Whatever may be the question before the C.G.T.—whether it be workers' control in the factories, the nationalisation of important public services, the right to organise, or social insurance—it is only too evident that none of these aims can be realised or seriously undertaken so long as the Confederation has no real discipline and so long as it continues to be weakened by an opposition and a systematic campaign of detraction carried on by a part of its own elements.

This malady is the result of the efforts of a political party which is seeking, by the means of orders and an unprecedented campaign of calumny, to impose its doctrines and its methods on the Trade Union movement.

Drawing its inspiration from the will of 1,600 Trade Unions which, at the Congress of Orleans, pronounced against the adhesion of the C.G.T. to the political International of Moscow, thus confirming anew the principles underlying the Charter of Amiens, the Committee considers that it is its first duty to require the absolute observance of this policy from all its organisations and members.

Having just condemned, by a formal resolution, the offensive terms which the directors of the Third International employ, as well as the humiliating and arbitrary methods which they are applying and seeking to render general, the Confederal Committee explicitly states that this condemnation implies the absolute impossibility for any organisation to adhere to the Trade Union International, which is a section of the political International of Moscow, without violating the letter and the spirit of the decisions of the Confederal Congresses.

That, moreover, the setting up of Revolutionary Trade Union Committees (*Comités Syndicalistes Révolutionnaires—C.S.R.*) inspired and directed by the Moscow Government, to organise the formation of a revolutionary nucleus in each union in order to disable the militants and to discredit their action, is tantamount to the erection of organs of disruption which arrest the recruiting of Trade Union membership, imperil all united action, and result in general discouragement; that it is false and disloyal to pretend that these groupings have a harmonising, educative, and propagandist character; that their local, regional and national sections constitute, as was foreseen, a supererogatory organisation which seeks to

set itself up in opposition to the Confederation, in order to violate its principles and to place obstacles in the way of its means of action.

That, therefore, it is important to state explicitly also that adhesion, collective or individual, to the Committees constitutes an act of open hostility to the C.G.T.

The Confederal Committee declares that, above all tendencies and all divisions, liberty of opinion must remain complete for all the members of the C.G.T.; that this liberty is for it a condition of life necessary to its development and is in conformity with its aspirations. Persecution on account of opinions must be banished from the thought of the Confederation.

But it cannot be guilty of the weakness of permitting to shelter behind this liberty, which is legally accorded to all, organisations whose sole purpose is the weakening of the Trade Union movement, in order that they may then impose on it in its powerlessness methods of authority and domination repudiated by every Congress.

In consequence, the C.C.N., armed with the decision of the Congress of Orleans, confirms its decision of November last in regard to cases of breach of discipline which the confederated organisations were called upon to deal with. In fulfilment of this decision, the Confederal Committee declares that organisations which give their adhesion to the Trade Union International section of the Communist International will by their own action place themselves outside of the C.G.T., and thus forfeit any right to participate in the Confederal Congresses and the National Committees.

MANIFESTO OF THE SEINE FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS, ISSUED APRIL 12, 1921

The Seine Federation of Trade Unions, desirous of taking up a definite stand once and for all on the question of working-class action, decides, in the face of the expulsions which have been pronounced, to affirm itself to be more than ever in accord with the Constituent Charter of Amiens, laying down the traditional basis of Trade Unionism.

The Seine Federation of T.U., speaking and acting as the interpreter of Revolutionary Trade Unionism, records the fact that the constant aim of the C.G.T. has been to promote the establishment of a Trade Union International taking its stand on the principle of evolution.

At the Stuttgart meeting of the International in 1902, the opposition became manifest between reformist Trade Unionism—the expression of a tendency subversive of the working-class movement and subordinated to political Social-Democratic leadership, restrained within the limits of bourgeois legality—and revolutionary Trade Unionism, rising above individual self-interest to establish itself as the foe of Parliamentary limitations, and of the Capitalist State which established them.

This dual conception of Trade Unionism persisted throughout its various phases, and throughout the war, which left it weakened and impaired.

Since then the Trade Union International has only achieved formal unity by means of a phraseology, superficially revolutionary, but empty and fruitless in action; its homogeneity finds expression in the International

Labour Bureau, with its seat at Geneva, created by the Congress of Governments at Versailles.

It has been proved that the Amsterdam International pursues its course in the wake of the Bureau of Labour; that the result of this, despite the best intentions, is a subordination to it, not official but real, against which subordination Revolutionary Trade Unionists can but revolt.

Recording with satisfaction the project of a Trade Union International whose revolutionary activity will draw strength for its extension and realisation from the powers of Russian Sovietism, the Seine Federation declares that, despite all differences of environment and circumstances, Sovietism and Revolutionary Trade Unionism emanate from the same spirit, and tend toward the same goal: power and supremacy to the producers, and the fitting of every human element into the framework of social production.

From this ultimate identity, it follows that the Russian Soviet Revolution is sister to the Revolutionary Trade Unionism of the West; that there it has entered upon full realisation, while here it is continuing to elaborate, amidst tremendous difficulties, a working-class movement influenced to its depths by every development in Russia.

In consequence, the Seine Federation of Trade Unions ardently desires that from the International Trade Union Congress, about to be held at Moscow, there shall arise an International of producers, an emanation of the economic power of Labour in full ascendance.

That that International, destined to bring together the proletariat of the various countries, shall tend to radiate beyond frontiers, to eliminate all nationalism; that it shall take its stand clearly on the ground of the class-struggle; that it shall affirm in unmistakable terms the necessary supremacy of the producer; that it shall proclaim the essential duty, for the latter, of bringing to his economic labours, the foundation of the whole social system, a constant and sustained effort; that it shall have as its objective the precipitative development of revolutionary activity formulated in accordance with the nature of the working-class movements of the various countries; and that it shall not forget, above all, that the producer, the brain or factory worker alone, holds in his hands the conditions of human enfranchisement.

The Seine Federation calls to the attention of the new International that, especially in France, a revolution, whatever its determining motive force may be, will evolve, and come to realisation along the lines of Revolutionary Trade Unionism, and by means of its organs: the C.G.T., the Departmental Federations, and the Trade Unions and Federations.

The Seine Federation intends to combine the task of detaching the Proletariat from the Amsterdam International in order to unite it to that of Moscow, with the task of preparing the Revolution which is now already in sight.

In the meanwhile, a parallel controversy was raging within the Unions and local Federations; and the decision of the C.C.N. to expel the Unions affiliating to the C.S.R. proved impossible to carry out. The situation was so indefinite in

The Conflict in French Trade Unionism 71

May that the official elements of the C.G.T., at a special meeting of the National Confederal Council, secured the adoption of a resolution authorising the holding of a general Congress of the C.G.T. in July, with the object of clearing the air. This was opposed by the Left elements, who urged that there was no justification for holding the next Congress earlier than September, the date fixed by the Orleans Congress. The full Congress of the C.G.T. was accordingly fixed for July, when the present strength of the opposing tendencies will be revealed.

RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE NATIONAL CONFEDERAL COUNCIL OF THE C.G.T., MAY 12, 1921, BY 80 VOTES to 33

The C.C.N. records the first painful results attendant upon the campaign of calumny and division which has been pursued for many months, despite the various resolutions adopted by the C.C.N.

Recent events, the military measures, and the calling-up of the Class of '19, which are preparing the way for new and protracted sanguinary conflicts; the whole attitude of the Government, guided exclusively by the reactionary forces of the country—these have made clear, in the present grave situation, to what extent the C.G.T. has been rendered incapable of action.

That, on the other hand, the campaign of intolerance and obstruction organised by the opposition prevents it from the dignified and useful fulfilment of the mission with which it is entrusted, as well as from any hope, under existing conditions, of working constructively and forcefully.

That it is highly important to find a remedy, for which end the assemblage of all the confederal organisations is indispensable; that a direct consultation of the Trade Unions will be able to call forth decisive results.

That the next Confederal Congress must not only lay down once more the position and the orientation of the Trade Union movement, but must also determine practical and efficacious means of imposing, upon all, loyal respect for its decisions by such disciplinary measures as are required in order to preserve unity of action.

RESOLUTION PROPOSED BY MONMOUSSEAU, ON BEHALF OF THE LEFT, AT THE NATIONAL CONFEDERAL COUNCIL OF THE C.G.T., MAY 12, 1921, AND DEFEATED (33 VOTES AGAINST 80)

By participating in the war-policy known as national defence; by abandoning the principles of the Charter of Amiens, in propaganda and in deeds, from 1914 up to the present day, in relation to all the social problems confronting the proletariat; by subordinating our interests as a class to so-called general interests; by doing nothing to co-ordinate the efforts of Unions struggling, alone and one after the other, against the employers' bloc, formed under the pretext of the "union sacrée" during

the war; the directors of the C.G.T. have lost contact with the labouring masses, whose confidence they no longer possess.

The denial of the fundamental principles of French Trade Unionism—the class-struggle and internationalism—has determined the opposition of a minority which has developed in the degree that the central organism turned aside from its goal.

It is in order to fetter and destroy this new corrective force, which has conquered the sympathies of the workers, that they have adopted a policy of expelling the revolutionary elements.

The resolutions of the Confederal Bureau provoking expulsions, forced through previous National Confederal Councils, have met with such hostility throughout the country that it is impossible to put them into force, and even to present them again for the acceptance of the present C.C.N.

This situation leads the Confederal Bureau to-day to rush the holding of the Congress of Lille, in the hope of finding again a majority to take the responsibility for the expulsions and for the scission of the C.G.T.

The Confederal Committee, formally condemning this policy of disorganising the forces of Trade Unionism, and believing that the freedom of expression of tendencies must be guaranteed within the C.G.T., declares that there are no grounds for changing the date of the Congress, fixed according to statute for September, 1921, by the Congress of Orleans.

THE NEW UNIONISM IN AMERICA

The Story of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America

By JACOB S. POTOFSKY,
Assistant General Secretary, A.C.W. of A.

THE Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America is one of the leading militant organisations in America. Its history is a long chain of successful struggles which have made that organisation known and admired, not only in America but also in Continental Europe.

The Amalgamated is credited :—

1 With having abolished the sweatshop system, for many years the curse of the needle trades.

2 With having raised wages of the clothing workers from a starvation level to an American standard, making it an industry worth while working in.

3 With having introduced the forty-four hours week for the entire needle industry, benefiting about 400,000 workers.

4 With having introduced democracy in the industry, giving workers a voice in determining the conditions under which they shall work and developing a collective bargaining adjustment machinery.

5 With being the first, and perhaps the only, Labour organisation in the world to contribute the sum of 100,000 dollars to another Labour Union whose members were on strike. This contribution was made to the steel strikers in their 1919 general strike.

The Amalgamated is a comparatively young organisation, having been officially organised under the name in December, 1914. Though less than seven years old, it has a fascinating history, which reads like a novel. The great difficulty in an article of this kind is to be brief and at the same time convey an understanding of this type of union, for in America it is a unique type. This Union has now a membership of nearly 200,000. It is not affiliated to the American Federation of Labour. We shall deal with the reasons for its non-affiliation later, but a word must be said

on the question of secession, for it is claimed that the Amalgamated is a secessionist movement.

The problems of secession and jurisdiction have given the American Labour movement more trouble than any other problem within the movement. The A.F. of L. has endeavoured to maintain a fixed policy on the subject, but no such thing is possible. Labour must not maintain one fixed attitude towards secession, for there are certain secession movements which do not deserve that name. The duty of the Labour movement is to differentiate between one secessionist movement and another. But the attitude of the A.F. of L. is "right or wrong, we stand by the officials." Though they usurp power, though they violate the rights of their constituency, it does not matter; the attitude is all the same. The Amalgamated is a case in point. Its leaders had never intended to lead a secessionist movement. They were, as a matter of fact, opposed to it, but when the majority of the accredited delegates were debarred from participation in their own convention by the officials, who feared that they would not be re-elected, and all efforts to get them seated failed, naturally there was no other course open but to declare that the officials had usurped the power, and go before the membership. This is what the debarred delegates had done, and this is what led to the formation of the Amalgamated.

And now for a brief historical background. In 1891 an organisation known as the United Garment Workers of America was founded. Nominally the organisation is still in existence, but it is no longer a factor either in the industry or in the Labour movement. It has failed to organise the clothing workers of the country, or to hold the confidence of those clothing workers who happened to be in the organisation. The only bond between the officers and the members was mutual antagonism.

The strikes in 1913 served as a turning point in the history of the clothing workers' organisation. The workers began to build strong local Unions against the wishes of the general

officers. The fear of the increasing membership, which was aggressive and militant, made the reactionary officers so blind with madness that they excluded as already referred to, without warrant, almost all the clothing workers' delegates from the biennial convention of the organisation held in October, 1914, in Nashville, Tennessee, disfranchising at least 70 per cent. of the membership. The delegates who were allowed to take their seats were almost entirely from the locals of overall workers, whom the general officers had then and still have at their mercy by means of the Union label.

The delegates who were barred from the convention by the general officers, and also some of the delegates who had been seated, held their own convention in the same city. They elected Sidney Hillman as their General President, Joseph Schlossberg as their General Secretary, and a General Executive Board, and established a complete machinery for the work of organisation.

When the convention of the American Federation of Labour in Philadelphia, in 1914, was appealed to by the clothing workers, the convention refused to listen to the appeal. The disfranchised members were pronounced secessionists. The deposed officers thought that that term of anathema from the lexicon of Trade Union officialdom would be sufficient to annihilate the spirit of self-consciousness among the workers.

Immediately upon its assuming office the new administration was confronted by a serious industrial conflict in Baltimore. Without a treasury, without effective machinery, because of the lack of time to establish it, and against terrible odds, the General Executive Board took up the fight. The situation was particularly complicated and aggravated by the fact that a section of the locked-out workers, the cutters, adhered to the deposed officers, while the tailors pledged allegiance to the new administration. The cutters' refusal to work in harmony with their fellow-workers in the other branches of the industry was mainly due to the fact that for about a quarter of a century the general officers had inten-

tionally and deliberately cultivated feelings of antagonism between the cutters and the tailors. Until the advent of the A.C.W. of A., the cutters had been taught to consider themselves the Labour aristocracy in the clothing industry as against the tailors, and whatever little efforts were made by the general officers to organise the clothing industry were mostly confined to the cutters' branch. As a result the cutters would remain at work when the other branches were striking, and vice versa.

The magnitude of the new administration's task in Baltimore will be better understood if cognisance is taken of the fact that, while the new administration had no funds at all to take care of the tailors, numbering about 2,500, the deposed officers had in their possession a large treasury with which to take care of the small number of cutters involved. Such was the spirit of enthusiasm among the locked-out tailors in Baltimore for the rejuvenated organisation that, though penniless, they rejected with scorn all offers of financial assistance made to them by representatives of the former administration if they would agree to stand by it. The cutters were actually led to betray the tailors and returned to work while the tailors were still out. In spite of that treachery, and in spite of the poverty of the locked-out workers, they won the fight gloriously. Thus, the first struggle led by the new organisation was also its first victory.

It needs no stretch of imagination to realise how greatly that victory strengthened the spirit of the "secessionists," for it has for the first time brought to the clothing workers a realisation of confidence in their own strength, irrespective of what the so-called official Labour movement may do.

Having passed through their first baptism of fire, the new administration, which still went under the name of U.G.W. of A., brought its house in order—brought order out of chaos and called the organisation to a special convention, held December 26-28, 1914, in New York. At that convention the new name was adopted, the name of the Amalgamated Cloth-

ing Workers of America. The change of name became necessary because of litigation begun by the deposed officers.

The career of the A.C.W. of A. begins with the New York convention. Some of the acts of the New York convention were the laying down of the principle of reducing unemployment by shortening the working week, emphasising the necessity of organising the various crafts in the industry along industrial lines, and making May 1, the international Labour holiday, a legal holiday of the organisation. An organisation campaign was undertaken on a large scale. Until that time all organisation work had been sporadic, carried on at irregular intervals, always of a local character, never with any system, or under central direction. The A.C.W. of A. undertook a systematic organisation campaign under the direction of the International Office.

At the second biennial convention, May, 1916, in Rochester, the organised clothing workers became conscious for the first time of the fact that their convention constituted the parliament of the clothing industry, and that the convention had it in its power to legislate for the industry. It was that convention that passed a resolution giving expression of the dream of many years of clothing workers—the establishment of the 48-hours week.

In order to realise fully the great significance of that act it must be remembered that but a few years ago the workers in the clothing industry had no limit to their working week. The employers opposed all efforts to inaugurate the 48-hours week. A number of real fights were necessary to carry that out. We succeeded all along the line, and it was made clear to the employers that the legislation of the amalgamated conventions was no mere pious wish, but acts that the industry must recognise.

When we met in convention in May, 1918, in Baltimore, the General Executive Board reported the complete victory of the 48-hours week. That convention enacted the 44-hours law for the clothing industry. It seemed a rather unusually hasty way of making progress. A number of our friends

thought that our judgment was affected by our success; our enemies had hoped that we had undertaken more than was in our power, and that we would break under the burden. Those who had judged us that way only showed that they did not know the Amalgamated. However aggressive we may be in our actions, the tremendous responsibilities resting on us have taught us to be deliberate and cautious in our judgment and decision.

On the day that the Armistice was signed the employers in New York opened fire by locking us out from the factories on the 44-hours issue. Their challenge to us was such that we were compelled to fight lest we lose all we had gained. The employers undertook the tremendous task of destroying our organisation, choosing the most propitious time for such a purpose. A struggle involving 60,000 people, representing a population of perhaps a quarter of a million souls, and lasting about three months, determined the issue. We won the 44-hours week. Most of the other clothing centres agreed to give us a shorter week without a test of strength.

This is now the official and legal working week in the clothing industry, and will so continue until the Amalgamated will legislate a shorter week. It will not be amiss to note that while that great struggle cost the organisation a half-million dollars, all of that money with the exception of 11,000 dollars given to us by friendly organisations as an expression of solidarity and without our solicitation, was raised by the membership throughout the country.

Since the 44-hours victory in New York, the Amalgamated has made giant strides in organising the clothing industry throughout North America.

Recently the Amalgamated has been put to the test of a fight for its life. Its growing influence was more than the enemies of Labour could endure, and so they seized upon the first opportunity to crush the Union which was the most aggressive. The attack upon the Amalgamated was part of the open-shop movement backed by the Steel Trust, chambers of commerce and other financial interests. It must be

borne in mind that since May, 1920, there was little work, particularly in the industry in New York. This depression was on for several months when the employers announced their demands. Those demands were: for piece work, right to hire and fire, right to change contractors, reduction in wages and others.

The Amalgamated sought every possible effort to avoid a break. It was willing to submit the entire matter to an impartial investigation. It was willing to concede production standards and make wage adjustments, but the enemy was bent on fighting, and a final break took place on December 6, 1920, when the employers announced that the impartial chairman ceased functioning, and that they would put through their own programme: the lock-out began.

The strategy of the Union was to localise the fight as far as possible. The employers made efforts to make the fight general. They appealed to the employers of the other clothing centres for help, but most of the employers in the other cities had agreements with the Union and realised that the Amalgamated is invincible. The only employers' association that joined as a whole was that of Boston, involving about 5,000 members. Six small employers in Baltimore also declared a lock-out involving 2,500 members more. Chicago, Rochester, Philadelphia, Montreal, Toronto and the rest of the clothing centres remained at work.

Having succeeded in checking the employers in the first move, the Union now turned its efforts to raise a fund and be prepared for a long struggle. It called an extraordinary meeting of its General Executive Board and invited also the various managers in the different cities. This special meeting voted in favour of calling upon the working membership for a voluntary assessment. Ten per cent. of the earnings was the basis, and each city decided for itself the best method of collecting its quota. A million dollars was set as the goal.

A bugle call for a million dollars fund was sent out to

the membership and within ten weeks that amount was over-subscribed. At the time the call was issued the employers thought it mere bravado on the part of the officials to call for such a large fund. They were keenly hurt to note in the Press that each week more than 100,000 dollars was received in the Union's General Office.

The assessment continued even though the quota was raised. Money was needed to prosecute the lock-out to a successful finish, and the members continued their support till the very end without stint. Before the lock-out ended nearly 2,000,000 dollars had been turned into the Union's treasury. All of this excepting 80,000 dollars, which amount was voluntarily contributed by the International Ladies' Garment Workers, the New York daily, *Forward*, the Millinery Workers, the Leather-Goods Workers and a couple of the smaller Unions, came from the pockets of the Amalgamated members.

Such was the spirit of the organisation that in the 15th week of the lock-out the organisation was fearless enough to undertake an offensive move. The Philadelphia employers were reported to be assisting the New York employers. The Amalgamated promptly declared a general strike, and within one week all had returned and there was no more scab work in the city.

As already noted, conditions have been poor in New York since May. Thousands of people had been idle for months. The Union, therefore, gave the problem of relief immediate attention. It considered that the fight would be a prolonged one and the money collected should be made to go as far as possible. Commissariat stores were decided upon to distribute food among those in need. Seven stores were opened and maintained all through the lock-out, giving members the benefit of wholesale prices. In addition there were what was called emergency cases whose rent, gas and other bills were paid. Arrangements had also been made for medical assistance with the Joint Board of Sanitary Control. The service was paid for by the Union.

The leaders of the organisation have hoped that the commissariat stores may be continued as a co-operative enterprise after the lock-out, but unfortunately co-operation has not reached that stage in America. The ending of the lock-out also marks the end of the commissariat stores.

The regular American method of injunctions was invoked to a degree that has not been heard of in an industrial struggle before. About twenty injunctions have been applied for by individual firms and half that number granted. Each firm asked for damages in various amounts which totalled up to nearly 4,000,000 dollars. Besides, two firms have petitioned the Court for dissolution of the Union because it is a conspiracy against the present social order and naturally against the Government. This was the first case of its kind in America.

The opinion of one judge on the bench was that the United States Government can take care of itself. It does not need the help of the New York clothing manufacturers. Another judge from the same branch of the Superior Court issued an ex-parte order, prohibiting picketing, &c. The injunctions, however, failed to produce any clothing. Neither did it have the effect of any members returning to work. On the contrary, the injunctions served to strengthen the morale of the locked-out members. The employers, realising that it was next to impossible to subdue the Amalgamated, sued for peace.

The Amalgamated scored a complete victory, inasmuch as it was instrumental in dethroning those responsible for the lock-out, the injunctions and the entire war machinery. The impartial machinery which was scrapped by the employers in December, 1920, was again restored, and an agreement was entered upon on June 3, 1921. Thus the conflict ended after a struggle of six months.

Minor compromises were made by the Union, namely, an allowance of fifteen per cent. reduction in wages for tailors, and the establishment of production standards. But these concessions the Union was quite willing to make before

the lock-out had taken place. The employers then turned it down. They know better now.

We come now to the structure of the Amalgamated.

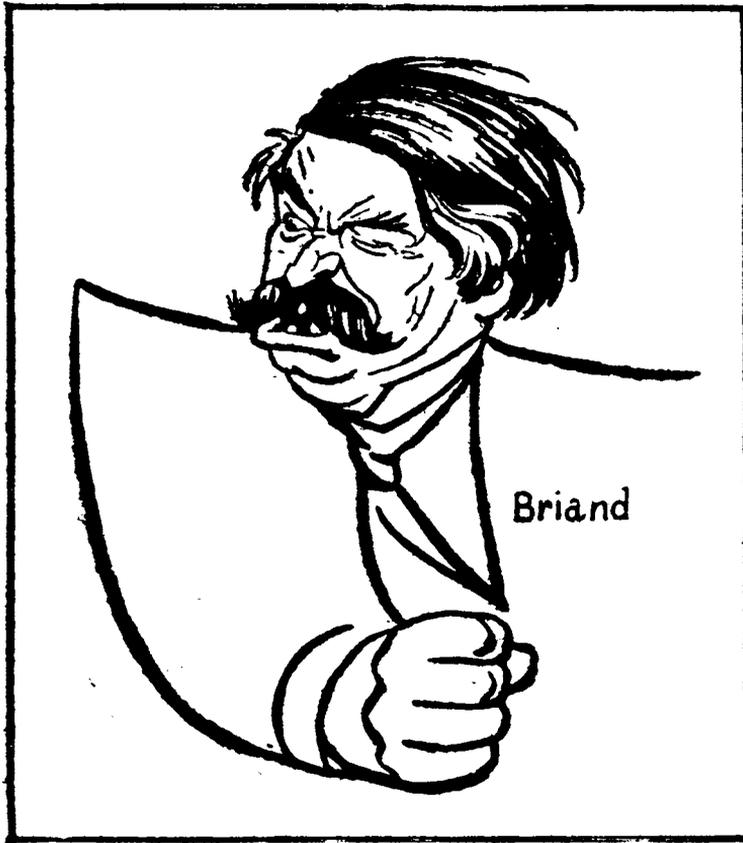
Built upon the principle of industrial unionism, the Amalgamated has in its midst not only those directly engaged in the making of clothing, but also those indirectly involved, as, for instance, spongers, those who sponge the cloth before it is cut; drivers, who haul the cut work to the shops; machinists, who repair the machines when out of order; and shipping clerks, who pack and ship the goods when ready.

The Amalgamated is also an international Union in spirit and composition. It is a conglomeration of races. The European reader will be surprised to learn that there are no less than thirty-one different nationalities, each speaking its own language, but all imbued with the same spirit—the spirit of solidarity. The different languages are no hindrance to a complete understanding of the problems confronting the organisation. Indeed, one of the reasons for the cohesion and unity of purpose is the different language papers published by the General Office of the A.C.W. of A. In all, eight publications in the following principal languages are published:—English, Yiddish, Italian, Polish, Bohemian, Lithuanian, French and Russian.

The Amalgamated also values educational work considerably. It established an educational department which carries on educational work throughout the United States and Canada. It published a series of educational pamphlets and is planning an Amalgamated Labour Year Book.

Besides the regular administration departments in the organisation, there are two departments which are not common in all Labour Unions. They are the Record and Research Departments. The Record Department concerns itself with the records and statistics of the members, while the duty of the Research Department is to gather statistics about the industry, the earnings of the members, the cost of living and all other matters of interest to Labour.

CARTOONS OF THE
MONTH
A RUSSIAN CARICATURE



From *Moscow*, the organ of the Third Congress of the Communist International

UNEMPLOYMENT IN AMERICA



From the *New York Call*. Drawing by Ryan Walker

MILITARISM AND ANTI-MILITARISM IN FRANCE

THE CONQUERORS

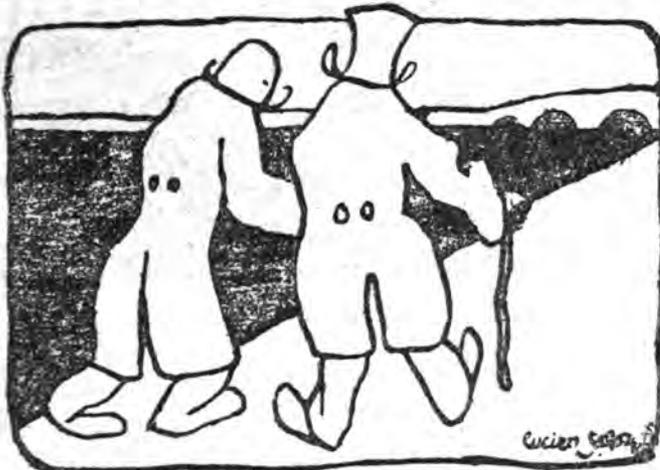
THE CONQUERED



French and German Capitalists

French and German Workers

From the *Voix Paysanne*. Drawing by Michel Ducan



"When I think that in this twentieth century there are still Germans in existence, I ask myself whether I am still a Frenchman"

From *Humanité*. Drawing by Lucien Laforge

GERMAN CAPITALISM RECOVERING



The Tentacles of Stinnes

The great German industrialist, Stinnes, is reported to control over 170 enterprises and 60 newspapers

From the Freie Welt

SHORTER NOTICES

THE FOURTH ALL-RUSSIAN TRADES UNION CONGRESS

THE Fourth All-Russian Congress of Trade Unions was held in Moscow on May 18, and lasted to May 26, 1921. It was the first full Congress of Russian Trade Unionists since the end of military operations on all fronts in Soviet Russia. The agenda covered a wide field, as can be seen from the following items:—

- (a) Report of the All-Russian Council of Trade Unions;
- (b) Regulation of payment by commodities and money;
- (c) Protection of labour and insurance;
- (d) Methods of increasing production;
- (e) Reconstruction of Soviet Russia's industry;
- (f) Co-operation;
- (g) Education, etc.

Secretary Schmidt gave a detailed report about the activities of the Presidium of the All-Russian Council. The Executive report dealt with the difficulties of organising during the past year owing to the continuous operations on many fronts. The proposed regulation for payment by commodities had also been hindered by the great scarcity of food and of manufactured goods. It was hoped, however, that in the near future this subject would be regulated according to the decisions of the last Congress. The activities of Trade Unionists in the different Soviet institutions were also reported, and it was pointed out that the power of the Trade Unions as regards questions of labour, food, etc., had increased very much. The report showed that the number of trade organisations had doubled. The total membership of all Russian Trade Unions is estimated at 6,800,000, of whom 1,123,000 are in Ukraine, 450,000 in Caucasia, 559,000 in Siberia and Urals, and 120,000 in the Soviet Republic of Kirgiz.

Kaplun spoke on the protection of labour. He pointed out that now all institutions in connection with this are no longer in the hands of the Commissariat of Labour, but are entrusted to the Trade Unions.

Ziperovich spoke on economic reconstruction. He submitted a number of practical proposals which were accepted by the Congress.

Schmidt gave a report on co-operation, while Tomsky spoke on future work of the Trade Unions and Isaieff on education.

At the end Comrade Bucharin gave a speech on the economic position of Western Europe and Russia. When Bucharin had finished his speech Lozovsky moved that the Congress should vote

a sum of 200,000 gold roubles for the British miners. This was seconded by hundreds of voices at once, and carried unanimously. Thereupon all the delegates rose and sang the Internationale and gave many hearty cheers for the British miners.

NORWEGIAN MEMORANDUM ON THE CONTROL OF INDUSTRY

THE Norwegian Federation of Labour has addressed a memorandum to the Government demanding control of industry and support for the unemployed. The following extracts are given in the Danish *Arbejderbladet* (June 7):—

“ We have repeatedly demanded the introduction of industrial control, so that it may be possible to prevent undertakings from being closed down, except on grounds of public utility. For it appears to us quite evident that in many cases the closing down of works is simply a concealed form of lock-out on the part of the employers, carried out in order to force down wages fixed by arbitration or agreement. It was made abundantly clear during the negotiations in the seamen’s dispute that the employers do not hesitate to demand changes in wage-rates which, according to arbitration decree, are valid until 1922.

“ It is therefore essential that the closing down of works and the management of industry as a whole shall be subject to control. We do not here propose to enter into details as to how this may be carried out. There should be no great difficulties, provided the will to overcome them is there. The general lines of control in this matter may be supposed to take the form of control by industry. A council or committee may be appointed for each industry, composed of representatives of the workers in the industry (the term workers to cover all persons engaged in the industry irrespective of position). These industrial councils would link up with the workers’ committees or works’ councils of individual undertakings. They would have the right to control management, examine accounts, etc. No stoppage would be allowed without the sanction of the industrial council.

“ Control of this type would make for security, and would prevent the exploitation of crises for speculative purposes or for forcing down the workers’ wages. . . .

“ If work cannot be found the unemployed must be supported. Hitherto the unemployment funds of the Trade Unions, supplemented by public grants, have been sufficient. But with the growth of unemployment the Trade Union funds become depleted, to which should be added the fact that the unemployment of individual workers is of such long duration that they lose the right to benefit. It is estimated that at present some 15,000 of the unemployed are

wholly without support, and this number is steadily increasing. It is to be feared that the position next autumn and winter will be even worse.

“Under these circumstances our Executive Committee (Representantskap) has determined to demand a grant of Kr.50 millions for the unemployed, and we therefore request the Government to include such grant in the forthcoming Budget.

“In laying this matter before the Government we demand that action be taken immediately. Delay may have fatal results. The many thousands who are prevented from earning their living by their labour have the right to demand of the Government of the country that no means be left untried to provide them with work or support.”

GERMAN TRADE UNION STATISTICS

THE latest statistics from Germany show that the membership of the Trade Union movement has decreased during 1921. The total number of organised workers is now 7,968,590—6,308,000 men and 1,660,590 women; for the last quarter of 1920 the figures were: total, 8,006,435—men, 6,315,303; women, 1,691,132. In part this may be due to the Silesian situation, for many Germans have there joined the Polish Unions; but the reduction is also attributed to a growing apathy amongst the workers caused by the increase in the cost of living on the one hand, and the impossibility of procuring wage increases to meet the situation.

Employers are threatening an all-round 15 per cent. reduction in wages; many industries are closed down or working part time because of the “sanctions” and resultant cut in the export trade.

TRADE UNION REPRESSION IN HUNGARY AND JUGO-SLAVIA

A RECENT report shows the number of organised workers in Hungary to be 152,441, while in 1918 the strength was 721,437. The counter-revolutionary activities have done much to reduce the Trade Union membership, and in addition the railway, tramway, State and municipal employees' Unions have been disbanded. Unemployment is rife owing to cessation of exports, and Union funds are being rapidly exhausted, as there are no State unemployment grants.

In Jugo-Slavia the Government has led the way in the matter of wage reductions; after the unsuccessful strike in the Bosnian State Mines the first act of the Government was to reduce wages.

Despite the Government's desire to kill the Trade Union movement, it has not dared to declare Trade Unions in general illegal; but employees in State enterprises or those of public utility are forbidden to belong to any Union or to strike.

BOOK REVIEWS

THE GERMAN REVOLUTION.

Die Deutsche Revolution, ihr Ursprung, ihr Verlauf, und ihr Werk.
Eduard Bernstein. Verlag Gesellschaft und Erziehung,
Fichtenau.

Was ist das Verbrechen? Die Maerzaktion oder die Kritik darum.
Paul Levi. Verlag Seehof, Berlin.

EDWARD BERNSTEIN has just published the first volume of his history of the German Revolution. There are probably few people better adapted to write this history than Bernstein, who as the founder of the Reformist school of German Socialism, is the obvious man to interpret this most reformist of Revolutions. This last term is, of course, a contradiction, but the fact is that Bernstein has to face a contradiction from the outset of his book. For the early chapters contain admirable descriptions of the great mass action of November, 1918, for "freedom, peace and bread," of the sailors' revolt at Kiel, and of the general strike at Berlin—all very improper forms of direct action, which must pain the heart of a good Reformist; while the rest of the book has to explain how this great revolt was in reality nothing more than a desire on the part of the German people to live a little more comfortably within the framework of the capitalist system. One may therefore be pardoned for harbouring the idea that Bernstein would really have preferred that the Kiel sailors had not revolted, that the Berlin workmen had not struck, but had instead sent a deputation to William Hohenzollern, requesting him to be so kind as to grant a constitution and to abdicate. But if they had done this, I do not believe that Bernstein would ever have written his book.

This history is certainly the best that has yet appeared on the German Revolution. Bernstein has had access to the official archives and gives us, as objectively as possible, the various currents running within the Revolution. He is tolerably fair even to the Spartacists, and quotes large extracts from their Press of that period. Of course, he allows his own views to intrude upon the narrative, as he is duly entitled to do. One sees the author's pet idea of Socialist Unity running through the book. For instance, the Independent Socialists come in for criticism in Chapter xi for having left the revolutionary Government in December, 1918, as a protest against the activities of Scheidemann, Ebert and Landsberg. "This made the situation of the young republic most difficult. It removed from the Government those elements, whose attitude during the war guaranteed a break with Kaiserdom. At home it removed the guarantees against the suspicions of the most radical elements of the populace. From

a human point of view the coup of the Independents was explicable. Politically it was a disastrous capitulation to Spartakus." And here, of course, Bernstein just fails to see the essential fact of this period, viz. : the inevitable collision between those who were determined that the German Revolution should be a social one and those who were equally determined that it should be nothing more than a political one with a change of personalities.

Bernstein is quite fair in those of his passages dealing with the revolts of the Marine Brigade and the activities of Noske. His own party comrades come in for criticism for having used the military units of the old Kaiser's army to fire upon Berlin workmen and sailors on Christmas Eve, 1918, before all avenues of peaceful persuasion had been explored. Noske is regarded as a "victim of circumstances," which required that "someone must be a bloodhound." In fact, Bernstein is uncomfortably aware of the fact, which outside observers in Berlin during these weeks had become aware of, namely, that once the Majority Socialists had decided to postpone big social changes in Germany to the indefinite future, there was nothing left for them but to crush Spartakus in blood and to use the ex-Kaiser's generals to do the job, with a Socialist camouflage in the person of Noske to make it look respectable. Bernstein obviously does not like the rôle that his party was forced to play by the logic of circumstances. So he thunders at Spartakus and shakes his head sadly over Scheidemann.

Throughout the book there is complete failure to see in Spartakus anything but an anarcho-Blanquist phenomenon. This is curious, for Bernstein, with his knowledge of Marxian literature, should at least understand that "direct mass action" is not the same as "Blanquism." In order to understand this period of the German Revolution it is necessary to read Paul Levi's new booklet, which has opportunely just appeared, on the crisis in the German Communist Party. Levi shows that among the Spartacists in January, 1919, there were two tendencies in sharp conflict with one another. One was for the overthrow of the Scheidemann Government by the armed revolt of a few select forces. To this group Liebknecht gave his prestige and partly also his leadership. Levi correctly calls this the "Blanquist" group within Spartakus, seeking to bring about great social changes by the shock tactics of an armed minority. Against this was the other group, led by Rosa Luxemburg and Yogisches, who held that the time was not ripe for the overthrow of the Scheidemann regime, and that no social revolution can be "made" by a small group without at least the passive support of the indifferent masses. Levi makes the startling assertion that Rosa Luxemburg would have broken with Liebknecht, as soon as the rising of January, 1919, in Berlin had been liquidated, had not both of them been cruelly

murdered in the meantime. The crisis, which owing to their deaths and the Noske Terror did not take place within the German Communist Party, has now come and is reflected in the crisis of the whole Third International. The World Congress in Moscow will have to decide whether the Third International is to become an "anarchist club," as Levi puts it, or the centre round which the revolutionary "mass parties" of the world are to congregate.

M. PHILLIPS PRICE.

BACK TO PLOTINUS.

Back to Methusaleh: A Metaphysical Pentateuch. By Bernard Shaw. Constable, 10s.

IN their old age men turn to religion. The alarming parallelism between the later Shaw and the later Wells in the freedom with which they scatter the name of God about their pages is an interesting example of the pietism of the post-war period. Not that Shaw ever sinks to the level of Wells; his style, far from being less brilliant as he pretends, is more packed and incisive than ever; but there is in both, whether translated through the commonplaceness of the one mind or the fineness of the other, the same air of intensive and slightly inhuman ethical preoccupation.

The explanation may be found by a little closer study of the social philosopher, Marx, whom Shaw appears to confuse with the materialist, Buckle, and to remember only as the author of a work on Capital. All post-war literature needs to be studied pathologically. Horror and the breakdown of all visible order makes men seek for comfort. Some find it in animalism, some in spiritualism, and some in mysticism. On the intense and trained perception of Shaw the war has produced a reaction more intense than on any other living writer. Nowhere, save in the manifestoes of the Third International, is there anything so nearly adequate to its significance as in "Heartbreak House" and the present volume. Far more than the direct war-studies and war poems these books will stand out as a measure of the horror reached. It is this vivid, unforgetting consciousness of contemporary fact, and not his rather thin philosophising, that gives to Shaw his pre-eminent position and makes other writers appear as children besides him.

The actual basic conception may be dull. In the present volume he proposes that human beings by a great effort of will (like John Stuart Mill overcoming his natural bonhomie to write on political economy) should live for 300 years. There is nothing very striking or convincing in this. The notion that length of years gives a wider outlook hardly seems justified by experience. But the real point of the suggestion is in the demonstration that men to-day are children,

unfit to live or look after themselves, and yet armed with powers that would make the ancient gods look small.

One must be excused for not treating the long discourses on "Creative Evolution" too seriously. They are very inspiring and uplifting to those who like an inspiration and uplift that is at any rate sensible and not palpably dishonest. But the scientific jargon is just juggling. Shaw is always good at getting up the technicalities of a trade, witness his splendid stuff on boxing. But the real argument is purely and simply ethical. He objects to mind being driven out of the universe. The alternative theory of chance, or rather "circumstantial selection," he describes successively as coarse, shallow, sickening, and inhuman. In other words, he does not like it. Now it is very creditable to prefer that mind and will should be given first place, if a theory is to have vital value. But someone else may prefer that a personal God should be introduced as essential to the scheme of things from the point of view of good living. And someone else may prefer heaven, purgatory, and hell, or the divine mission of the State. And so on without end. That is the worst of teleology. It always leads you to fit reality to your desires, instead of learning to subordinate your desires to reality. The only real alternative is dialectic. But the Marxian dialectic is unknown and unguessed at to the bourgeois and intellectual world, as the writings of their most distinguished representatives continually betray. And after all Shaw is simply a first-class old-school teleological philosopher. R. P. D.

THE LABOUR INTERNATIONAL HAND-BOOK, 1921. Edited by R. PALME DUTT. 12/6

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6 TAVISTOCK SQUARE, LONDON, W.C.1

THE
LABOUR
MONTHLY

A MAGAZINE OF INTERNATIONAL LABOUR

Volume 1 AUGUST, 1921 Number 2

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6 Tavistock Square, London, W.C.1

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The Labour Monthly

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39 CURSITOR STREET · E.C.4

Advertisement Office:

6 TAVISTOCK SQUARE · W.C.1

¶ The Editors of *The Labour Monthly* invite contributions. They cannot, however, be held responsible for MSS. sent to them, and can only return the same when stamps to cover postage are enclosed.

Subscription Rates:

[PAID IN ADVANCE]

Six months - 7/6 One year - 15/-

Advertising Rates:

Ordinary position, per page, £5 5s. and *pro rata*

Special positions:

Inside Cover, per page, £8 8s. and *pro rata*.

Facing "Contents," per page, £7 7s.

THE LABOUR MONTHLY

A Magazine of International Labour

VOLUME 1 AUGUST, 1921 NUMBER 2

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Drawing by Henri Jean Louis

Back to the Pre-War Grind.

NOTES of the MONTH

*Two Conferences—The Moscow Congress—Militarism and
Economics—The Red Trade Union International—
The French Crisis at Lille—American
Labour Developments*

TWO Conferences are likely to mark the year 1921. One is the Conference of the Great Powers to be held at Washington under the auspices of the American Government. The other is the Conference of the revolutionary movements of the world just held at Moscow under the auspices of the Russian Government. In the perspective of 1921 these two conferences may be expected to take on a certain symbolic significance. Not that they succeed in summing up in themselves the manifold tendencies and forces at present operating in every country. But they do present in a sharp and extreme contrast the dominant opposing forces in the world situation to-day. It will not fail to be noticed that in a conference of States concerned with the Far East, Russia, a State as directly concerned as any, is ostentatiously left out of the invitation. The Conference of Washington is the Conference of Capitalism endeavouring to recover its balance. Whether Capitalism will succeed in this is the question of the future. Will it ever be possible to return to the pre-war equilibrium? "Back to Pre-War" is the Capitalist motto of to-day—"Normalcy," as President Harding calls it, using, with the skill of the experienced advertiser, a word that repels to fascinate the attention of the world. But, as Bernard Shaw recently remarked to a Committee that was endeavouring to estimate its budget for a normal year, "there will be no more normal years." And even if it were possible to return to Pre-War, does not Pre-War inevitably lead to The War? Thus Capitalism is tied up in its own tangle: the rivalries and dislocations of which it is composed have not been solved, but magnified a hundred times, by the war, and President Harding's Association of Nations has to answer an enigma which has defeated in turn the Hague, the Concert and the League.

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BUT if there is no solution along these lines, if the present depression gives way, not to renewed prosperity, but only to temporary stimulations followed by greater crises, if the path to bankruptcy and world war is followed out to its bitter end, then, and then only, arises the importance of that permanent waiting opposition of revolution which is represented by the Moscow Congress. This, rather than the actual proceedings, which seem to have been less noteworthy than on previous occasions, is the significance for the world in general of the Moscow Congress. The reports that are so far available of the Congress do not suggest any important decision or change in policy. The central question that dominated all others is the question that is facing every government and school of thought to-day. What is the future of the world situation? Is the revolutionary wave passing, or is the present set-back only temporary? Will Capitalism be able to re-establish itself as a stable system? It is the same question that in another form is facing Washington. The answer of Moscow will be found in the report presented to the Congress by L. Trotsky and E. Varga, which we reprint elsewhere, so far as it bears on the world economic situation. For the rest, the Congress was occupied for most of the time with internal questions of the various parties; and on these the existing situation was approved without change. The Italian Socialist Party, which under the leadership of Serrati had stood for unity with the Parliamentarian Turati, was definitely refused admission; the German Communist Labour Party (a Left-Wing semi-Syndicalist body) was instructed to unite with the German Communist Party if it was to remain in the Third International; the French Communist Party, which, having only just taken over the majority of French Socialists to Communism, is still new to the Communist tradition, was let off with a caution; the same treatment was accorded to the other principal new accession, the Czecho-Slovak Communist party, a new party with nearly half a million members; and the British Communist Party appears to have received a severe admonition for its lack of effective contact with the masses. All this is an interesting example of the working of an International which does not feel satisfied with simple conferences and resolutions, but is clearly very keen on keeping its constituent parties up to the scratch.

Notes of the Month

SOME of the debates of the Congress make fascinating reading. On one occasion, during the discussion of the Economic Report, a fiery Polish delegate objected to the appearance of so much economics at a revolutionary congress. "We welcome the fact," said he, "that the report on the economic situation was made by the leader of the Red Army, Comrade Trotsky. This shows that the Communist International will conduct the struggle, not by means of statistics and figures, but with the sword." Trotsky's reply is characteristic. He said: "Comrade Braun declared that we must fight the bourgeoisie, not with statistics, but with the sword; and he confused me with the report. I must remark that in my work with the Red Army I had to deal more with statistics than the sword. The very idea of the sword is romantic. I had to devote more time in the Red Army to uniforms, trousers and pants. Statistics is an adjunct of the sword, and the sword an adjunct of statistics." This scene, which might have come straight out of Shaw's "Arms and the Man," is incidentally a useful corrective to the conventional picture of Trotsky as the fire-eating militarist. It looks as if the Bertrand Russell picture of Trotsky will have to go the way of his picture of Gorki "dying."

FOR the Labour world in general the principal event that happened at Moscow is not the Communist Congress, but the founding of the Red Trade Union International. This project has been incubating ever since last August, and has now at last been hatched. The representatives present at the Congress do not seem to have been much more authoritative spokesmen for their countries than were those at the Inaugural Congress of the Third International two and a half years ago. In the majority of cases, apart from Russia, Italy, and one or two other countries, they represented minority sections, either forming separate movements, as with the I.W.W. of America, or existing simply as oppositions within the national movements. These oppositions represented very varying degrees of organisation; in the case of the British delegation, which was headed by Tom Mann, organisation can hardly be said to have begun. The figures of membership quoted at the Congress were, to say the least of it, premature. Nevertheless, it would be a mis-

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take to underestimate the potentialities of the Red Trade Union International. It may easily become the rallying point round which all the discontents in the Trade Union world may gather and concentrate their attack upon the present leadership. What stands in the way of this is the incurable dissensions of the left wing among themselves. He is a bold man who will hope to unite in one fold the I.W.W., the Syndicalists, the Worker's Committees, the Italian Confederation of Labour, and the Communist Trade Unions of Russia. These dissensions revealed themselves already at the first Congress. A resolution in favour of the closest working relation with the Communist International was carried by 282 to 35 votes, the minority standing for the principle of Trade Union autonomy; and the decision has immediately led to difficulties in the French left wing movement, with its anti-political traditions. Meanwhile we note that the South Wales Miners' Federation (like the Scottish Trades Union Congress before the recent referendum) has voted in favour of affiliation by a large majority.

THE first test of the new Trade Union International has been witnessed in France. The Lille Congress of the French Confederation of Labour represented the culmination of a conflict which has been going on for seven years, ever since the momentous decisions of 1914, when the Confederation on the outbreak of war abandoned its tradition of uncompromising revolution and entered on the new path of social solidarity. The revolutionary minority has been growing steadily, and last year at the Orleans Congress mustered 602 votes against 1,479 for the Executive. Since then a whole series of separate Federations and Departmental Unions have been going over to the revolutionary opposition, including the Railwaymen, the Builders, the Postal and Telegraph Employees and the Unions of the Paris area. The official elements adopted the doubtful policy of endeavouring to expel the opposition from the Trade Union ranks. The final voting shows a very striking growth in the revolutionary strength. The Executive Report was only adopted by 1,556 to 1,348 votes, with 46 abstentions. The policy resolution in favour of continued affiliation to the International Federation of Trade Unions (Amsterdam) was

Notes of the Month

carried by 1,572 to 1,327 votes for the Red Trade Union International. This position is not likely to be permanent; although the danger of a split has been avoided for the present. If the increase in strength of the revolutionaries goes on at the present rate, they should be in control of the Confederation in a very short time. But much may happen before then: the position of the Executive is extremely difficult, and the danger of a split is not yet over.

THE difference between a Congress and a Convention is that the former takes place in Europe and the latter in America. Two recent Conventions in America worth noting must be added to the list of Conferences that have monopolised this month's NOTES. The Denver Convention of the American Federation of Labour in June seemed in the first reports to be merely a victory for President Gompers in the familiar style. But fuller reports now show that a resolution of some interest on the democratic control of industry was passed without a division. The resolution which was introduced by the International Association of Machinists, the third largest Union in the Federation (reprinted on page 180), is entirely vague in character except for its reference to the public ownership and democratic operation of the railways; but it marks a new departure for the American Federation of Labour, and is an extension of the resolution carried last year with reference to the railways alone. It is significant that President Gompers took no part in the discussion. The election to the Presidency was also challenged for the first time since 1885; and Gompers retained his position by 25,324 votes against 12,324 for John Lewis, of the United Mine Workers. In the same month took place the Detroit Convention of the American Socialist Party. The American Socialist Party is now only a shadow of its former self: in the place of the 1919 membership of 109,589 the total was announced to have sunk to 17,000. This is the result of the events of 1919, when many large sections of the party with Communist sympathies were expelled on the ground of alleged irregularities. A message from the National Headquarters states that 60,000 members were then expelled. The party decided to take no action with regard to international affiliation.

“BLACK FRIDAY’ AND AFTER”

A REPLY

By ROBERT WILLIAMS

DURING periods like the present we become prone to over-estimate everything of an untoward nature.

I am fully convinced the Triple Alliance is irretrievably broken, but the Labour Movement and its constituent sections remain with all their possibilities, latent and actual.

We are now back to the state of acute depression we were in during the terrible period between August, 1914, and the end of 1917. In almost every country the vitality of the Labour Movement is at a very low ebb; it is suffering from the physical, mental and moral effects which inevitably follow as a direct consequence of war. The militant section of the rank and file blames and condemns the leaders; the leaders ascribe the present apathy, bordering on despair, to the lack of interest or pugnacity on the part of the overwhelming masses of the rank and file. I think they are both correct. Wars have invariably been followed by periods of physical exhaustion. Ought we to expect virility, pugnacity and audacity to be the outcome of the most recent outburst of organised butchery? The fact remains, the Movement, as such, has for the time being, at least, lost its “punch.”

Mr. Cole in his recent article does well to point out, “it is not worth while to use revolutionary means for purely reformist ends,” nor, may I add, can we possibly use reformist means to accomplish revolutionary aims and objects. The Triple Alliance could never be held to be a revolutionary organisation. From the period of its inception in 1914

“‘Black Friday’ and After.” A Reply

it has been frankly a reformist body. In private conversations between Smillie and myself we have been at all times convinced that it was impossible for the Triple Alliance ever to be more than a sort of finger-post indicating the direction in which organised Labour might ultimately march as a solid phalanx.

When, in 1914, the constitution was drawn up, the Alliance was almost torpedoed by the attempt on the part of the Miners’ Federation to impose its ballot system upon the other two constituent organisations. A compromise was arranged in the following form (Clause 8 of the Constitution):—

“Joint action can only be taken when the question at issue has been before the members of the three organisations and decided upon by such methods as the constitution of each organisation provides.”

The Miners’ Federation, outnumbering as it does the Railwaymen and Transport workers combined, has largely influenced the thought, feeling and policy of the Alliance. To the Miners the ballot is a sacred institution; the tradition has grown up in consequence of the conditions obtaining in mining work. Men in the mining world move slowly, but their movement is solid and precise; for many years non-unionism has ceased to exist, and the employment of blackleg labour is quite out of the question in a Mining Dispute. Transport workers and Railwaymen—especially the intelligent amongst them—realise that a ballot in their industries would be disastrous. On many occasions it has been pointed out to the Miners’ Federation representatives that there should be an all-round reciprocal obligation on the part of the three organisations, if the Triple Alliance was ever to become a really militant organisation. The Alliance has always rested on the assumption that if the Railwaymen and/or the Transport workers found themselves in a position where they had to fight for the very existence of their organisation, no material help, in the form of sympathetic strike action, could come from the Miners’ Federa-

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tion until the members of that body had been balloted and a two-thirds majority in favour of such action obtained. The Railway and Transport workers, however, having the power, real or nominal in the case of the Transport workers, to declare strike action through their respective Executives and/or Delegate Conferences, as and when circumstances should determine, are supposed by implication at least to declare immediately for sympathetic strike action to assist the Mine Workers. This, as has been well realised, is an intolerable position. It has been urged over and over again that the Miners' Federation should modify its constitution in order to give, either to its Executive or Delegate Conference, powers comparable to those possessed by the other two organisations, or, on the other hand, the other two constituent bodies in the Alliance should be entitled to take a ballot as to whether joint action should be engaged in with the Miners' Federation. Some of us have tried to make it clear that in the case of a Transport dispute the cumbrous, long-drawn-out ballot process would have the effect of enabling the authorities to improvise a strike-breaking machine which would make the strike almost impotent from its very commencement.

Although the Miners appear to think otherwise, we have sufficient knowledge and experience to realise there is no comparison whatsoever between a Mining dispute and a Transport dispute. In the former case, when a million Mine Workers withdraw their labour little or no immediate effects are felt at the outset, but week by week the shortage of coal has the effect of a creeping paralysis upon the industries of the country, and the strike, as we have seen recently, becomes increasingly more deadly. In a Transport strike the results are entirely different. When a half-million Railway Workers stop, as they did in September, 1919, the immediate results are dramatic and apparently decisive; but as the dispute protracts the Government and the railway companies are able, at least, to improvise some kind of transport service. In the case of a joint strike between Rail-

“‘Black Friday’ and After.” A Reply

men and Transport Workers the effect would be even more complete, and, therefore, more decisive.

The opponents to the inclusion of a clause in the Railways Bill enabling railway companies to embark upon a road transport service have made this possibility one of their foremost objections to the railway companies having such powers, because it has been held that the men employed in such road transport services organised by the railway companies would be in the Railwaymen's organisation, and would, therefore, make common cause with their fellow-members in the existing railway service, thus making the paralysis in the event of a stoppage more complete.

Another palpable defect in the structure of the Triple Alliance, to which a few of us called constant attention, was the unwillingness of the National Union of Railwaymen to accept the application of the Associated Society of Locomotive Enginemen and Firemen for joint participation in the work of the Alliance, and also the unwillingness on the part of the Miners' Federation to accede to the request made on behalf of the colliery enginemen and other comparable grades engaged in and about collieries to become parties to the work and obligations of the Triple Alliance. Here are two key sections, without the co-operation of which a Triple Alliance strike would run a serious risk of non-success. The defects within the Transport Workers' Federation have been made as clear to me as to any one man in the Movement, and arising out of my knowledge of these defects I pressed for the insertion of the following as part of the constitution of the Alliance at the time that constitution was finally ratified:—

Simultaneously with this arrangement for united action between the three organisations in question every effort shall proceed amongst the three sections to create effective and complete control of their respective bodies.

The Transport Workers' Federation has suffered in the past from the diversity of its Executive control. Nominal power is vested in the hands of its Executive Council, but actually an Executive Council of fourteen permanent

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officials, appointed from separate organisations, could scarcely presume to shape a policy which would call for the active co-operation and support of thirty-five separate and distinct organisations, each having its own Executive Council.

It must not be forgotten in criticising the Triple Alliance that, whether by prophetic insight, by audacious strategy, or by simple bluff, the Triple Alliance has rendered conspicuous service to the Working-class Movement in Great Britain and to the International. Many of the leaders of the Soviet Government with whom I conversed whilst in Russia, during the visit of the Labour Delegation last year, were convinced that the action of the Triple Alliance, by its threat of strike action against Britain's anti-Russian policy and in holding up the transport of munitions of war, saved the situation during the counter-revolutionary onslaughts of Koltchak, Denikin, Yudenitch and others during 1918 and 1919. The Triple Alliance, moreover, was responsible, definitely and unquestionably, for preventing the importation of coloured indentured labour into this country, even when such policy had been approved by the Labour member of the War Cabinet. The Triple Alliance was successful in the joint economic movement which secured an all-round reduction of hours of labour for Miners, Railwaymen and Transport Workers during the period immediately following the signing of the Armistice, and it showed at least some insight into the capacity for deception on the part of Mr. Lloyd George and his colleagues by keeping aloof, when he and his colleagues formed the National Joint Industrial Council, of which, if my memory serves me well, Mr. Cole consented to act as secretary. The leaders of the Alliance at that period when economic conditions were propitious, and consequently when a militant policy was easier, were not led away by the specious pleas of Mr. Lloyd George at the inaugural meeting of the said National Joint Industrial Council, for they realised that this effort on his part was only used as a sort of lightning conductor against

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the clamorous demands of the Miners, Railwaymen and Transport Workers.

Now let us approach the subject-matter of Mr. Cole's criticism of the declaration of the Strike and its eventual cancellation. We are told “it was easy enough to be a loyal Trade Unionist when trade was good and labour scarce, but it would be hard when the period of artificial prosperity came to an end, and was replaced by a period of depression equally born of war conditions.” Were we not all compelled to realise this? Was not this our veriest nightmare amongst Transport Workers? Of course we were, and are, Socialists; certainly we had voted for, and shall continue to subscribe to, revolutionary principles! The really phenomenal thing was that, despite the efforts of Havelock Wilson and the delegates of the National Sailors' and Firemen's Union (which, by the way, is leaving the Transport Workers' Federation before being asked to do so, as the outcome of a decision of the Edinburgh Conference) to sabotage the Strike resolution, the Transport Workers' delegates showed unexampled working-class solidarity. The Railwaymen's delegates, too, were for fighting to the last man and the last shilling. And the most encouraging feature of the entire crisis was the way in which the Executive Committee of the “Locomen,” forgetful of the rivalries arising out of the Mallow and a thousand and one other incidents, determined to throw in their lot with the Alliance. Looking back upon it all, I am confident that delay brought strength day by day. We had to convince our scattered and diverse legions; it would be madness to attempt to coerce them into strike action. It must not be overlooked they were being called upon, not for action in their own immediate interests or on their own behalf, but to assist their fellow mine workers, the justice of whose claim a thousand lying tongues were denying.

Hodges said the other day at Brighton—it is idle to attempt to apportion blame to individuals; the reasons for failure could not be found in any subversive efforts of this, that, or any other man. The reasons for the failure are right

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down in the root of things, and personal recrimination leads us nowhere. Personal factors must, however, count in all human movements. The delegate conferences were good, and the direct representatives of the rank and file were sound to the core. The movement gathered strength daily, despite all that has been said and written against delay. The bulk of the delegates quite properly believed the threat of strike action would be sufficient to force a settlement satisfactory to the Miners' Federation. How we missed the guiding hand of Robert Smillie those fateful days! he would have resisted any diversity of Executive counsel, and he would not have permitted the open rupture which transpired after the House of Commons incident on "Black Thursday." He would have appreciated to the full the difference between heroics on the one hand and stern, inexorable realism on the other. Harry Gosling, the acting president of the Alliance, expressed the straightforward working-class view when he said to Lloyd George at Downing Street: "We should be rotters not to help the Miners out of their difficulty." Had Smillie been present, he, as president of the Miners' Federation and of the Triple Alliance, with his almost uncanny insight would, I am confident, have fought to the end against the separate meeting of the Miners' Executive which, by turning down Hodges, drove a wedge right through the Alliance.

"Neither the N.U.R. nor the Transport Workers' Federation could emerge successfully from such an ordeal as the Miners have come through, with their resources exhausted indeed, but with their Trade Unionism unimpaired," says Mr. Cole. Here is a statement of the very obvious to us who have been forced to realise the differences between Mining and Transport. In the recent Mining Dispute, as well as in the eight weeks' dispute of 1912, not one single ton of coal was obtained from the coal face by the employment of black-leg labour. Can anyone imagine that a Railway or Transport Strike would be allowed to proceed even for eight hours, leave alone eight weeks, without the introduction of the

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military, naval ratings, the air force, “white guards,” “volunteers,” and all the loyal members of the community upon whom the Government would be able to call? Mr. Cole’s accusation, if, indeed, accusation it be, is our strongest justification for the action thrust upon us; in fact, when a general strike took place in the Port of Glasgow because of the unwillingness of the Glasgow Dockers to handle imported coal, four thousand “volunteers,” “scabs” and imported labourers were found to carry on the work of those of our members who had risked their all in support of the Miners’ Federation. Surely every intelligent Socialist must realise that Transport is the very arterial blood system of the community! All the forces of the State were brought into being, not to replace one single Mine Worker, but to take the places of Railway and Transport Workers. After a long-drawn-out Mining Dispute, when a resumption takes place the problem of reinstatement does not arise, the men automatically proceeding to their work; but in the case especially of a Transport Dispute, as we have found to our bitter cost since the policy of the embargo on foreign coal, reinstatement is the most difficult problem that concerns us everywhere.

It has been urged that there were those who were anxiously awaiting any slender pretext to excuse participation in a Strike of Triple Alliance proportions. Here they were provided with an excuse almost amounting to justification. It was not, as has been suggested, the influence of “Panic”; it was something nearer a blind, unreasoning, unwillingness to face the stubborn reality. Most of us were convinced that in a struggle of endurance between the Government and the Miners alone the end could be clearly foreseen. We knew that at any time a Triple Alliance contest against “all the resources of the State” would be an “even” chance, but that on a falling market, with some million and a half unemployed, the odds were against us.

This was pointed out more than once, but we were

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peremptorily told to "get on t'field" by the President of the Miners' Federation.

It is only my reasoned conviction, but I offer it for what it is worth: Had the Miners' Federation gone to Lloyd George, who was just as scared as we were, in the forenoon of that important Friday when the Triple Alliance Strike was *in potentia*, the Miners could have made a settlement wherein the Government would have given such financial assistance to the Mining Industry as would have been requisite to maintain wages up to the cost-of-living figures. Be that as it may, we were entitled to consider whether we could force the hands of the Cabinet as they were being forced by the Coalition members who were prepared to desert Mr. Lloyd George and Sir Robert Horne.

Now let me admit Mr. Cole's distinction between the mass meeting and the Executive Council. At a conference facts have to be faced which, in the nature of the case, are scarcely touched upon at a mass meeting or demonstration.

I could easily fill many more pages with an array of incidents known to us before and fully confirmed since, the mere revelation of which, whilst being of little value to us, would add to our opponents' knowledge of our manifold weaknesses. Military wars have an ending, when there can be the most intimate revelations regarding policy, tactics and strategical considerations, but the Class Struggle continues interminably.

The Triple Alliance has gone. What can be done to maintain a strong and well-directed alliance of the workers employed in the various forms of Transport remains to be seen. The Triple Alliance paved the way for the Council of Action, and the proposed General Council or "General Staff." We must not give one another the "hump" these dolorous days.

I have been amongst those who have ever suggested that reform or revolution must come ultimately from well-directed pressure from beneath.

We were told that on "Black Friday" and after thousands of Railway and Transport Workers were straining at the leash

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to do something to help the Miners. Not being able to do as some of us would have liked, we attempted to render the Miners all the help we could by placing an embargo on imported coal. Both nationally and internationally, all the factors of unemployment, with the “reserve army of labour” as a means of recruitment of strike breakers, were against us. The Coal Embargo, like the threatened Triple Alliance Strike, fizzled out.

In spite of all, the Movement will go on. The sheer pressure of industrial and political events will compel solidarity. Things were obtained rather too easily during the war. We, and especially the Miners, have been caught in the backwash of the infamous Treaty of Versailles.

It does not matter very much what I or Mr. Cole may write. The men in the coal mines, on the railways, in the factories and workshops, and on the docks will have to keep the Movement straight. They are dimly and vaguely, but definitely, realising the implications of Internationalism. Most things of value in this life are those which take longest to produce. The Transport Workers’ Federation was down, right down, after the ill-fated London Dock Strike of 1912 and the abortive National Strike called to help the London Transport Workers; but the Movement recovered and became strong because of its signal failure.

Successes have made us over-confident; and my own sincere desire is that upon the ruins of the Triple Alliance shall be built another stronger and more helpful structure for the purpose of working-class emancipation. The Triple Alliance is dead! Long live International Working-Class Solidarity!

THE WORLD ECONOMIC SITUATION

By L. TROTSKY and E. VARGA

§1 *The Root of the Problem*

THE revolutionary movement at the close of the imperialist war and during the succeeding period has been marked by unprecedented intensity. The month of March, 1917, witnessed the overthrow of Tsarism. In May, 1917, a vehement strike movement broke out in England. In November, 1917, the Russian proletariat seized the power of Government. The month of November, 1918, marked the downfall of the German and Austro-Hungarian monarchies. In the course of the succeeding year, a number of European countries were being swept by a powerful strike movement constantly gaining in scope and intensity. In March, 1919, a Soviet Republic was inaugurated in Hungary. At the close of that year the United States were convulsed by turbulent strikes involving the metalworkers, miners and railwaymen. Following the January and March battles of 1919, the revolutionary movement in Germany reached its culminating point shortly after the Kapp uprising in March, 1920. The internal situation in France became most tense in the month of May, 1920. In Italy we witnessed the constant growth of unrest among the industrial and agrarian proletariat, leading in September, 1920, to the seizure of factories, mills and estates by the workers. In December, 1920, the Czech proletariat resorted to the weapon of the proletarian mass strike. March, 1921, marked the uprising of workers in Central Germany and the coal miners' strike in England.

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Having reached its highest point in those countries which had been involved in the war, particularly in the defeated countries, the revolutionary movement spread to the neutral countries as well. In Asia and in Africa, the movement aroused and intensified the revolutionary spirit of the great masses of the colonial countries. But this powerful revolutionary wave did not succeed in sweeping away international capitalism, nor even the capitalist order of Europe itself.

A number of uprisings and revolutionary battles have taken place during the past year, which resulted in sectional defeats (the Red Army offensive near Warsaw in August, 1920, the movement of the Italian proletariat in September, 1920, and the uprising of the German workers in March, 1921).

Following the close of the war, which has been characterised by the elemental nature of its onslaught, by the considerable formlessness of its methods and aims, and the extreme panic of the ruling classes, the first period of the revolutionary movement may now be regarded as having reached its termination. The self-confidence of the bourgeoisie as a class, and the apparent stability of its government apparatus, have undoubtedly become strengthened. The panic of Communism haunting the bourgeoisie, while not having disappeared, has, nevertheless, somewhat relaxed. The leading spirits of the bourgeoisie are now even boasting of the might of their government apparatus, and have assumed the offensive against the labouring masses everywhere, on both the economic and the political fields.

This situation presents the following questions to the working class:

To what extent does this transformation in the relations between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat correspond to the actual balance of the contending forces? Is it true that the bourgeoisie is about to restore the social balance which had been upset by the war? Is there any ground to suppose that the period of political upheaval and of class-wars is going to

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be superseded by a new epoch of restoration and capitalist development?

§2 *The War, Artificial Business Stimulation. The Crisis and the Countries of Europe*

The high tide of capitalism was reached in the two decades preceding the war. The intervals of prosperity were superseded by periods of depression of comparatively shorter duration and intensity. The general trend was that of an upward curve: the capitalist countries were growing rich.

Having scoured the world market through their trusts, cartels, and consortiums, the masters of world-capitalism well realised that this mad growth of capitalism will finally strike a dead wall confining the limits of the capacity of the market created by themselves. They therefore tried to get out of the difficulty by a surgical method. In place of a lengthy period of economic depression which was to follow and result in wholesale destruction of productive resources, the bloody crisis of the world war was ushered in to serve the same purpose.

But the war proved not only extremely destructive in its methods, but also of an unexpectedly lengthy duration. So that besides the economic destruction of the "surplus" productive resources, it also weakened, shattered, and undermined the fundamental apparatus of European production. At the same time it gave a powerful impetus to the capitalist development of the United States and quickened the aggrandisement of Japan. Thus the centre of gravity of world industry was shifted from Europe to America.

The period following upon the termination of the four years' slaughter, the demobilisation of the armies, the transition to a peaceful state of affairs, and the inevitable economic crisis coming as a result of the exhaustion and chaos caused by the war—all this was regarded by the bourgeoisie with the greatest anxiety as the approach of the most critical moment. As a matter of fact, during the two years following the war the

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countries involved became the arena of a mighty movement of the proletariat.

One of the chief causes which enabled the bourgeoisie to preserve its dominant position was furnished by the fact that the first months after the war, instead of bringing about the seemingly unavoidable crisis, were marked by economic prosperity. This lasted approximately for one year and a half. Nearly all the demobilised workers were absorbed in industry. As a general rule wages did not catch up with the cost of living, but they nevertheless kept rising, and that created the illusion of economic gains.

It was just this *commercial and industrial revival of 1919 and 1920*, which, to some extent, relieved the tension of the post-war period, that caused the bourgeoisie to assume an extremely self-confident air, and to *proclaim the advent of a new era of organic capitalist development*. But as a matter of fact, the industrial revival of 1919-20 was not in essence the beginning of the regeneration of capitalist industry, but a mere prolongation of the artificially stimulated state of industry and commerce which was created by the war, and which undermined the economy of capitalism.

The outbreak of the imperialist war coincided with the industrial crisis which had its origin in America (1913) and began to hover menacingly over Europe. The normal development of the industrial cycle was checked by the war, which had itself become the most powerful economic factor. It created unlimited markets for the basic branches of industry and secured them against competition. The war played the part of a solid customer ever in want of goods. The manufacture of productive commodities was supplanted by the fabrication of means of destruction. Millions of people not engaged in production, but in work of destruction, were continuously using up necessities of life at ever-increasing prices. This process is the cause of the present economic decline. By the contradictions of capitalist society the masters lent the cloak of prosperity to this ruinous prospect. The State kept

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issuing loan after loan, one issue of paper money followed upon another, till State accounting began to be carried on in billions instead of millions. The wear and tear of machinery and of equipment was not repaired. The cultivation of land was in a bad state. Public constructions in the cities and on the high-roads were discontinued. At the same time the number of government bonds, credit and treasury bills and notes, kept growing incessantly. Fictitious capital increased in proportion as productive capital kept diminishing. The credit system, instead of serving as a medium for the circulation of goods, became the means whereby national property, including that which is to be created by the growing generations, was being mobilised for military purposes.

The capitalist State, dreading the impending crisis, continued after the war to follow the same policy as it did during the war, namely, new issues of paper money, new loans, regulation of prices of prime necessities, guaranteeing of profits, government subsidies, and other additions of salaries and wages plus military censorship and military dictatorship.

At the same time the termination of hostilities, and the renewal of international relations, limited though it was, brought out a demand for various commodities from all parts of the globe. Large stocks of products were left unused during the war, and the enormous sums of money centred in the hands of dealers and speculators were mobilised by them to where they could produce the largest profits. Hence, the feverish boom accompanied by an unusual rise of prices and fantastic dividends, while in reality none of the basic branches of industry, anywhere in Europe, approached the pre-war level.

By means of a continuous derangement of the economic system, accumulation of inflated capital, depreciation of currency (speculation instead of economic restoration), the bourgeois governments, in league with the banking combines and industrial trusts, succeeded in putting off the beginning of the economic crisis till the moment when the political

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crisis, consequent upon the demobilisation and the first squaring of accounts, was somewhat allayed.

Thus, having gained a considerable breathing space, the bourgeoisie imagined that the dreaded crisis had been removed for an indefinite time. Optimism reigned supreme. It appeared as if the needs of reconstruction had opened a new era of lasting expansion of industry, commerce, and particularly speculation. But the year 1920 proved to have been a period of shattered hopes.

The crises—financial, commercial, and industrial—began in March, 1920. Japan saw the beginning of it in the month of April. In the United States, it opened by a slight fall of prices in January. Then it passed on to England, France and Italy (in April). It reached the neutral countries of Europe, then Germany, and extended to all the countries involved in the capitalist sphere of influence during the second half of 1920.

Thus *the crisis of 1920* is not a periodic stage of the "normal" industrial cycle, but a profound *reaction consequent upon the artificial stimulation that prevailed during the war and during the two years thereafter and was based upon ruination and exhaustion.*

The upward curve of industrial development was marked by turns of good times followed by crises. During the last seven years, however, there was no rise in the productive forces of Europe, but, on the contrary, they kept at a downward sweep.

The crumbling of the very foundation of industry is only beginning and is going to proceed along the whole line.

European economy is going to contract and expand during a number of years to come. The curve marking the productive forces is going to decline from the present fictitious level. The expansions are going to be only short-lived and of a speculative nature to a considerable extent, while the crises are going to be hard and lasting. The present European crisis is one of under-production. It is the form in which

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destitution reacts against the striving to produce trade and resume life on the usual capitalist level.

Of all countries of Europe *England* is economically the strongest, and has been the least damaged by the war; but, even with regard to this country, one cannot say that it has in any way regained its capitalist equilibrium after the war. Owing to its international organisation and to the fact that it came out victorious from the war, England did, indeed, achieve some *commercial* and *financial* success. It improved its commercial balance, it raised the rate of the pound and reached an accounting surplus in its budget. But, in the *industrial* sphere, England, after the war, not only did not progress, it made big strides backwards. The productivity of labour in England to-day and her national income are much below that of the pre-war period. The coal industry, which is the fundamental branch of her national economy, is getting ever worse and worse, pulling down all the other branches of industry. The incessant disturbances caused by the strikes are not the cause but the consequence of the derangement of English economy.

The ruin of *Belgium*, *Italy* and *France* brought about by the war is no less than that inflicted on Germany. The post-bellum "reconstruction" of France is being parasitically carried on by means of the progressive ruination of Germany, robbing the latter of her coal, machinery, cattle and gold. The French bourgeoisie is striking heavy blows at the entire capitalist order. France is getting much less than what Germany is losing. The so-called reconstruction of France is nothing more than piracy accompanied by diplomatic blackmail. The economic decline of that country is imminent. When the last period of expansion came to its end (in March, 1920) the depreciation of French paper money reached 60 %, while that of Italy came down to 75 % of its face value.

A striking illustration of the illusory nature of this kind of business expansion is presented by *Germany*, where a seven-fold increase in prices coincided with a sharp decline

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of production. Germany won her apparent success in international trade relations at the cost of both the deterioration of the nation's basic capital (the destruction of industry, transportation and credit system) and the progressive lowering of the standard of living of her working class. From the social economic standpoint the profits gained by German exporters represent pure loss. For this export in reality amounts to selling out the country's resources at a low price; while the capitalist masters of Germany are securing for themselves a constantly increasing share of the ever decreasing national wealth, the workers of the country are becoming the coolies of Europe.

As to the *smaller neutral countries*, they preserve their deceptive political independence, thanks to the antagonistic contentions of the great powers, and maintain their economic existence on the fringes of the world market, whose essential nature used to be determined in the ante-bellum period by England, Germany, America and France.

During the war the bourgeoisie of these countries was making enormous profits, but the devastation of those countries which had been involved in the war led to the economic disorganisation of these neutral countries as well. Their debts have increased, their currency exchange has dropped. The crisis spares them no blows.

§3 *The United States, Japan, Colonial Countries and Soviet Russia*

The development of the *United States* during the war proceeded in an opposite direction, in a certain sense, to that of Europe. The part played by the United States in the war was chiefly that of a salesman. The destructive consequences of the war had no direct effect upon that country, and the damage caused to its transport, agriculture, etc., was only of an indirect nature and of a far smaller degree than that caused to England, not to speak of either France or Germany. At the same time, the United States, taking full advantage of the

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fact that European competition had either been removed entirely or had become extremely weak, succeeded in raising some of its most important industries (such as petroleum production, ship-building, automobile and coal industry) to such a height as it had never anticipated. To-day most of the countries of Europe are dependent on America not only for their petroleum and corn, but also for their coal.

While America's export prior to the war consisted chiefly of agricultural products and raw materials (making up more than two-thirds of the entire export), her main export at the present time is made up of manufactured articles (60 % of her entire export). Having been in debt prior to the war, the United States is now the world's creditor, concentrating within its coffers about one half of the world's gold reserve and continually augmenting its treasury. The dominating part played by the pound sterling in the world's financial market has now been taken over by the American dollar.

This extraordinary expansion of American industry was the cause of a special combination of circumstances, namely, the withdrawal of European competition and, above all, the demands of the European war market. But American capitalism to-day has also got out of balance. Since devastated Europe as a competitor of America is not in a position to regain its pre-war role in the world market, the American market as well can preserve only an insignificant part of its former position with Europe as a customer. At the same time, America to-day is producing goods for export purposes to a much greater extent than prior to the war. The over-expansion of American industry, during the war, cannot find any outlet owing to the scarcity of world markets. As a consequence, many industries have become part-time or seasonal industries, affording employment to the workers only part of the year. The crisis in the United States resulting from the decline of Europe signifies the beginning of a profound and lasting economic disorganisation. This is

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the result of the fundamental disturbance of the World's Subdivision of Labour.

Japan also took advantage of the war in order to extend its influence on the world market. Her development has been of a much more limited scope than that of the United States, and some branches of Japanese industry have acquired the character of what might be termed "hothouse" production. Her productive forces were sufficiently strong to enable her to take hold of the market while there were no competitors. But they are utterly insufficient to retain that market in a competitive struggle with the more powerful capitalist countries. Hence the acute crisis which had its starting point particularly in Japan.

The Trans-Atlantic countries and the colonies (such as South America, Canada, Australia, China, Egypt and others), which used to export raw materials, in their turn took advantage of the rupture in international relations for the development of their home industries. But the world crisis has now involved these countries as well, and their internal industrial development is going to be checked, thereby serving as an additional cause for trade handicaps of England and of the whole of Europe.

Thus, there is no ground whatsoever to speak of any restoration of lasting balance, to-day, either in the sphere of production, commerce or credit with reference to Europe or even with reference to the world as a whole. The economic decline of Europe is still going on, and the decay of the foundation of European Industry manifests itself in the near future.

The world market is in a state of disorganisation. Europe wants American products, for which, however, it can give nothing in return. While the body of Europe is suffering from anæmia, that of America is affected with plethora. The gold standard has been destroyed and the world market has been deprived of its general exchange medium.

The only way by which the restoration of the gold standard

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in Europe could be achieved would be by getting the export to exceed the import. But this is just what devastated Europe is not in a condition to do. America, on the other hand, is trying to check the influx of European goods by raising her tariff.

Thus, Europe has become a bedlam. England has introduced prohibitive customs duties. The export as well as the entire economic life of Germany is at the mercy of the Parisian speculators. The former Austria-Hungary is now broken up into a number of provinces divided by customs borders. The net in which the Versailles Treaty has entangled the world is becoming more and more tightened.

The reappearance of *Russia* on the world market is not going to produce any appreciable changes in it. Russia's means of production have been always completely dependent upon the industrial conditions of the rest of the world, and this dependence particularly with regard to the allied countries has become intensified during the war, when her home industry was almost completely mobilised for war purposes. But the blockade cut off these vital connections between Russia and the other countries. There could be no question of setting up any new branches of industry which were needed to prevent the general decay caused by the wear and tear of machinery and equipment in a country completely exhausted during three years of incessant civil war. In addition to this, hundreds and thousands of her best proletarian elements, comprising a great number of skilled workers, had to be recruited for the Red Army. Under these conditions, surrounded by the iron ring of the blockade, carrying on incessant wars and suffering from the heritage of an industrial collapse, no other regime could have maintained the economic life of the country and created such conditions as would permit of its centralised administration. There is no denying, however, that the struggle against world imperialism was carried on at the price of the progressive diminution of the productive resources of industry in various branches. Now, since the blockade has relaxed and the relations between town and

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country are becoming more regular, the Soviet power has been enabled for the first time to direct the country gradually and steadily upon the road to economic prosperity in a centralised manner.

§4 *Social Contradictions Intensified*

The unprecedented destruction of industrial resources brought about by the war did not check the process of social differentiation. On the contrary, the proletarianisation of the intermediary classes, including the new middle-groupings of employees, officials, etc., and the concentration of wealth in the hands of the small clique of trusts, combines and so on, have, for the last ten years, made enormous strides in the more backward countries. The Stinnes combine is now the most important factor of the economic life of Germany.

The soaring of prices of all commodities coincident with the catastrophic depreciation of currency in all countries involved in the war meant a redistribution of the national incomes to the disadvantage of the working class, officials, employees and small owners and all other persons with a more or less fixed income.

Thus we see that though Europe has been thrown back for a number of decades with reference to its material resources, the intensification of the social contradictions has not only not retrograded or been suspended, but has, on the contrary, assumed a particular acuteness.

This cardinal fact is, of itself, sufficient to dispel any illusions of the possibility of a lasting and peaceful development under a democratic form of government. *The social differentiation proceeding along the line of economic decline predetermines the most intense, convulsive and cruel nature of the class struggle.*

The present crisis is only a continuation of the destructive work done by the war and the post-bellum speculative boom.

Owing to the fact that agricultural products have risen in price, the country places have accumulated a large amount of *cheap* money. This produced the illusion that the villages were prosperous. The farmers did, indeed, succeed in paying off

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in paper money the debts they had contracted in currency at its face value. But the well-being of the farmer is not to be brought about merely by settling mortgages. The lack of labour power, the diminution of cattle, the scarcity of fertilisers and the high cost of manufactured products brought European agriculture into a state of complete decline.

On the other hand, the universal impoverishment of Europe, rendering it incapable of purchasing the necessary amount of American or Canadian corn, resulted in getting the farming industry of the transatlantic countries into a critical situation. The ruin of the peasants and small farmers is going on not only in Europe, but also in the United States, Canada, Argentine and Australia and South Africa. The capital newly acquired during the war is being used for buying up country estates. The village is being disintegrated, proletarianised and pauperised, and is becoming a hot-bed of discontent.

Capitalist Europe has completely lost its dominating position in the world economy. But it was just this domination that had lent some relative equilibrium between its social classes. All the efforts of the European countries (England and partly France) to restore former conditions only tend to intensify their instability and disorganisation.

While the concentration of wealth going on in Europe has its foundations in the ruinous conditions of that Continent, in the United States the concentration of property and the extreme intensification of class distinctions are proceeding on the basis of the feverish growth of capitalist accumulation. The class struggle going on in America has assumed an extremely tense revolutionary character owing to the sharp vacillations produced by the general instability of the world market. The period of an unprecedented rise of capitalism is bound to be followed by an extraordinary rise of revolutionary struggle.

The emigration of workers and peasants across the ocean has always served as a safety-valve to the capitalist

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regime in Europe. It grew during prolonged periods of depression and upon unsuccessful revolutionary outbreaks. At present, however, America and Australia are putting ever-growing obstacles in the way of emigration. Thus, this safety-valve, so necessary to the capitalist regime, has ceased to exist.

The vigorous development of capitalism in the East, particularly in India and in China, has created new social foundations for the revolutionary struggle. The bourgeoisie of the Eastern countries has bound up its fate even more closely with foreign capital, and has thus become a very important weapon of capitalist domination. The contest between this bourgeois and foreign imperialism is the contest of a weaker competitor against his stronger rival, and is by its very nature only half-hearted and unreal. The development of the native proletariat paralyses the nationalistic-revolutionary tendencies of the capitalist bourgeoisie. At the same time, the great masses of the peasants of the Oriental countries look upon the Communist vanguard as their real revolutionary leader. This is particularly true of the more progressive elements of these masses.

The combination of the military nationalistic oppression of foreign imperialism, of the capitalist exploitation by foreign and native bourgeoisie, and the survivals of the feudal disabilities are creating the conditions in which the immature proletariat of the colonial countries must develop rapidly and take the lead in the revolutionary movement of the peasant masses.

The revolutionary national movement in India and in other colonies is to-day an essential component part of the world revolution just as much as the uprising of the proletariat in the capitalist countries of the old and the new world.

§5 International Relations

The economic condition of the world in general, and the decline of Europe in particular, presages a long period of

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hard times, disturbances, crises of a general and partial character, and so forth. The international relations inaugurated by the war and the Versailles Treaty are rendering the situation more and more hopeless. The trend of the economic forces tending to sweep away national boundaries and convert Europe and the rest of the world into one economic territory, gave birth to imperialism; but, on the other hand, the scuffle between the contending forces of this imperialism led to the creation of a multiplicity of new national boundaries, new customs-barriers and new armies. With regard to State administration and economy, Europe has been thrown back to the mediæval state.

The soil which has been exhausted and laid bare is now being called upon to feed an army exceeding in numbers that of 1914, the hey-day of the "world in arms."

The policy of France, which is playing a dominant part in Europe to-day, is based upon the following two principles:

The blind rage of the usurer, ready to pounce upon and strangle an insolvent debtor; and the greed of the predatory heavy industry, striving to create favourable conditions for industrial imperialism to supplant financial imperialism with the aid of the Saar, Ruhr, and Upper Silesian Coal Basins.

But this striving runs counter to the interests of England, whose aim it is to keep the German coal away from the French ore, which, if brought together, would create the conditions necessary for the reconstruction of Europe.

Great Britain to-day has reached the high-water mark of her power. Having retained all the dominions, she also acquired new ones. Nevertheless, it is just at this moment that it is becoming most evident that the dominating international position of England stands in contradiction to its actual economic decline. German capitalism, technically and organisationally much more progressive than that of England, has been crushed by force of arms. The United States, having taken possession of both Americas, has now come out as a triumphant rival even more menacing than Germany was.

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The productivity of labour and of industry in the United States, owing to its superior organisation and technique, is now above that of England. Within the territory of the United States from 65—70% of the world's petroleum is being produced upon which depends the automobile industry, tractor production, the fleet and aviation. England's dominant position in the coal market, which used to be almost a monopoly, has been shaken. America has now assumed first place and her European export is ominously increasing. America's commercial marine has nearly come up to that of England, neither is the United States content to put up any longer with England's monopoly over the Atlantic cables. Great Britain has taken up a defensive position with regard to her industry, and is now resorting to protective legislation against the United States under the guise of combating German competition. Finally, while the English fleet, comprising a large number of battleships of the old type, has been checked in its further development, the Harding administration has taken up the Wilsonian programme of naval construction intended to secure the superiority of the American flag on the sea within the next couple of years.

The situation has become such that either England will be automatically pushed back and, in spite of her victory over Germany, will become a second-rate power, or she will be constrained in the very near future to gather up all the power she had inherited from former times and engage in a mortal struggle with the United States.

This is just the reason why England is maintaining her alliance with Japan and is making concessions to France in order to secure the latter's assistance, or neutrality at any rate. The growth of the international role of the latter country within the European continent during last year has been caused not by a strengthening of France, but by the international weakening of England.

Germany's capitulation last May on the Indemnity question signifies, however, a temporary victory for England,

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including as it does a supplementary guarantee of further economic decay of Central Europe, without in any way excluding seizure by France of the Ruhr district and Upper Silesian basin in the near future.

The antagonism between Japan and the United States, which was temporarily veiled by the former's participation in the war against Germany, is now tending to come out into the open. In consequence of the war, Japan has approached the American coast, having secured for itself a number of islands on the Pacific which are of great strategic importance.

The crisis of Japanese industry, following upon its rapid expansion, has again put to the front the problem of emigration. Being very thickly populated and poor in natural resources, Japan must export either her goods or her men, but, whether she does the one or the other, she gets into collision with the United States: in California, in China and on the Yap Islands.

Japan is spending one-half of its budget on the maintenance of its army and fleet. In the impending struggle between England and the United States, Japan is going to play on the sea the same part as that played by France on land during the war with Germany. Japan to-day is making use of the antagonism between Great Britain and America, but, when the final struggle between these two giants for world hegemony breaks out, Japan is going to be the battleground of that fight.

Both the original causes that called forth the recent great slaughter and the chief combatants that took part in it marked it as a European war, the crucial point of which was the antagonism between England and Germany. The intervention of the United States only widened the scope of the struggle, but it did not divert it from its original direction. The European conflict was being settled by world-wide means. The war, having settled the English-German and German-American quarrel in its own way, not only did not solve the problem of the relations between the United States and

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England, but has, for the first time, put that problem prominently forward as one of the first order, and the question of the American-Japanese as one of the second order. Thus, the last war was in reality only a prelude to a genuine world war which is to solve the problem of *imperialist autocracy*.

This, however, forms only one focus of international policy, which has yet another focus located in the Russian Soviet Federation and the Third International, brought about by the war. All the forces of the world revolution are arraying themselves against all the imperialist combinations.

Whether the alliance between England and France is going to be maintained or broken up, whether the Anglo-Japanese treaty is going to be renewed or not, whether the United States are going to join the League of Nations or not—all this is of little value as far as the interests of the proletariat or the securing of peace is concerned. The proletariat can see no guarantee for peace in the vacillating, predatory, and treacherous combinations of capitalist powers, whose policy turns to an ever increasing extent around the antagonism between England and America, fostering that antagonism and preparing for a new bloody outbreak.

The fact that some of the capitalist Governments have concluded peace and commercial treaties with Soviet Russia does not mean that the bourgeoisie of the world has given up the idea of destroying the Soviet Republic. What we are witnessing now is nothing but a change, a temporary change, perhaps, of the forms and methods of struggle. The uprising caused by the Japanese troops in the Far East may serve as an introduction into a new stage of armed intervention.

It is altogether obvious that the longer the revolutionary movement of the world proletariat will go on, the more inevitably will the bourgeoisie be impelled by the contradiction of the international economic and political situation to make another bloody denouement on a world-wide scale.

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If this should come to pass, the "restoration of capitalist equilibrium" consequent upon a new war would have to proceed under conditions of economic exhaustion and barbarity in comparison with which the present state of Europe might be regarded as the height of well-being.

§6 The Working Class and the Post-Bellum Period

The problem of capitalist reconstruction along the lines outlined above essentially puts forward the question as to whether the working class is willing to bear any more heavy sacrifices in order to perpetuate its own slavery, which is going to be ever more heavy and more cruel than it has been prior to the war.

The industrial and economic reconstruction of Europe requires the setting up of new machinery to replace that destroyed during the war and the creation of new capital. This would be possible only if the proletariat were willing to work more and to accept a lower standard of living. The capitalists are insisting on this, and the treacherous leaders of the Yellow International urge the proletariat to assist in the reconstruction of Capitalism in the first place, and then proceed to fighting for the betterment of their own conditions. But the European proletariat refuses the sacrifice. It demands a higher standard of living, which is utterly incompatible with the present state of the capitalist system. Hence the everlasting strikes and uprisings; hence the impossibility of the economic reconstruction of Europe.

To restore the value of paper money means for a number of European countries (Germany, France, Italy, Austria, Hungary, Poland, the Balkans, etc.) first of all to throw off the burden of too heavy obligations—*i.e.*, to declare themselves bankrupt; but this would mean a strong impulse to the struggle of all classes for a new distribution of the National Income. To restore the value of paper money means further reduction of State expenditures to the detriment of the masses (to forego the regulation of wages and of articles of prime

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necessity); to prevent the import of cheaper foreign manufactures and increase the amount of exported articles by lowering the cost of production, which can be achieved, above all, by increasing the exploitation of Labour.

Every radical measure tending to restore capitalist equilibrium must by the very nature of the case tend to disturb class equilibrium to a still greater extent than heretofore, lending additional impetus to the class war. Thus, the attempt at a revival of Capitalism involves a contest of vital forces, of classes and parties. If one of the two contending classes, namely, the proletariat, should decide to refrain from the revolutionary struggle, the bourgeoisie would undoubtedly establish some sort of a new capitalist equilibrium, an equilibrium based upon material and spiritual deterioration, leading to new wars, to the progressive impoverishment of entire countries, and to the continuous dying out of these millions of toiling masses.

But the frame of mind of the world proletariat to-day furnishes no ground whatever for any such supposition.

The elements of stability, of conservatism, and of tradition have, to a considerable extent, lost their power over the minds of the labouring masses. It is true that Social Democracy and the trade unions still exercise an influence over a considerable part of the proletariat, thanks to the apparatus of organisation that has come down to them from former times. But the nature of this influence as well as that of the proletariat itself has undergone considerable changes in no way consistent with the "step by step" methods of the pre-war period.

Millions of workers, having gone through the experience of the war and having acquired the ability to use the rifle, are now prepared to a large extent to turn the weapons against their class enemies, provided they were given the strong leadership and serious training which are essential for victory.

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Millions of working men and particularly women have been newly recruited for industrial pursuits during the war. These new workers brought with themselves their petty-bourgeois prejudices. But they also brought along their impatient claims for better conditions of life.

There are also millions of young working men and women who have grown up in the storm and stress of war and revolution, who are more susceptible to the Communist ideas and are anxious to act.

The ebb and flow of the gigantic army of unemployed, some of whom are unattached to any class, while others possess only partial class attachments, form a striking illustration of the disintegration of capitalist production and represent a constant menace to the bourgeois order. All these proletarian elements, varying so much in origin and character, have been enlisting in the post-bellum revolutionary movement at various times and in varying degrees. This explains the vacillations, the ebbs and flows, the attacks and retreats, characterising the revolutionary war. But the shattering of old illusions, the terrible uncertainty of existence, the arbitrary domination of the trusts and the practical methods of the militarised State—all this is rapidly welding the overwhelming majority of the proletarian masses together. The great masses are searching for a determined and definite leadership and for the closely welded and centralising Communist Party to take the lead.

During the war the condition of the working class became perceptibly worse. It is true some groups of workers improved their condition, and in those cases where several members of a working man's family were in a position to hold their place near the loom, the workers succeeded in maintaining and even in raising their standard of life. But as a general rule wages did not keep up with the rise in prices.

The proletariat of Central Europe has been doomed to ever greater privations ever since the war began. The lowering of the standard of life was not so noticeable in the

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allied countries up till lately. In England, the proletariat succeeded in stopping the process of lowering the standard of life by means of an energetic struggle carried on during the last period of the war. In the United States, some of the workers succeeded in improving their conditions, others only retained their previous standard of living, while still others have their standard of living lowered.

The economic crisis has come down upon the proletariat at a terrific rate. The falling of wages began to exceed the fall of prices. The number of unemployed and semi-employed has reached such dimensions as have never been equalled in capitalist history.

The ups and downs in the condition of existence not only have an unfavourable effect on productivity, but also prevent the restoration of class equilibrium in its most essential domain, that of production. The instability of the conditions of life reflecting the general instability of the economic conditions nationally and internationally, is to-day the most revolutionary factor of social development.

§7 The Perspective

The war did not have, as its immediate consequence, a proletarian revolution, and the bourgeoisie has some ground to register this fact as a great victory for itself.

Only petty bourgeois dullards can imagine that the fact that the European proletariat has not succeeded in overthrowing the bourgeoisie during the war or immediately after it, is an indication that the programme of the Communist International failed. The Communist International is basing its policy on the proletarian revolution, but this by no means implies either dogmatically fixing any definite date for the revolution, or any pledge to bring it about mechanically at a set time. Revolution has always been, and is to-day, nothing else but a struggle of living forces carried on within given historic conditions. The war has destroyed capitalist equilibrium all over the world, thus creating conditions favouring

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the proletariat, which is the fundamental force of the revolution. The Communist International has been exerting all its efforts to take full advantage of these conditions.

The distinction between the Communist International and the Social Democrats of all colours, does not consist in the fact that we are trying to force the revolution and set a definite date for it while they are opposed to any utopian and immature uprisings. No, the distinction lies in the fact that Social Democrats hinder the actual development of the revolution by rendering all possible assistance in the way of restoring the equilibrium of the bourgeois State, while the Communists on the other hand are trying to take advantage of all means and methods for the purpose of overthrowing and destroying the capitalist government and establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat.

But, during the two and a half years following the war, the proletarians of various countries have exhibited their self-sacrifice, energy and readiness for the struggle to such an extent as would amply suffice to make the revolution triumphant, provided there had been a strong centralised International Communist Party on the scene ready for action. But, during the war, and immediately thereafter, by force of historic circumstances, there was at the head of the European proletariat the organisation of the Second International, which has been and remains to this day the invaluable political weapon in the hands of the bourgeoisie.

By the end of 1918 and the beginning of 1919, the power of the Government in Germany was practically in the hands of the working class, but the Social Democracy and the trade unions used all their traditional influence and all their apparatus for the purpose of restoring the power into the hands of the bourgeoisie.

In Italy, the revolutionary movement of the proletariat during one and a half years has been marked by abundant force, and it was only thanks to the petty bourgeois impotence of the Socialist party, to the treacherous policy of the

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parliamentary groups, and to the cowardly opportunism of the Trade Union organisations, that the bourgeoisie got into a position to reconstruct its apparatus, to mobilise its white guards and to assume the offensive against the proletariat, which has thus been temporarily discouraged by the bankruptcy of its leading organs.

The mighty strike movement in England has been frustrated once and again during the last year, not so much by the Government police forces as by the conservative Trade Unions, whose apparatus has been most shamefully used to serve counter-revolutionary ends. Should the machinery of the English Trade Unions develop half the amount of energy in the interests of Socialism which it has been using in the interests of Capitalism, the English proletariat would conquer power and would start the reconstruction of the economic organisation of the country with only an insignificant amount of sacrifice.

The same refers to a greater or less extent to all other capitalist countries.

It is absolutely beyond dispute that the open revolutionary struggle of the proletariat for power has been temporarily checked and its tempo delayed. But in the very nature of the case, it was impossible to expect that the revolutionary offensive after the war, not having resulted in an immediate victory, should go on developing incessantly along an upward curve. The political evolution proceeds in cycles and has its ups and downs. The enemy does not remain passive, but fights for his existence. If the offensive of the proletariat does not lead to direct victory, the bourgeoisie embraces the first opportunity for a counter-offensive. The proletariat, in losing some of its positions which were too easily won, usually experiences some confusion in its ranks. But it is an undoubted mark of our time that the curve of the capitalist evolution proceeds through temporary rises constantly *downwards*, while the curve of revolution proceeds through some vacillations constantly *upwards*.

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Should the rate of development prove to be more protracted, and should the present industrial crisis be superseded in a number of countries by a period of prosperity, this would not in the least signify the advent of the "organic" epoch. So long as Capitalism exists, periodic vacillations are inevitable. These vacillations are going to accompany Capitalism in its agony, as was the case during its youth and maturity. The proletariat having been somewhat repulsed during the present crisis by the onslaught of Capitalism, is going to assume the offensive as soon as the situation begins to improve. The offensive character of the economic struggle of the proletariat which would inevitably be carried on under the slogan of revenge for all the deceptions of the war period, and for all the plunder and abuses of the crisis, will tend to turn into an open civil war just as the present defensive stage of the struggle does.

No matter whether the revolutionary movement in the near future is going to proceed at a rapid or protracted rate, the Communist Party must, in either case, be the *party of action*. This party stands at the head of the struggling masses, it must firmly and definitely proclaim their war cries and must expose and sweep aside all equivocal slogans of the Social Democrats, which always tend towards compromise. Whatever the turns in the course of the struggle, the Communist Party always strives to fortify the contested positions, to get the masses used to active manœuvring, to equip them with new methods calculated to lead to an open conflict with the enemy forces. Taking advantage of every breathing space offered in order to appreciate the experience of the preceding phase of the struggle, the Communist Party strives to deepen and widen the class conflicts, to combine them nationally and internationally by unity of goal and of practical activity, in such a way as to clear the path of the proletariat and lead it on to the Socialist revolution.

EUROPE'S COOLIE PLANTATION

By M. PHILIPS PRICE

“THE fate of Germany is no longer the fate of Germany alone, but of all Europe and of the civilised world.” These words, spoken by Herr Helfferich in the Reichstag on July 7, are symptomatic of the new outlook among the more far-seeing and chastened elements of the ruling classes of post-war Germany. But they contain a lesson not only for the International of Capital, fearful lest the economic chaos of Europe should affect rates of interest on war debt and wreck exchanges. They contain a lesson for the International of Labour, unable as yet to see in the strikes, lock-outs and unemployment demonstrations of this year the symptoms of a world process.

Why has the “land fit for heroes” after the war proved to be a mirage, which in 1920 appeared inverted, strange and uncanny, and in 1921 vanished altogether? In the general disillusionment of to-day it is not the time for recriminations between the rank and file of Labour. The demand of the hour both in “victor” and “vanquished” countries is for Labour to understand from now on that periods of colonial expansion, wars, booms and trade depressions are but revolving phases of the class struggle intimately connected with its own struggle for daily bread. It is the last of these four phases that we are experiencing to-day. Let us examine in detail some of the causes.

The European war, i.e., the period of colonial expansion, ended in the German Revolution. It is first necessary to get some idea of what this revolution exactly was and what will be its place in history. The defeat of Germany was no accident due to the better generalship of Foch or to the more righteous cause of the Allies, whose self-determination

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passion during the war finds expression now in the treatment of Ireland, Egypt, India, Persia, and of the Russian Revolution. On the contrary, it is possible to explain the defeat of Germany not in terms of personalities and war-programmes at all, but in terms of class dynamics. Germany's weakness lay in the fact that her ruling classes were not a homogeneous unit, as they were more or less in all the Allied countries, but consisted of a coalition of two classes, each following its own social and political aims. The Hohenzollerns and the petty princes of ruling dynasties were not like the Kings of England, figure-heads of a middle-class, who use the crown as a symbol to obscure the operations of financial corporations. The Hohenzollerns and the Prussian squirearchy which supported them always followed positive political ends of their own.

And it came about in this way. When Napoleon was careering about Europe, battering the political rubbish of a feudal past, he did not unfortunately either land in England or do anything permanent east of the Elbe. What he failed to do in England the Chartists and Freetraders did some thirty years later. But the work of removing agrarian privilege east of the Elbe was delayed for several generations. The backward state of Europe, which had never recovered from the Thirty Years War, and the loss, through the discovery of America and the sea-route round the Cape, of the trading centres between East and West, left the greater part of the Continent in the hands of "cabbage-garden squires" and petty princes, following narrow, domestic interests.

The European revolutions of 1848, which might have made up for lost time, were in Germany abortive. But the Hohenzollerns and junkers, if they were in the long run to escape being rudely pushed aside by the rising middle classes, as in France in 1792, had to strike some pact with the latter. It was Bismarck's rôle to bring about a junker-cum-middle class coalition, which held for nearly fifty years. The princes had to give up their petty customs-frontiers and the junkers their vexatious restrictions on trade, and in return

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acquired the control of the army and the high political and administrative appointments.

Thus the chariot of German Capitalism set out on the race of Imperial expansion, drawn by a Reventlow camel and a Stinnes thoroughbred. About the outcome of the race with the Entente chariot, whose driver had discarded his camel, there never could have been, from an objective historical standpoint, any doubt. A modern war entirely over-taxed the mental capacity of the East Elbe "kraut-junker" and of the Potsdam parade-ground "Drauflosgeher." Their psychology was responsible for Germany's amazing diplomatic blunders and senseless propaganda during the war. They had not, in fact, like the British ruling classes, learned how to lie profitably. Thus the German middle classes, burdened by Bismarck's pact with the feudal past, was not a match for men who ran the colossal apparatus of Allied propaganda. So the end came on November 9, 1918. And in this revolution the German middle classes, no less than German Labour, followed positive ends; were in fact up to a certain point revolutionary also. They wanted to complete the work which had been left undone in 1848, and to acquire sole control over the new, united German State. And in actual fact they did the same as the Manchester Whigs in 1832. They used a popular movement against the oppression and incompetence of an agrarian caste to sneak into power, and then wielded that power to put down the very people who helped them to get it.

Germany's social and political encumbrances, which in the long run prevented her from winning the war, are nowhere better seen than in the financial policy of her ruling classes between 1914 and 1918. Let me give a few figures. In 1914 the paper money issued by the Reichsbank was not more than $2\frac{1}{2}$ milliard marks. At the close of the war the paper money in circulation was 22 milliard marks, and the gold standard had been completely abolished. The greater part of this paper money was circulating between the Reichsbank, the war industries, and the public. The two latter

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gave their surplus income during the war (this amounted roughly to 20 milliard marks annually) to the Reichsbank, which issued war-loan papers. With the paper money thus obtained the Reichsbank bought on Government account war material which was, in course of time, blown into the air, leaving only the paper behind. Thus 20 milliard marks annually found their way into the pockets of the war industry captains, and the latter got back not only what they had lent to the State, but also what the small investing public, patriotic peasants and the petit bourgeoisie, had lent as well. As the war lasted four years, these annual war loans of 20 milliard marks amounted to rather over 80 milliard marks. No attempt was made to limit this gigantic accumulation of surplus values by direct taxation. This was studiously shunned by all Imperial finance ministers. Paper-money issues rose tenfold and, roughly, in proportion with them, the prices of all commodities. Thus the sheet anchor of the Central Powers' war finance became the easy method of depreciating currencies, which was equivalent to throwing the burden of the war on the lower middle classes and on Labour.

The rulers of the Anglo-Saxon countries, on the other hand, were clever enough to see that to escape all war-time burdens would be to play with fire. The British Government's policy of direct taxation to pay off war debt, while it was inadequate and did not take more than a fraction of the surplus value, which had gone into the coffers of the war industries, at least had the advantage of preventing so catastrophic an inflation and rise in prices as took place in Germany. But in Germany the masses had to pay the penalty of not having completed their middle-class revolution in 1848. Burdened with Bismarck's pact with the junkers, Herr Helfferich did not dare, even in the hour of Germany's greatest distress, to touch the incomes of the agrarians or to violate those privileges which the latter had acquired in return for giving the bourgeoisie a free hand in industrial spheres. The bourgeoisie, in return, were unwilling to dis-

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gorge even a part of their surplus values, as long as the junkers could shelter behind a Prussian Assembly, elected on a three-class franchise.

It is often assumed that the political ripeness of a class is directly determined by its material standard of life. But it is more probably true that mass psychology follows behind and not alongside of economic changes. The German Revolution of 1918 tends to prove this. Without doubt the great mass of German Labour in November, 1918, in spite of its privations, had little thought of any wide social changes. Its main object was to get peace and to remove from power the junker class which, as head of the army, it regarded as being responsible for all its sufferings during the four years of war. In this respect its aims were not necessarily opposed to those of the middle classes. The clever propaganda of the ruling classes of the Allied countries let it be known at the right moment that the Hohenzollerns alone were the obstacles to peace. President Wilson's reply to Prince Max of Baden, in October, 1918, is historically important, mainly because it united the German middle classes, represented by the Reichstag Bloc, with the German petit bourgeoisie and Labour, represented by the two Socialist parties, in a fighting front against the junkers. The situation of 1848 was repeated, but this time it was much more favourable for the German middle classes. The junkers and the dynasties were isolated and discredited. The coalition, created by Bismarck with such care, was gone in a night. A new page in the history of Germany had begun.

That this was the real meaning of the German Revolution is plain from the fact that, except for a few weeks, the middle classes did not let the direction of State policy out of their hands. In this task they were assisted by the leaders of Labour, and even by a part of the rank and file, and by the whole of the petit bourgeoisie, whose wavering, indecisive attitude in times of revolution is historically notorious. All these elements were deeply affected by middle-class ideology. Only a small clear-sighted minority in the chief industrial

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centres and a few intellectuals saw further than the immediate future. Thus, in 1920, the Independent Socialist leader, Heinrich Ströbel,* reviewing the events of these days, wrote:—"The victorious German Revolution had before it the task, uninfluenced by the Russian example, to consolidate popular government by removing the old military apparatus and the old civil administration, and by making a beginning in socialisation. The accomplishing of this would have taken some months, and during this time the Government of the People's Commissioners, relying on the Workmen's and Soldiers' Councils, should have used their authority to the full. After they had laid the foundations of a permanent Labour régime, it was possible and necessary to leave further development to a constituent assembly elected on a democratic franchise. But instead of closing the front against the common enemy, the currents of German Socialism went different ways and began conflicting with each other."

German Labour was not ripe for the task presented to it in November, 1918. Herein lay its failure to direct subsequent events. Herein also lies one of the causes which, together with the failure of British Labour to hinder the Treaty of Versailles, has turned Central Europe into a coolie plantation for the benefit of the German neo-bourgeoisie and of the Entente rulers.

The war acted like a two-edged sword on the German masses. Some of them it roused to higher social consciousness, others it unclassed and threw them demoralised on to the social rubbish heap, where they were recruited for the pretorian guards of Noske. In the absence of any serious resistance from this quarter, it was a comparatively easy matter for the German middle classes to salvage their great war-industry machine and re-organise it with the object of winning alone and by aid of depreciated currency and sweated wages what they and the junkers together had failed to win by the sword. And to a large extent they succeeded in doing this during 1919. A "prosperous" phase in the develop-

* "Die deutsche Revolution, ihr Unglück und ihre Rettung."

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ment of German Capitalism again set in. One cannot, however, say that this after-war prosperity was real. It might be compared with St. Martin's Little Summer, following the midsummer of Colonial expansion and war prosperity preceding the winter of depression and discontent.

The catastrophic state of the German exchanges in 1919, the deflated currency, and the dearth of articles were now the cause of renewed accumulation of surplus values in the hands of the German neo-bourgeoisie, just as the war loans and the methods of floating them had been the cause of similar accumulation during the war. While the Big Four in Paris were dividing up the world territorially, Big Business in Berlin was dividing up speculations on exchanges. With a currency reduced on the foreign exchanges to one sixteenth, and on the home market to one-tenth of its pre-war value, it was possible for the German manufacturer to reap the difference on all goods exported. This difference now became part of the surplus value, appropriated by German Capital from German Labour. How this was possible can be seen from the following table of wages, prices and currency values in Germany between 1914 and 1921:—

WAGES, PRICES, AND CURRENCY IN GERMANY, 1914-1921.

Level of prices in 1920 over 1914 prices, reckoned as 100	1400*
Level of wages in 1920 over 1914 wages, reckoned as 100	806**
Reduction in 1920 of real wages against 1914 standard	43%
Reduction in value of mark in June, 1920, against dollar in July, 1914	94%
Reduction in value of mark in June, 1921, against gold mark of July, 1914	90%

* Kucznicki, Berlin.

** After allowing for short time and unemployment.

The difference between the 90 per cent. reduction of the mark value at home and the 94 per cent. reduction abroad, together with the 43 per cent. real wage reduction, formed the

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new post-war surplus value, which the German neo-bourgeoisie could annex on all foreign exports.

On the other hand the post-war industries in England were in a very different and, against Germany at first, disadvantageous position. This will be seen from the following table:—

WAGES, PRICES, AND EXCHANGE IN GREAT BRITAIN, 1914-1921.

Level of prices in 1920 over 1914 prices, reckoned as 100	289*
Level of wages in 1920 over 1914 wages, reckoned as 100	220
Reduction in 1920 of real wages against 1914 standard	25%
Reduction in value of sterling in June, 1921, against dollar in July, 1914	25%

* Joint Labour Committee statistics.

The fact that real wages and the sterling exchange was only 25 per cent. down exposed British industries to German dumping. By the end of 1920 it gradually began to dawn upon some of the Allied Governments that indemnities and coal deliveries were only assisting the disproportion in the exchanges and that, although this might be welcomed as an excuse for inaugurating a general attack on the standard of living in Western Europe, it must nevertheless be kept within bounds. At this point the difference of interest between the French and British Governments began to appear in strong relief. To the militarist money-lending Imperialism of France Germany was a potential industrial colony. The policy of the French banks has been since the end of 1920 to acquire through diplomatic and military pressure the direct control over German heavy industries, to annex the bulk of the surplus values by acquiring in the form of reparations 90 per cent. of the shares, and to throw a few sops to the German captains of industry for their services in disciplining German labour. This policy lies at the bottom of all the French threats of occupation of the Ruhr and intrigues with Korfanty in Upper Silesia. By this means it

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is hoped to finally unite the iron industries of Lorraine, surrendered by the terms of the Armistice to France, to the coal industry of Silesia and the Ruhr, heavily mortgaged by the reparations fixed by the London ultimatum.

The industrial and trading magnates of the British Empire had other objects in view. The war had put them in possession of vast resources of coal, iron and oil in Asia and Africa, and hence the acquisition of economic spheres on the European continent was superfluous. On the other hand, a Germany with industries dumping into colonial areas of the Levant and South America was a danger. Their policy, therefore, at the end of 1920 was to bring up the German export prices to the level of the world markets by protective tariffs and sanctions, and to bring up the level of the German home prices to that of the world market by forcing the German Government to abandon its subsidy of necessary foods and raw material for the benefit of its working classes. The difference between the 90 per cent. reduction of the home value of the German mark and the 94 per cent. reduction of its world market value as against the value in 1914 must be bridged at all costs. Hence the pressure of the British Government on the German Government to force it to increase indirect taxation in Germany and abandon the bread subsidies; hence the 28 per cent. protective duty on German exports and the wage cuts on British labour—all of which have been features of the first half of 1921. The net result in England can be seen by the following table:—

WAGES AND PRICES IN GREAT BRITAIN, 1920-1921.

Level of prices in 1921 over 1914 prices, reckoned	250
as 100	250
Drop in prices since 1920	14%
Level of wages in June, 1921, over 1914 wages,	180
reckoned as 100	180
Drop in wages since 1920	20%

British Labour has had its real wages docked 20 per cent., while prices have only fallen 14 per cent., and this does not take into consideration short time and unemployment. Thus British Labour has begun at last to feel in its own person the

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effects of the low standard of living in Europe's coolie plantation.

The London ultimatum was a compromise between the colonial investment policy of the French financiers and the Protectionist policy of British exporting and manufacturing houses. The German capitalists responded in two ways. Their captains of heavy industry, with Stinnes at their head, set about to complete a process, which had begun after the Revolution, viz., to squeeze out by price manipulation the German manufacturing industries that use coal and iron as raw material, and so to force the latter to join great vertical trusts, handling everything from the raw mineral to the finished product. They thus concentrated their forces, so that in face of the French financier they would be able to present a united front and so secure in bargaining over a Franco-German industrial consortium a good share of the exploitation rights. On the other hand, they are preparing to meet the tariffs, imposed by the English in the London ultimatum, by a further reduction in the standard of living of their own Labour. Already the German heavy industry Press has begun to put out feelers in this direction. Thus the Stinnes organ, *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, says in its issue of July 9th: "The position of the German iron industry has been much endangered by the fact that in the Saar, in Belgium, Luxemburg, America, France and England wages reductions varying from 5 to 35 per cent. have taken place. In face of the indemnity burdens laid on Germany by the London ultimatum, the German iron industry will be placed in a most difficult position on the world market as long as the question of a wages reduction is ruled out." In other words, the British captains of industry have used the German sweated wages as an excuse for a 20 per cent. wage cut in England, and the German captains of industry use this wage cut and other measures of the British Government to commence a campaign against the already low standard of life in their own country. And so the vicious circle goes on.

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As far as Germany is concerned, the attack has already begun in an indirect way. An attempt is being made to introduce a number of the 400,000 odd unemployed to dilute the labour of those in full employment. This has resulted in the mining area of Middle Germany in a real wage reduction of 20 per cent. The German Trade Union Central Commission is trying to counteract this danger by inducing the Minister of Railways and of Public Works to undertake large reconstruction schemes to absorb part of the unemployed. But the Allied Commissions threatened to forbid this on the grounds that the money spent on reconstruction is so much off reparation. In actual fact this reconstruction work, if carried through, will relieve the competition between the employed and unemployed for jobs, and so tend to prevent wage reductions. It will also increase internal production, and so tend to keep down prices. The members of the Allied Commissions desire neither of these developments, because they would tend to break the vicious circle and free Labour in Central Europe from some of the consequences of the "sanctions."

What are the general conclusions to be drawn from the above? The German Revolution has resulted in a strengthening of German Capitalism by relieving it from a coalition with an agrarian caste. Its coalition with this class in the war brought about a colossal depreciation in the purchasing power of money in Central Europe. Germany after the war has become an autochthonous economic unit, separated by a currency barrier from England, the United States, and partly also from France. Its working classes can at present only advantageously exchange products in countries where the currency is equally or even more depreciated than in Germany, as in Poland, the Baltic States, the Balkans, Turkey and Russia. The Treaties of Versailles, the Spa Agreement and the London Ultimatum have caused her to join the autochthonous economic unit of countries with a higher currency than her own. She is to become the coolie plantation annexed to this unit. In the process of annexation her

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native Capitalists, the class that alone has benefited by the German Revolution, are ceasing to have a national character or to follow national aims. They are showing increasing tendencies to become the servants of the masters of industries in the countries with the high exchanges. And as long as a Capitalist Imperialism in England, France and America remains, German Labour can only hope to escape some of the worst results of its economic situation by trade relations with the countries of East Europe. More than that, the whole of the impoverished European continent will tend to become an economic unit. The barrier to this at present is France and Poland, both of whom are not free agents, but through war debts are mortgaged to London and Wall Street. Should this bond be broken by revolution or any other process, the economic unity of the Continent will be complete.

How can British Labour help in freeing the Continent? It can help to cut the bonds that bind the Continent to London and Wall Street. It can insist that the low wage standard in the coolie plantation be not made its own standard. It can, by forcing a capital levy, by annulling the war loans and the Versailles indemnities, cut the chains which force Labour on the Continent to pay tribute to London and Wall Street. And then it will find that these measures are all part of its own social emancipation.

But in order to do this a new spirit is needed. Labour must have an international organisation, which can not only summon conferences but can act across the arbitrary lines of nationality, race and sphere of interest. It must avoid the mistakes of those who, in Germany in November, 1918, allied themselves with Labour's class enemy for fear of real, not sham, social changes. It must avoid the timidity which caused "Black Friday," and the apathy and muddle which caused the blockade of strike-breaking Continental coal to collapse. An active International General Staff of Labour alone can secure a common European standard of living. The failure to do this has already brought its nemesis in 1921. And there is worse to follow.

THE CONFLICT IN GERMAN TRADE UNIONISM

THE Peace Treaty, the "sanctions" and the whole question of economic reconstruction play an important part in the life of the German workers. Each demand of the Allies for coal or gold reacts on the lives of the workers, with the consequent effort of the employers to increase the working day, whilst reducing pay; and where neither of these methods succeeds, lock-outs or short time result. It is thus inevitable that the political situation should be an important factor in German Trade Unionism to-day, and give an added intensity to the internal controversies which have recently arisen.

German Trade Unionism has in the past never been strongly political in character, although it has been organised from the outset as a Socialist Trade Union movement. The explanation of this apparent contradiction is simple. The German Trade Unions were reorganised in 1890 under the auspices of the Social Democratic Party, and have since worked in conjunction with it until two years ago. They have thus grown up as an elaborate machinery on the economic side, content to leave political questions to the party in which their leaders played a prominent part. During the war they played a purely subordinate rôle in connection with the tasks of economic organisation: in the Revolution they had no part as an official movement, and, indeed, were engaged in negotiating an Alliance of Employers and Employed at the very moment when, in November, 1918, the Revolution broke out through the entirely unofficial Workers' and Soldiers' Councils. This Alliance of Employers and Employed, it is worth noting, has continued to be adhered to by the General Federation of Trade Unions right through the Revolution; and in Novem-

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ber, 1920, the Executive of the Federation rejected a motion to withdraw from it by 24 votes to 7. It was only during the Kapp coup, in March, 1920, that the Trade Unions for the first time entered the political arena, and then only in defence: their positive programme on that occasion, the "Eight Points," never secured effective fulfilment.

In consequence the conflict in German Trade Unionism has taken place through the leadership of the political parties. This is in complete contrast with France, where a tradition of revolutionary Unionism has always been maintained by a vigorous minority which has looked with suspicion on all political parties. The campaign of the newer forces in the German Unions, which is still only beginning, has taken place, at first through the Independent Socialist Party, and lately through the Communist Party. On the other hand, the official elements have responded in the same way as in France, by the attempted expulsion of revolutionary sections. This policy was definitely adopted at a meeting of the Council (Ausschuss) of the Federation in December, 1920.

RESOLUTION OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE GENERAL FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS (A.D.G.B.), DECEMBER 15, 1920.

The Moscow "Communist International" has declared war and destruction on the Trade Union International (Amsterdam). Statements, impossible to prove, allege that the Trade Unions of Central and West Europe are "yellow" and their leaders "bribed" by private capital. On this account a campaign is to be begun, with the intent to destroy the result of our decades of struggle and work by which we built up the Trade Union movement in Germany. Trade Union members are obliged by the Moscow theses to subject both Works Councils and Trade Unions to the supervision of the Communist Party. Not only that, but splits in the movement are advocated in cases where rejection of revolutionary activity in the Unions would be involved. German Trade Unions have always cherished their right to decide independently at their Congresses on all tactics; now they are requested to submit to the decisions of persons, ignorant of their conditions, who judge dogmatically; not a dictatorship of the proletariat, but of obscure cliques *over* the proletariat.

The Conflict in German Trade Unionism

Faithful to their traditions, the German Unions reiterate their solidarity and sympathy with the workers in all countries, including Russia, whose sufferings and strivings call for the deepest sympathy. In their opinion the affiliation of the Russian Unions to Amsterdam would greatly strengthen the fighting power of the workers and be also advantageous to Russian workers. For these reasons the German Trade Unions will make a determined stand against any movement likely to detract from their autonomy and freedom of action: as such the proposed "Communist Groups" are regarded. These groups will tend to paralyse the activity of the Unions; their methods (cunning, illegal procedure, secrecy, perversion of truth, etc.) are to be rejected and fought against as immoral and injurious to Trade Union organisation.

Since the programme advocated by Moscow threatens the preservation of unity within the movement, and would result in chaos and ineffectiveness, the Executive of the General Federation of German Trade Unions considers it its most pressing duty to recommend all affiliated bodies to combat these destructive activities with every means they can command. Members who, either alone or in conjunction with others, thus weaken the necessary unity of the Trade Unions in their struggle against Capitalism, break the rules of the movement and consequently place themselves outside the Unions. The results of such behaviour can be easily imagined.

The Executive of the A.D.G.B., therefore, in the interests of Trade Unionism, warns all organisations against the Moscow propaganda, and exhorts all affiliated societies to remain faithful to the rules of the German Unions, and to oppose with united energy all efforts likely to cause disunity and dissension within the ranks of the members.

The reply to this appeared in an appeal for the unity of the workers issued by the Communist Party on January 8, 1921. The appeal was issued as an open letter addressed to the General Federation of Trade Unions, the Clerical and Technical Employees' Alliance (A.F.A.), the General Workers' Union, the Free Workers' Union (Syndicalist), the Social Democratic Party, the Independent Socialist Party, and the Communist Workers.

OPEN LETTER OF THE GERMAN COMMUNIST PARTY TO ALL GERMAN LABOUR ORGANISATIONS, JANUARY 8, 1921.

The United Communist Party of Germany considers it to be its duty to approach all Socialist Parties and Trade Union Organisations at this period of difficulty and menace for the German working class.

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The German working class, including all those sections just awakening to their position in the proletarian world, must now as a whole combine for defence. This is necessary because of the advancing dissolution of Capitalism, the world crisis, the fall in the exchange and the ever-increasing cost of living.

Reaction is working to keep the working class in subjection by continually forging new chains, by means of the "Orgesch" assassinations, and the law ever ready to hush up the culprits.

For these reasons the United Communist Party of Germany makes the following propositions to all Socialist Parties and Trade Union organisations, so that they may form a basis for further action and discussion :—

1. (a) The introduction of uniform wage demands to insure an existence to workers, employees and State clerks. Unity, with the object of united action, between the wage demands of the railway workers, State clerks, miners, agricultural workers and those in other industries.
 - (b) Increase in incomes and pensions of war victims, private people and pensioners so as to put these on a level with the various wage demands.
 - (c) Uniform regulation of the unemployment subsidy for the whole country, taking the income of full-time workers as a basis. For this purpose the money should be procured by the State. The control of the unemployed to be in the hands of special unemployment councils in connection with the Trade Unions.
2. Measures to reduce the cost of living, such as :
 - (a) Distribution of provisions at reduced prices to wage earners and those in receipt of small incomes (widows, orphans, etc.). This to be done through the Co-operative Societies under the control of the Trade Unions and Works Councils. The provision of the necessary supplies to be the business of the State.
 - (b) Immediate requisition of all available rooms, not only with the object of distributing them, but also to render it possible to remove small families from large flats or houses.
3. Measures to procure provisions and other necessities :
 - (a) The Works Councils to take control of all available raw materials, coal, and fertilisers. All disused factories, suitable for the production of necessities, to be re-started and the products distributed as in II. (a).
 - (b) Agricultural Councils, composed of landed proprietors and peasants, in conjunction with the Agricultural Workers' Union to be responsible for tillage, harvesting and sale of all agricultural produce.

The Conflict in German Trade Unionism.

4. (a) All bourgeois defence leagues to be dissolved and disarmed, and proletarian organisations formed in all provinces and corporations to take their place.
- (b) Amnesty to be granted to all those whose crimes are due to political causes or the general necessity of the moment. All political prisoners to be liberated.
- (c) Removal of present strike ban.
- (d) Immediate diplomatic and trade relations to be begun with Russia.

In suggesting this plan of action, we do not disguise the fact, either to ourselves or to the workers, that these suggestions will not relieve their need. The United Communist Party, however, without relaxing the fight for the dictatorship, which is the only solution, is prepared to carry through the suggestions made above in conjunction with other parties who are supported by the working class. We make no secret of the cleft which divides us from other parties. We wish rather to make clear that no mere lip-service to the points just laid down will suffice; but action to carry through these demands is necessary. We ask the parties, to whom we address ourselves, not whether they regard the demands as justified; that we take for granted. We ask them rather: are you prepared to join with us to secure these demands regardless of consequences? To this open and straightforward question we ask an equally open and straightforward reply. The situation demands an immediate answer; therefore we expect one on or before January 18.

In case the various Parties and Unions whom we now address are unwilling to enter the struggle, we, the United Communist Party, will feel compelled to carry on the fight alone, convinced of the support of the masses. The United Communist Party to-day asks all existing organisations in the country to make known their attitude towards the fight against Capitalism and reaction.

The policy of expulsions was, nevertheless, proceeded with: and the more important Union decisions may be noted.

TRANSPORT WORKERS. EXECUTIVE DECISION OF MARCH, 1921.

1. The decisions of Congresses of the German Trade Union Federation, the Union Congress and the stipulations of the rules are authoritative for all members of the German Transport Workers' Union.
2. Any member of the Union following the decisions of the United Communist Party of Germany or the Moscow Trade Union International, which are directed against the German Trade Unions,

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places himself automatically outside the ranks of the organisation and thereby forfeits all membership rights.

3. The Executive Committee is instructed to proceed with the utmost vigour which the rules admit (including expulsion) against all those members who

- (a) take part in the formation of Communist fractions ("cells") aiming at schism within the Trade Unions;
- (b) compile, sign, distribute or circulate pamphlets whose contents are directed against the Trade Unions;
- (c) actively take part in meetings, conferences, assemblies, etc., which have the object of endangering the unity, capacity for action, and the existence of Trade Unions;
- (d) advocate the refusal of paying contributions or practise this themselves and consequently imperil the capacity for action of the organisation;
- (e) endeavour to undermine either verbally or in writing the requisite discipline for accomplishment of Trade Union aims.

4. Any person employing for his own use Union property of any kind without authorisation of the Union Executive or who retains same in his possession shall be proceeded against at law.

5. Salaried Union Officials who are guilty of infringement of the above principles are liable to immediate dismissal without payment of salary.

RAILWAYMEN. EXECUTIVE DECISION OF FEBRUARY, 1921.

"Whoever in his capacity as member of the German Railwaymen's Union obeys or acts upon decisions or instructions of the Moscow International Council in Trade Union matters, violates the constitution of the Union and the decisions of the Congresses of Jena and Dresden, and thereby automatically excludes himself from the Union. Employees, officials and other members of the German Railwaymen's Union shall be held guilty of acting according to the policy of the Moscow Trade Union International if, without the authority and approval of the Executive Committee they collect contributions, write and circulate manifestoes, pamphlets and circulars which are directed against the Free Trade Unions. Whosoever acts in this manner or takes part in conferences or meetings which call upon those persons attending them to carry out decisions calculated to prejudice the unity and influence, and even the existence of the organisation, shall be expelled from the Union."

METALWORKERS. EXECUTIVE DECISION OF JANUARY, 1921.

"The carrying out of the activities demanded by the Communist International in the Trade Unions tends to weaken the power of

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action and efficiency of the organisations; the abusing and attacking of one's own organisation must lead inevitably to a split in the organisation. Whosoever thus aids and abets in weakening and shattering our Union increases the present difficulty of the grim struggle against Capitalism, and is therefore to be treated as a danger to the Union. The Executive Council, which endorses the principles of the Amsterdam Trade Union International and strongly condemns the tactics of the Moscow International Council, therefore calls upon the Executive Committee to use every means to which the rules empower them against those members who are guilty of conduct so injurious to the Union and its members."

These decisions have been put into effect. The most notable example has been the industrial district of Halle, where the Communists have been in the majority. The local council of the metalworkers, as elected, was purely Communist. Thereupon the supply of Union stamps was immediately stopped; the A.D.G.B. sent down a special representative to organise the opposition; and a secretary was appointed above the heads of the local members.

On the other hand, it should be observed that the Extreme Left of the revolutionary movement in the Unions has also pursued disruptive tactics and broken away to form a separate "Free Workers' Union" of a Syndicalist tendency. This movement of the Rhenish-Westphalian miners has its centre at Gelsenkirchen. Its present strength is 130,000 members, of whom, roughly, 115,000 are miners, the remainder comprising all classes of workers. It has voted to join the Red Trade Union International; but the latter body has appealed to it to abandon its present tactics.

The official policy of the Left Wing has been to continue working with the Unions as far as possible, in spite of the attempted expulsions. This is laid down in the following instructions:—

CIRCULAR OF THE CENTRAL TRADE UNION COMMITTEE (COMMUNIST), MARCH, 1921.

1. The measures now being taken by many Unions should on no account induce Communists to resign their Trade Union member-

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ship. They should remain in the Unions and influence others. Those who resign are acting contrary to the rules of the Communist Party.

2. The combined action of the employers, Government, and Trade Union bureaucracy makes it obligatory for every Communist to work with redoubled energy on Communist lines within the Unions. They should take the lead in the workers' movement.

3. It is the Communists' duty to draw attention at every meeting to the official betrayal of the workers. The "Open Letter" must be brought up for discussion and the workers invited to support our demands.

4. Workshop meetings should also be called at which the economic and political position is discussed, with the "Open Letter" as basis. These meetings give the best opportunities for opening the eyes of non-Communists to the machinations of the enemy.

5. Local party representatives must follow assiduously our former instruction re Communists in Trade Unions.

6. Where Communist groups have not yet been formed in factories, there should be no delay in forming them. Neglect of this matter will be regarded as failure to do one's duty as Communist leaders.

7. The local Communist leader is to elect a representative for every fifteen industrial groups. This representative should see that all the Unions in the groups are in touch with the Trade Union centre.

The whole issue has entered a new phase as a result of the strike movement of last March. The strike met with the active opposition of the General Federation of Trade Unions. For the first time the Communists endeavoured to take the lead in an industrial movement. It is too early to estimate the full effects of this new development.

"AN INCIDENT OF CANAL CONSTRUCTION"

By J. F. HORRABIN

WHEN any action on the part of a modern capitalist Government is acclaimed by its Press as a shining example of "disinterestedness," "good-will," "statesmanlike generosity," and so forth, Labour students of world-politics may be forgiven for suspecting that there is more in the case than meets the eye in the newspaper headlines, and for proceeding to do a little research work on their own account. Such research work often affords quite useful evidence as to the little ways of Imperialists.

Here is a case in which sundry factors of importance in the world of to-day—the Pacific Problem, the Rights of Small Nationalities, Routes and Oil—all play their part.

It was announced recently that President Harding had ratified the Colombian Treaty, by the terms of which the United States pays to the Republic of Colombia the sum of \$25,000,000 in consideration of the fact that the Panama Canal is built through territory which *once* belonged to Colombia, but which she lost—I quote the excellent phrase used in the monthly review of Economic Affairs issued by the National City Bank of New York—"as an incident of canal construction." "The payment of this sum," declares the Bank's leader-writer, "is an act of good-will and fundamental justice on the part of the United States," and it is due, says he, entirely to America's consideration for "the natural feelings of the people of Colombia."

Now most people—and proletarians certainly not least—will agree that \$25,000,000 implies quite a lot of considera-

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tion. Such a lot, indeed, that one is curious to know more about the "natural feelings" of the Colombians, and how it came to pass that they secured so handsome a sum for merely moral damages. Let us recall certain not uninteresting facts about the construction of the Panama Canal.



In 1902, the French company which had started work on the Isthmus twenty years earlier offered all its rights and assets to the United States Government for the sum of \$40,000,000. President Roosevelt—the same Theodore, it is worthy of note in passing, who had declared, after the experience of the Spanish-American War, that the cutting of an Atlantic-Pacific canal would instantly "double the strength of the U.S. Navy"—at once opened negotiations with the Republic of Colombia, which included in its territory the Isthmus of Panama. He offered \$10,000,000 for the grant to the United States of a perpetual lease of the "Canal zone." Negotiations went on for some months, but were at length, in August, 1903, abruptly broken off by Colombia, with the intention, so President Roosevelt thought and said, of "trying to extort more money"—a not altogether uncommon motive, even among States pretending to a higher degree of civilisation than mere South American Republics.

An Incident of Canal Construction

This, observe, was in August. In the following November—on November 4, 1903, to be quite precise—Panama revolted from its mother-land, Colombia, and declared itself a free and independent State. On November 13—nine days later—its independence was “recognised” by the Government of the United States. And on November 18—just a fortnight after Panama’s declaration of independence—a treaty was signed by the United States and the Republic of Panama, by which the Canal zone (i.e., five miles of territory of each side of the Canal) was leased to the United States for ever and ever, and the sum of \$10,000,000 paid to Panama. Other countries promptly followed the United States’ lead in recognising the new State; and both territory and “compensation” were lost to Colombia. An interesting little chapter of international history, especially when read alongside of that later chapter which tells of the endless delays, postponements, refusals, attending the negotiations for the recognition of the Soviet Republic of Russia. There were, indeed, rude people who went so far as to hint that the American Government “promoted” the Panama Rebellion. But President Roosevelt positively denied this; and who—but a German—would doubt the word of an American President?

It is not surprising that the little State over whose beginning so powerful a fairy godmother watched thus tenderly—which was born, so to speak, with a \$10,000,000 silver spoon in its mouth!—has done quite well in the world, and entirely avoided such incumbrances as national debts, for instance. But what of the mother-land, Colombia, the State which was “left” so badly in the deal? Naturally, the Colombians were sore; especially when the Canal was completed and a new highway of world commerce was opened, just outside their borders.

And now, nearly twenty years after, comes the announcement that the United States Government, purely out of consideration for these natural feelings, is paying, not merely the \$10,000,000 which Colombia lost “as an incident of canal construction,” but \$25,000,000 to

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the aggrieved State; and paying it in spite of hostile critics who assert that such payment amounts to "an acknowledgment of wrong-doing on the part of the American Government." Could there be a nobler example of generosity and upright dealing in international affairs? On the part of a Big Business Government, too!

What other considerations lie behind the "good-will" and the "fundamental justice"?

One is sufficiently obvious after a glance at the map. Panama is one of the gateways to the Pacific—the vital gateway for the United States. To leave on the very borders of the Canal a State with "natural feelings" of strong resentment against the Canal owners would, therefore, plainly be an unwise policy.

But there is yet another factor, and that, too, a vastly important one—oil.

It is common knowledge that the oil supplies of the U.S., hitherto the richest in the world, are nearing their end, or at any rate decreasing their output; and that American statesmen are correspondingly anxious. Whither are they to turn for the supplies they need?

Let me quote a sentence or two from a recently published volume which deserves to be read by every Labour student—"Coal, Iron, and War," by E. C. Eckel (Harrap, 12s. 6d. net):—

The struggle must begin again, *based on other sources of supply*. . . . To the southward of our own border lies *the second great petroliferous area*, so far as probable time of development is concerned, for it seems likely that the nearby deficiencies in U.S. output will be met by greatly increased production from Mexico, Venezuela and *Colombia*. The fields in this Caribbean area are extensive . . . and they are in process of intensive development.

Further comment would be superfluous. It is fairly evident that the "natural resources" of Colombia, as well as her "natural feelings," were taken into account when President Harding's Government decided to give their \$25,000,000 exhibition of "good-will."

THE LILLE CONGRESS

THE origins of the controversy which came to a head at the Lille Congress of the Confederation of Labour have been described in detail in last month's issue. Just before the Congress a new element was added to the situation by the receipt of a telegraphic version of the resolution adopted at the Red Trade Union International Congress in Moscow (printed on page 179). The Left Wing were immediately alarmed at the possibility of the resolution committing them to a position not consistent with the tradition of Revolutionary Syndicalism which they were upholding. Accordingly a group of their leading representatives immediately issued an unofficial manifesto to clear the position.

MANIFESTO OF MEMBERS OF THE C.S.R. (COMITÉ SYNDICALISTE RÉVOLUTIONNAIRE), JULY 15, 1921.

In view of the resolution voted at the Congress of the Red Trade Union International, the comrades who sign the following believe it must be issued immediately, since it is impossible for the Central Committee of the C.S.R. to meet this evening.

1. We are surprised to find appended to this resolution the names of two French delegates who have apparently exceeded their mandate.

2. We are of opinion that Revolutionary Trade Unionism would fail in its traditions of Trade Union independence if it accepted the view embodied in this resolution.

3. We are absolutely convinced that a Red Trade Union International with this basis would be incapable of rallying the Revolutionary Trade Union movement into its ranks, and consequently of fulfilling its purpose and flourishing. It seems impossible to us to admit, as regards the French Trade Union movement, that a definite connection should exist between the Unions and the Communist Party on a national basis, and between the Trade Union International and the Communist International on an international basis.

This alliance, in the ranks, as well as above, would necessarily lead to a change in the character of Trade Unionism by preventing it from continuing to be a class organisation open to all workers and transforming it into an organisation with a political tendency. We would assist in the creation of as many Trade Union movements as there are Communist or Socialist Internationals. A Trade Union

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International must be independent of international politics, just as a Trade Union is independent of political organisations.

From the national standpoint, French Revolutionary Trade Unionism cannot agree to this union with the Communist Party; faithful to the Charter of Amiens, it claims its independence, which makes it possible to organise within its ranks all workers regardless of their political outlook.

In the International field, it recognises that other Trade Union organisations have the right to be governed according to their historic and economic conditions; but it also reserves the same right for itself. In its opinion a Red Trade Union International which does not consider these different conditions condemns itself to inaction and death. It will only attract a section of the Revolutionary Unions; whilst in taking the different peculiarities of the movements into consideration, and in giving to the new International the double support of Russian Trade Unionism and the Revolutionary Trade Unionism of the Latin and Anglo-Saxon countries, great strides would be made along the road of Revolutionary Trade Unionism.

Our request to the C.S.R. Executive is that the Red Trade Union International be asked to summon a new Congress to rescind this resolution, and that the Congress at Lille confines its agitation to the request for the withdrawal of the C.G.T. (*Confédération Générale du Travail*) from the Amsterdam International. The motion for affiliation to Moscow to be postponed till a special conference meets.

No defiance of the Communist International, nor weakening of the bonds which unite us with the Russian Revolution, is intended by our present attitude; we are actuated by what we regard the superior interest of the world revolutionary movement: it alone guides us.

To-day, as yesterday, we repudiate Amsterdam. This temporary non-acceptance of the decision of the Red Trade Union International has not caused us to discover the merits of an International grafted on the war organisation of the inter-allied Unions, and whose policy is organically linked to the International Bureau of Albert Thomas and the Second International, the International of the King's Ministers.

We desire more than ever that our Russian comrades will be present at the Lille Congress, where we shall have an opportunity of putting our point of view before them.

Signed: MONMOUSSEAU, SÈMARD, BARTHE, JOUVE, CHABERT, QUINTON, RACAMOND, GUINET, TEULADE, MEYER, FONTAINE, RÉBILLON, BRIOLET, MONATTE, VERDIER, VADÉCART, BISCH, RAMBAU, DAGUERRE.

This manifesto was issued hastily, before any further

The Lille Congress

message had been received. The crisis, however, was speedily allayed, though not composed, by a special explanatory message from the Council of the Red Trade Union International.

MESSAGE OF THE CENTRAL COUNCIL OF THE RED TRADE UNION INTERNATIONAL TO THE LILLE CONGRESS, JULY 25, 1921.

The Central Council of the Red Trade Union International sends fraternal greetings to the French C.G.T. Congress at Lille.

It hopes that the Congress will decide that French Trade Unionism will regenerate and work in connection with the revolutionary organisations of all countries for the realisation of proletarian liberty through the medium of Communism; that it will repudiate the Amsterdam International and join the Red Trade Union International of Moscow, to which are affiliated Communist and Trade Union Comrades from forty-two countries (Spain, Italy, England, America, etc.).

The Congress of the R.T.U.I. resolved by a majority vote, that the executive committees of both Communist and Red Trade Union Internationals should have joint members so as to collaborate effectively in the cause of revolution.

Yet despite this unity, the Congress had no intention of encroaching on the autonomy of Trade Union organisations in the various countries, neither was it intended that one international should be subordinate to the other.

Reformists and the manoeuvres of the bourgeois Government have tried to make the French militants believe that the Moscow Congress had decided to make the Trade Union movement subordinate to the Communist International: clear-sighted revolutionaries, however, will see through this.

We reiterate the hope once again that French Revolutionaries will not, on the pretext of fighting for autonomy, fall into the trap made for them by bourgeois rulers and their faithful satellites.

Long Live the Red Trade Union International.

Long Live the Proletarian World Revolution.

By order of and on behalf of the Central Council of the Red Trade Union International.

The Executive Bureau: LOZOWSKY, General Secretary; NOGUIME (Russia); ARLANDIS (Spain); MAYER (Germany); TOM MANN (England), ANDROISHINE (America).

At the Congress a united front was presented on either side, and a straight vote was taken between the two opposing schools of policy. The Executive Report was carried by

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1,556 to 1,348 votes, with 46 abstentions. The principal division, however, concerned the resolution on Trade Union policy, which covered both the international field and the whole issues of internal policy. Here the two resolutions presented form a conspectus of the rival points of view. The vote showed 1,572 for the official resolution against 1,327 for the Left Wing, and 66 abstentions.

THE MAJORITY RESOLUTION ON TRADE UNION POLICY

The sixteenth National Congress of the C.G.T., inspired by the continuous traditions of Trade Union policy, again maintains that the struggle of the organised workers to change the social system will not end until class disappears, the wage system is superseded, and the producers take their place in the direction of all social activity.

This Congress reaffirms in their entirety the principles of the Amiens Resolution, which all succeeding C.G.T. Congresses have approved. It points out, however, that the interpretation of these principles absolutely excludes all propositions which renounce the necessary and absolute autonomy and independence of Trade Unionism from any political party or Government whatsoever.

There is an irreconcilable contradiction between the independence of the Trade Union movement and any form of permanent connection with a political party which would subject the movement, its aims and activities, to its direction, at the same time entangling the workers in struggles which they have neither decided for themselves nor discussed so as to know whither they will lead.

The Congress authorises the C.G.T. to carry out the minimum programme for the reconstruction of the devastated areas; to bring about the industrial nationalisation of the large public services, national insurance, and workers' control, and finally to resist the attacks of employers on wages and hours, in accordance with the Charter of Amiens, which declares that Trade Unionism should agitate for "the increase in the well-being of the workers by the realisation of immediate improvements."

To realise this programme the Congress believes the working-class movement has but one weapon : unity; for this reason it is of opinion the militants should concentrate on co-ordination in the first place.

In the present condition of the world the Congress believes that all national questions are dependent upon the international situation, and therefore it decides to continue the affiliation to the International Federation of Trade Unions centred at Amsterdam.

This Congress declares working-class unity can only be effectively maintained by the voluntary discipline of the Trade Unionists and of the organisations.

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Diversity of opinion, which has every right to free expression, cannot justify the use of abusive language between militants. This practice is unworthy of Trade Unionism and is censured and condemned by the Congress. Mutual respect within the ranks of Trade Unionism does not in any way interfere with freedom of opinion.

The rights of minorities remain what they ought to be, nobody can limit the liberty to criticise; yet minorities are obliged to abide by any decisions taken; under no pretext should groups of those whose tendencies are alike take the place of the chief organisation, whether departmental or national, such substitution causing confusion and rendering propaganda and solidarity impossible.

The activity of the minorities is permissible at the regular meetings of the Congress; it cannot be tolerated, however, when it becomes a public opposition to the decisions arrived at by the will of the majority.

Just as one Trade Unionist cannot belong to two Unions, or one Union to two Federations, these minority groups are forbidden to belong to two Internationals.

THE MINORITY RESOLUTION ON TRADE UNION POLICY.

The Confederal Congress at Lille hopes to see realised the leftward tendency supported by the recent Congresses, and thus place the C.G.T. on the road of Revolutionary Trade Unionism.

This new orientation is expected by the masses of Trade Unionists as well as by the militants: the present disorder, resulting from economic conditions and from the policy of the Confederation during and after the war, can and should give way to a new period of confidence and action.

The Lille Congress recalls the C.G.T. to adherence, in the spirit and in the letter, to the Charter of Amiens; it recalls that Trade Unions are the necessary groupings of workers which no one has the right to split up into fragments, and to which each should give of his best, both in the daily struggle for immediate demands and in the labour of preparation for the integral emancipation of the workers.

Recalling to mind the basic principles of Revolutionary Trade Unionism, this Congress will not let it be replaced by a spirit of social peace, nor be made the subject of calumnious attack as if involving disrespect for Trade Union organisation and leading towards rash and chaotic movements.

For the very reason of the high esteem in which the Revolutionaries hold Trade Unionism they are most anxious to see it methodical, vigorous and strong.

This Congress opposes most decidedly any decision to exclude Revolutionary Trade Unions or Trade Unionists; such action would inevitably lead to a split, destroy working-class unity, weaken the

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Trade Union movement and render it incapable for a time of carrying out its mission.

The Congress claims the imprescriptible right of freedom of opinion for all tendencies within the ranks of the C.G.T. It calls on supporters of Amsterdam to respect national Trade Union unity, just as the adherents of Moscow have not thought it necessary to leave the C.G.T.

Voicing directly the organised workers in the C.G.T., this Congress proclaims again that no realisation of the Trade Union ideal is possible without the complete transformation of society. The working-class movement, born of the class struggle and expressing the actual situation of the proletariat, inspired in its action and in its aims by the desire to defend the interests and establish the rights of the workers, reiterates its aim as that of the abolition of classes and the wage system.

Imbued with these principles, and having this aim in view, the Congress confirms the Amiens resolution, which declares:—

“The C.G.T. groups together, independently of all political schools, all workers who are conscious of the struggle to be carried on for the abolition of the wage system.

“In the sphere of everyday demands, Trade Unionism aims at co-ordinating the efforts of the workers and improving their conditions through the realisation of immediate ameliorations, such as the shortening of hours, increase of wages, etc. But this is only one aspect of its work; Trade Unionism is preparing the integral emancipation, which can be realised only by the expropriation of the capitalist class; it commends, as a means to this end, the general strike, and considers that the Trade Union, now a grouping for the purpose of resistance, will be in the future the basis of social organisation, as the group for production and distribution.”

The Lille Congress, in condemning class collaboration, considers that this does not mean the inevitable intercourse between master and worker, but the participation in permanent organisations of workers and capitalist representatives together for the common study of economic problems the solution of which can only prolong the existence of the present régime.

It declares that to seek economic solutions inspired by consideration for the “general interest” is contrary to the principle enunciated above; that the rôle of Trade Unionism should be determined by class interest, and that any call to the workers to increase production while the capitalist régime continues is not in accordance with the Amiens Charter.

Considering that in the pre-Revolutionary period the essential rôle of Trade Unionism is to raise constant opposition to the capitalist forces, the Congress asserts that the work of documentation or technical and professional education cannot be neglected. It declares that the Trade Unions, whose duty it is to build up the framework

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of the new society, should organise and absorb the technicians, and not be absorbed and dominated by them.

The true Economic Council of Labour will not be outside Trade Unionism, but constituted within its ranks, with its spirit in every cell of our organisation. From top to bottom, in the local Union, the Departmental Council and the National Federation, the C.G.T. should pursue this work of preparation for the control of the means of production and exchange simultaneously with the daily struggle against the employer and for the attainment of the workers' demands.

Faithful to the Amiens Resolution, the Congress considers that Trade Unionism is by its origin, by its character and by its ideals a revolutionary force. It once more affirms its complete independence in relation to theoretical movements; it declares it will not be tampered with by any external influences during its daily national or international action.

It believes that Trade Unionism ought to develop Trade Union activities to a maximum in order to achieve the destruction of the capitalist régime and the realisation of the proletarian Revolution.

In this work of Revolution the Trade Union movement places the Revolution above all systems and theories, and declares itself ready to collaborate with all Revolutionary forces for this end.

In the midst of the present world chaos, the workers have, more than ever, the imperious duty to extend their hands across the frontier, and proclaim that they belong to their class before belonging to the State that oppresses them.

In order to oppose a united and irresistible front to the power of international Capital, the workers of the whole world should unite in a movement in which they can continue internationally the class war that they carry on in their own country against their respective employers.

Being of the opinion that the place of a Trade Union movement based on the class war and on internationalism cannot be in the Amsterdam International—intimately connected with the International Labour Office subsidised by the capitalist Governments—this Congress declares that the French C.G.T. should leave this organisation of class-collaboration and that, without violating the Amiens Resolution, it can adhere to the Trade Union International of Moscow on the definite understanding that its statutes respect the autonomy of the Trade Union movement.

The final vote on the above resolutions was taken on July 30. On July 31 the C.S.R. met separately and decided to continue its organisation within the C.G.T.; but that if the Executive should endeavour to carry out the threat of expulsion contained in the majority resolution, the minority would secede as a whole.

THE LABOUR STRUGGLE IN JAPAN

I

By T. NOSAKA

§ 1—*Early Trade Unionism: 1867-1900*

THE Revolution of 1867 (Meiji Ishin) saw the birth of "Modern" Japan. Economic, and consequently political, power was transferred from the feudal-landlord to the rising commercial capitalist class, with the Emperor as their figurehead.

This was rapidly (especially after the reactionary revolt of 1878) followed by the "Industrial Revolution." It should be remembered that the industrial slavery system was at the first step introduced into the textile industry which is still one of the main sources of Japanese bourgeois wealth, and also that the great majority of workers employed in this industry is composed of peasant girls. This is one of the reasons why we had a scanty existence of workers' organisations at the earlier stage of the Industrial Revolution.

During a quarter of a century since the Bourgeois Revolution, therefore, there were, apart from friendly and trade societies, only a few Unions, of which the printers and metal workers were notable.

In the meantime, young Japanese capitalists challenged China in 1894, and after two years' fight succeeded in winning Formosa and Korea from China, and in getting the right to share with European countries in exploiting the vast commercial markets of China. This naturally caused a great economic prosperity, an important development of industrialism, and a consequent growth of the modern fighting proletariat. Those facts, side by side with an enormous advance in prices, gave a remarkable impetus to the

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combination movement of the working classes, as well as to industrial disputes.

Generally speaking, it is since those years that the modern Trade Union movement has come into existence in Japan.

A body which worked to a great extent for the development of the movement was the Society for the Promotion of Trade Unions in 1897. The society was an educational or propaganda association established by a dozen intellectuals (Katayama, Takano, etc.), followed by thousands of workers.

The first Union, born directly from the propaganda of the above society, was the Iron Workers' Union in 1897, consisting of metal workers in several workshops near Tokyo. This is a landmark in the history of the Japanese Trade Union movement, both in a historical sense and in structure. Although its formal object was friendly benefit and mediation in trade disputes, with the rapid growth in membership (claiming 5,400 in 1900) it became more and more militant against the employers. But the defeat of a dispute in the same year was a fatal blow to the young organisation and soon a rapid reduction of members came.

Other Unions formed through the activities of the society covered the locomotive engineers and firemen, and the printers.

The first appearance of labour unrest reached its climax in 1898-1899. Up to 1899 the disputes were closed comparatively in favour of the workers. But by 1900 a sudden change came. Not only industrial and commercial depression had a serious effect on the movement, but also the possessing classes, alarmed by the rising tide of revolt of the masses, put a speedy end to strike action through legislative measures—that is, the notorious Police Law of 1900, which is still exercising its heavy power. According to Article 17 of the Law, any action of instigation or agitation for strikes is to be punished (imprisonment of one to six months). No discussion is necessary to prove that the Law practically for-

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bids strikes and the organised movement of the working classes.

The result is easily foreseen. Within a short time, almost all noticeable Unions, one after another, ceased to exist.

In this manner, the earlier history of the Japanese Trade Union movement was concluded. During nearly a decade till 1912, when the Yuai-kai was formed, the industrial workers' mass movement hardly showed any sign of life.

But the movement for the emancipation of the exploited class was not absolutely left for dead when the Trade Union quitted the battlefield. For the field was promptly taken over by a forlorn hope—a group of Revolutionary Socialists.

§ 2—*Early Socialism: 1901-1910*

THE history of Socialism in its wider sense can be traced far back into the radical movement of bourgeois Liberalism of 1877-1900. It was, however, not until 1901 that modern Socialism took a form and programme as the Social Democratic Party. But the party was an unfortunate child. It had no sooner come out than the Government suppressed it. Then in 1903, the Plebs League was formed by a dozen intellectuals for the purpose of study and Socialist propaganda. This was the father of Modern Socialism in Japan. It was the League which sowed the seeds of revolutionary Marxism in the soil of Japan. It was also the followers or remnants of the League who have been today the leaders of the Communist movement in our country. The period of seven years, from 1903 to 1910, was, in fact, the history of the League.

At the beginning of the Russo-Japanese War (1904), the League sent Comrade Katayama as a delegate to the Congress of the Second International, held then at Amsterdam, and also made the most energetic agitation against the war, in which many members were sent to prison and their paper suppressed. In 1905 the League itself was forced to dissolve.

The years following the Russo-Japanese War are marked

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by a series of important social events—on the economic side, the great expansion of commercial markets, the astonishing growth of industrial (particularly iron and steel) Capitalism, the enormous advance of prices; on the political side, the “national” upheaval against the “compromised” peace terms with Russia, to which the Government answered with martial law, and the first appearance of a regular bourgeois Cabinet; abroad, the first Russian Revolution, and, at home, desperate struggles of Socialists, and incessant persecutions against them.

It is of importance to notice the fact that there already appeared three main currents of thought in the Socialist movement: that is, Marxism led by Sakai, which always predominated over the rest; Anarchism (of the Kropotkin school) led by Kotoku, one of the greatest thinkers Japan has ever produced; thirdly, Christian Socialism. In the practical movement, however, those sections always united against their common enemy, which had prepared to sweep away by every forcible means all obstacles from the paths of capitalist exploitation.

In 1907 they published the first Socialist daily, called the *Plebs Paper*, but this was soon prohibited. In the next year the “Red Flag Demonstration” took place, in which more than fifty active Socialists were arrested.

At last in 1909 occurred one of the most tragical events in the Socialist history of the world. Twenty-four comrades were arrested under a false charge of “Anarchist conspiracy”; and half of them (including Kotoku and Oishi) were hanged and another imprisoned for life.

The earlier history of our Socialist movement thus ended in a tragical catastrophe. Surviving Socialists (mainly Marxists) have been kept under the extremest watch by the police, and persecuted by the hatred, calumny and threats of the possessing classes. A few of them fled to foreign countries, and a few went over to the enemy.

This is but the path through which all social martyrs have

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had to, and shall, pass before their final goal could be attained. One thing, however, is regretful to the utmost—they died before they were able to attract the working masses to their red banner, and before the masses could experience such a proletarian revolutionary rehearsal as the Russian workers experienced in 1905, the French in 1871, the British in the Chartist movement. But nobody can blame our earlier Socialists on that ground when taking into consideration the economic and political conditions of the time, which were far from being ripe for social revolution.

At any rate, from 1910 to 1918, the whole Socialist movement went underground.

§ 3—*The Yuai-kai and the Shinyu-kai: 1912-1917*

NOT less than a decade after the wholesale collapse of the Trade Unions under the blow of the Police Law of 1900, and only two years after the massacre of leading Socialists and Anarchists, a new glimmer was thrown on the dark world of Labour by a social reform movement which led to the formation of the Yuai-kai (August, 1912) by B. Suzuki as the President and a handful of workers in Tokyo, principally for the purpose of educating the working peoples.

During the first few years, the Yuai-kai did nothing but preach social reform among its members and arbitrate in case of industrial disputes. But as there existed then no other organisations, the intellectual section of the working classes had begun to join it. Rank-and-file members created the branches in their workshops, and everywhere took a leading part in strikes, in agitation, and in social life. Thus, in 1917 it claimed a membership of 27,000 men and women and more than 100 branches, based on the district or workshop, all over the country.

In 1915 and 1916 the Yuai-kai sent the President as a fraternal delegate to the Conference of American Federation

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of Labour. This is the opening of the international relations of the Japanese Trade Unions.

This unceasing development of the Yuai-kai, however, met fierce opposition (with lock-outs, black-lists, and police-spies) from the employers, who, both rightly and wrongly, attributed the labour unrest of the time to the existence of the Yuai-kai. Despite its moderate propaganda and its opportunist leaders, from 1917 onward it suffered from the bitter attacks of the possessing classes (especially in the Government factories). The membership suddenly began to drop (16,000 in 1918), and, at the same time, the old leaders deserted it.

In spite of the ominous situation, in spite of the wish of the governing classes, the Yuai-kai did exist. Not only so; the assaults upon it served as an invaluable stimulus to give up the former opportunist attitude toward the employer.

Mention should also be made of the Shinyu-kai, or Fraternal Society of Printers, founded in 1916. At the outset, it was a pure craft Union with an exclusive policy founded by the European typographers employed in several plants in Tokyo. But soon it opened its door for all workers employed in the same industry, and in 1917 enrolled 700 members.

From the beginning the Shinyu-kai has been led by a few Socialist workers and has taken a militant policy against the employer. This has soon made the Union the focus of fire from the enemy camp. Above all, when the "rice riot" broke out in 1918, a number of members were arrested under the charge of seditious action, and then came the secession of timid members from the Union. For a while it remained heavily weakened.

I have described in some detail two Unions, the Yuai-kai and the Shinyu-kai, because these Unions are to-day not only leading the whole of Labour movement, but also represent two types or tendencies of the Trade Unions.

It is not, therefore, without interest to make comparison,

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to point out a few differences between them. In the first place, both differ in their origin. The Yuai-kai grew largely by effort of middle-class reformers from above for some "wider" object, while the Shinyu-kai (of printers) was created by the workers themselves in order to fulfil their own immediate necessities. Secondly, on the spiritual side, the former represented the compromising type of Union (however, this is not the fact to-day), the latter militant Unionism. Thirdly, the former was a General (Trades) Union or "One Big Union" including several trades and industries. On the other hand, the latter was a Trade (or Industrial in the wider sense) Union of printing workers only.

In other words, the Yuai-kai was characterised by its constitution, organisation, and number of membership, while the Shinyu-kai by its fighting spirit. Doubtlessly it is clear that the alliance of the two Unions was absolutely necessary for the development of a proletarian revolutionary movement. And happily this was finally accomplished early in 1920.

[The further sections of this article, dealing with Labour in Japan during and after the war, will be given in next month's issue.]

THE WISDOM OF THE POOR FISH

(Readers of Art Young's journal, "Good Morning," will have already made the acquaintance of the Poor Fish. To those who have not yet had that pleasure the present opportunity is taken of introducing him from its columns.)

THE POOR FISH IN PARIS

Paris, September, 1920



IMAGINE my surprise when I met the Poor Fish at the Café de la Paix the other day!

He said he had decided on a month in Europe for a complete change of air and environment.

If every working man in America would do the same thing now and then, he was sure there would not be so much unrest.

Foreign travel broadens

the mind and keeps you from fretting about petty matters.

The great evil of the day, he says, is Agitation, which is nothing but Organised Kicking. Life may not be perfect, but a Kicker only makes things more unpleasant for himself and for others.

We need people who will Take Their Medicine with a Smile.

Just that very morning a Committee had asked him, as a representative of the Great American Masses, to make a speech at the Pré St. Gervais in favour of amnesty for political prisoners.

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He declined to make a speech, because he is opposed to public demonstrations, but he told the Committee that they had his Moral Support.

He is in favour of amnesty, but he does not approve of making a Fuss about it.

The Poor Fish has discovered that Human Nature is much the same the world over. He finds the same Big Problems here as in America.

And these Big World Problems are far too complicated for the Masses to understand. He says he sometimes doubts if even the statesmen understand them, they are so tremendous.

And if the statesmen don't understand them, what right has a mere workman got to presume to impose his opinions?

Not that every man hasn't a right to his own views, but he should keep them to himself.

I told him that as special correspondent for *Good Morning* I was anxious to have a statement from him to the American people.

He coughed slightly and then began to dictate slowly:

"You may tell the American people that we are living in an age of transition.

"The great danger is that we shall make progress too fast.

"Rome was not built in a day, and it would be a very bad thing for the working classes if they get too much money before they learn the value of it.

"I am for Progress, but it must be Sane, Orderly progress.

"Evolution, not Revolution, is my motto. Respect for law is the great need of the times.

"Let the working man resolve to Build Up, not to Tear Down.

"Do not decry Wealth. If a man has saved up a billion dollars he is entitled to enjoy it. Instead of trying to take his billion away from him, every man should resolve to save up a billion of his own.

The Wisdom of the Poor Fish



THE POOR FISH says he does not believe wages should be high or low, but they ought to be reasonable.



THE POOR FISH says he doesn't take much stock in religion, but he thinks that going to church is good business.

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"Work hard and Play hard. That should be the rule of life of every honest man.

"The eight-hour day may be a good thing in some industries, but it is not necessarily good in all industries.

"Work twelve hours, if necessary. Go to bed early, and get up refreshed for the next day's toil.

"Go to church on Sunday.

"And outside of working hours get your mind off your work. Take a spin in the country. Go to the seashore or the mountains or to Europe in the summer.

"And above all, save, save, save."

He poured himself out another drink of brandy, and it occurred to me to ask him what he thought of Prohibition.

"Liquor is not injurious if taken in Moderation," he replied. "Unfortunately, however, the working man never knows when he has had enough. Many things are good in themselves, but dangerous in the hands of ignorant people. I would be in favour of repealing Prohibition if drinking could be limited to those who can indulge in it wisely."



SHORTER NOTICES

THE RED TRADE UNION INTERNATIONAL

THE basis of the new "Red Trade Union International," which was formed at the Inaugural Congress held in Moscow on July 3 to 21, is given in the following resolution adopted at the Congress by 282 to 35 votes:—

Whereas the struggle between Labour and Capital in all capitalist countries has assumed, as a result of the world war and crisis, an exceptionally acute, implacable and decisive character;

Whereas in the process of this struggle every day the labouring masses realise ever more clearly the necessity of eliminating the bourgeoisie from the administration of industry, and consequently from political power;

Whereas the above result can be obtained solely by establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat and the socialist system;

Whereas in the struggle to preserve the bourgeois dictatorship all the capitalist ruling classes have already succeeded in consolidating and concentrating to a high degree their national and international organisations, political as well as economic, and making a solid front of all the bourgeois forces, both defensive and offensive, against the onrush of the proletariat;

Whereas the logic of the modern class struggle demands the greatest consolidation of the proletarian forces in the revolutionary struggle, and consequently means that there should be the closest contact and organic connection between the different forms of the revolutionary Labour movement, and particularly between the Third (Communist) International and the Red Trade Union International, as well as between the Communist Parties and the Red Trade Unions within their respective countries;

Therefore this Congress resolves (1) To take all steps for bringing together in the most energetic manner all the Trade Unions into one united fighting organisation with one international centre, the Red Trade Union International.

(2) To establish the closest possible contact with the Third (Communist) International, as the vanguard of the revolutionary Labour movement in all parts of the world on the basis of joint representation at both executive committees, joint conferences, etc.

(3) That the above connection should have an organic and business character, and be expressed in the joint preparation of revolutionary actions and in the concerted manner of their realisation both on a national and an international scale.

(4) That it is imperative for every country to strive to unite the revolutionary Trade Union organisations, and for the establishment of close and every-day contact between the Red Trade Unions and the Communist Party, for the carrying out of the decisions of both Congresses.

This resolution should clearly be interpreted in conjunction with the official explanation sent to the Lille Congress, and printed on

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page 163. The following Conditions of Affiliation are reported to have been adopted :—

- (1) Realisation, not only in words, but in fact, of the class struggle.
- (2) Acceptance of the dictatorship of the proletariat.
- (3) Prohibition of the simultaneous adhesion to Moscow and Amsterdam.
- (4) Co-ordination of the action inside each country—action directed against the bourgeoisie.
- (5) Recognition of international proletarian discipline: that is to say, obligatory submission of national organisations to decisions taken by the international Congress.

RUSSIAN TRADE NEGOTIATIONS

RECENT issues of the Russian Press contain reports of the progress of peace and trade negotiations. At the end of June, Soviet Russia and Soviet Ukraine sent a joint telegram to the Rumanian Minister of Foreign Affairs to arrange a meeting for the discussion of peace negotiations. The Italian Government trade negotiations with the Soviet representative in Italy are still in progress. The text of the proposed Russo-Danish trade agreement was handed to the Soviet representative at the end of June. The German State Council has ratified the Russo-German supplementary agreement. Negotiations have taken place with Finland on maritime questions; and a Finnish trade delegation, after visiting Russia, has issued a detailed report pointing out the mutual advantages to be gained by extended trade relations and recommending the establishment of a permanent Finnish Trade Bureau in Moscow. A Russian trade delegation arrived in Norway on July 5; and the Soviet Government has officially requested Sweden for a new trade agreement. The British Government has handed over to Soviet Russia a ship bought in Liverpool before the Bolshevik revolution. The ship has arrived in Kronstadt flying the Soviet flag. A large delegation from Czecho-Slovakia has gone to Russia to clear up questions of political and commercial relations.

THE A.F. OF L. ON THE CONTROL OF INDUSTRY

AT the Denver Convention of the American Federation of Labour in June, 1921, the following resolution was adopted :—

Whereas our Government was founded as a democracy, instituted to protect all of its citizens in their inherent right to equality of opportunity in their industrial relations with each other, and to that end the fathers declared the following fundamental principles as controlling every act of the Government they had established :

First: Government is instituted for the common good, for the pro-

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tection, safety, prosperity and happiness of the people, and not for the honour or profit of any man, family, or class of men.

Second : No man, corporation, or group of men shall have any other title to receive compensation from the public than that which is measured by the value of the service they render to the public.

Third : " The prime purpose of Government is to give security to life, liberty, and the enjoyment by the people of the gains of their own industry."

And whereas as government is now administered, we as a people have departed from these fundamental principles of democracy; now therefore be it resolved—

Resolved, That the American Federation of Labour hereby declares its purpose to secure a return to these principles upon which our Government was instituted in order that we may better secure the blessings of liberty, and to that end we re-affirm our united support of legislation that will bring about the public ownership and democratic operation of the railways of the United States as being in strict conformity with these principles upon which our Government was instituted. And be it further

Resolved, That we declare for the recognition and restoration of these fundamental principles in all industries organised under corporate grants of privileges, so that those men who contribute their effort to the industry shall enjoy all of the rights, privileges and immunities granted to those men who contribute Capital in proportion to the value which each contributes, in order that government shall be instituted for the common good and not for the profit of a class, and in order that all men may enjoy the gains of their own industry. Be it further

Resolved, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labour be and it is hereby directed to assist the recognised railroad Labour organisations by every effort within their power to have proper legislation enacted providing for Government ownership and democratic operation of the transportation systems of the United States. Be it further

Resolved, That in order that this resolution may become effective in the industrial life of this nation, the Executive Council be and is hereby directed to devise and publish the necessary legislative program designed to make effective the fundamental principles of government above set forth and to secure to men employed in organised industry that equality of enjoyment of all the rights, privileges, and immunities now enjoyed by those who contribute capital to organised industrial enterprises, to the end that industry conducted under corporate grants shall be conducted for the common good, and not for the profit of a class of men.

AN APPEAL OF INDIAN LABOUR

THE All India Trade Union Congress, which was formed in November, 1920, under the presidency of Lajpet Rai, has issued the following manifesto: —

Workers of India! The time has come for you to assert your rights as arbiters of your country's destiny. You cannot stand aloof from the stream of national life. You cannot refuse to face the events that are making history to-day for India. You are the mass of the population.

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Every movement on the political chess-board, every step in the financial or economical arrangements of your country, affects you more than it affects any other class. You must become conscious of your responsibilities. You must understand your rights. You must prepare yourselves to realise your destiny.

Workers of India! Your lot is a hard one. How will you better it? Look at the slaves at the Assam tea plantations, now become desperate! Their real daily wages are less than three annas a day prescribed under Government Acts. They are often victims of brutal treatment, working under the lash for unlimited hours, while some of these plantations pay 20 to 40 per cent. dividends. They are death and starvation dividends, and it is you, your wives, your children who are the innocent unoffending victims. We call upon you to realise the meaning of this exploitation and offer, by special levies from the members of each Union, what help you can to Mr. C. F. Andrews, who is fighting at Chandpur the battle of these semi-slaves.

Workers of India! The earth is your common heritage. It is not specially reserved for professional politicians or the Simla bureaucrats, or the mill plutocrats. When your nation's leaders ask for *Swaraj* you must not let them leave you out of the reckoning. Political freedom to you is of no worth without economic freedom. You cannot therefore afford to neglect the movement for national freedom. You are part and parcel of that movement. You will neglect it only at the peril of your liberty.

Workers of India! There is nothing in the nature of your Union membership to prevent you from joining the Indian National Congress. You will continue to suffer as your Assam comrades are suffering for upholding the cause of freedom. Your masters will go out of their way, as Sir William Vincent has done, to threaten those of your leaders who happen to be Non-co-operators for an alleged attempt to sow disaffection amongst the workers. You have nothing to fear. It is not a crime to create a repugnance for brutal treatment, of conditions of semi-slavery and of the horrible exploitation of women and children. You know well enough that it is the influence of these very leaders which has kept the peace and effected a settlement in almost every big strike in India during the past twelve months, in spite of every provocation and in spite of the surrender-or-starve policy of the employers. Your cause is the cause of humanity. It cannot suffer for misrepresentation.

Workers of India! There is only one thing for you to do. You must realise your unity. You must solidify your organisations. Do not look for salvation to the Factory Act. The law cannot give you unity. The law cannot create in you the spirit of brotherhood. That must be your own work. Spoliation of the worker is the cry of the capitalists in field and factory. Let unity and brotherhood of man be your watchwords. Your salvation lies in the strength of your organisations. Cling fast to them. Cast all weakness from you, and you will surely tread the path of power and freedom.

D. CHAMAN LALL, General Secretary.

All India Trade Union Congress,
20, Tamrind Lane, Bombay.

BOOK REVIEWS

THE STORY OF THE "COMMUNIST MANIFESTO."

Die Londoner Kommunistische Zeitschrift und andere Urkunden, 1847-48. (Hauptwerke des Sozialismus, Neue Folge, Heft 5.) Carl Grünberg, Verlag Hirschfeld, Leipzig, 1921.

IN the last years several old documents and papers have been discovered which are well calculated to throw full light on the circumstances and sources which contributed to the composition of the "Communist Manifesto." A very scholarly summary of them is given in the above noted booklet by Dr. Carl Grünberg, Professor at the Vienna University and editor of the *Archiv für Geschichte des Sozialismus*. Here are some of the salient facts relevant to our subject.

The Communist current in the French Revolution was represented by Gracchus Babeuf and Darthé. After their execution on May 27, 1797, Communism disappeared and was apparently forgotten, until the surviving member of that movement, Ph. Buonarroti, published in 1828, at Brussels, his "Conspiration pour l'égalité dite de Babeuf," one of the seminal books of Socialist literature (translated into English by Bronterre O'Brien, London, 1836). At the same time the French Democrats and Radicals, incensed at the reactionary measures of the Bourbon Restoration, began secretly to organise, and after the July Revolution (1830) united with the proletarian elements, mainly for preparing a broad Republican movement. These organisations were the "Société des Amis du Peuple" and the "Société des Droits de l'Homme." Gradually the proletarian elements got the upper hand, and Communist theories, taken from Buonarroti, were propagated. The leaders of these proletarian Communist elements were Armand Barbès and Louis August Blanqui. They seceded from the older Republican organisations and formed the "Société des Familles," and in 1835 the "Société des Saisons," which in May, 1839, attempted an insurrection, but were defeated. By the way, my studies of British Chartism led me to the belief that the great agitation in Britain in that year was connected, through Dr. John Taylor, with the Paris movement of Barbès and Blanqui, Taylor having been a member of the Paris Republican and Communist secret societies. Connected with the same societies and movements were the German refugees in Paris, who in 1834 founded there the "League of the Banished" (Bund der Geächteten), among whom the proletarian Communist elements were preponderating. Their leader was Wilhelm Schuster, a University lecturer of Goettingen, who had a clear notion of the

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class struggle. This League of the Banished was transformed, in 1836, into the "League of the Just" (Bund der Gerechten), which, through the journeyman tailor, Weitling (1808-1871), was partly inculcated with Fourierist and Owenite ideas of co-operative production. The "League" was connected with the "Société des Saisons," and, indirectly, with the Left Wing of the Chartist movement. Thus a nucleus of a proletarian Communist International was created in the 'thirties in Paris. Most of the German Leaguers were involved in the insurrection of 1839 and had to flee for their life. Weitling went to Switzerland, others to London, among the latter being Karl Schapper, who joined Chartism, and on February 7, 1841, formed, at 19A, Drury Lane, the Communist Working Men's Educational Society, which existed till 1915 (107, Charlotte Street, Fitzroy Square). The headquarters of the League were transferred to London, where Chartist views took hold of its members, so that Weitling, who had come to London in August, 1844, and lectured before the Owenites in Charlotte Street (see "New Moral World," 1844), had only a passing success. He removed to Paris, where he was active among the German workmen, who at that time were attaching themselves to Proudhonism. The League of the Just thus presented a medley of ideas, all Utopian, originating as they did from Fourier, Owen, and Proudhon.

At the end of 1843 Marx settled in Paris, and in 1844-1845 worked on his materialist conception of history, on the significance of the social classes and their opposing interests, finally on the application of Ricardian economics to the proletarian movement. He came in contact with Proudhon, with the Parisian and German working men, and in attempting to make them familiar with his views he saw that his first business was to demolish Proudhon, Weitling, and all Utopianism. He wrote, therefore, after having removed to Brussels, his Anti-Proudhon ("Misery of Philosophy" against Proudhon's book "Philosophy of Misery"), smashed poor Weitling in a debate and fought systematically against all petty bourgeois reform, Socialism and journeymen's schemes of emancipating humanity. The members of the "League" soon reported the activity of Marx to the headquarters in London, where Marx's books began to be studied. In this work he was greatly assisted by Engels, who, in 1844, made the acquaintance of Harvey, the editor of the *Northern Star*, for which paper he used to write occasional letters on German and Continental affairs. Harvey, Schapper and his Geneva friends formed in London (1845) the "Fraternal Democrats," for whom Lovett wrote the international Addresses (see Tawney's edition of Lovett's "Life," vol. ii., p. 314 *sqq.*). Proletarian Internationalism and Communism were coming to the fore. The effect on the "League of the Just" was quite revolutionary. They turned against O'Connor's land schemes, against Weitling,

Book Reviews

against Cabet, who besought them to join the Icarian expedition against all system making, and finally adopted the Communist theories as propagated by Marx in Brussels through the medium of a hectographic correspondence. In November, 1846, and in February, 1847, the League sent out two circulars to its members, with the following questions for discussion:—

“1. What is Communism and what are the Communists aiming at? 2. What is Socialism and what do the Socialists want? 3. By what means can Communism be introduced in the quickest and surest way? Can it be introduced at once, or must there be a transition period in order to educate the masses for it, and if so, how long shall that period last? Shall it be introduced by force or by peaceful means? 4. What is the attitude of the proletariat towards the higher and lower middle classes? Is it advisable to co-operate with the lower and radical middle classes? 5. What is the attitude of the proletariat towards the various religious parties? 6. What is our attitude towards the various Socialist and Communist parties? Is it desirable and advisable to effect the unity of all Socialists? 7. What is a proletariat?”

These questions were discussed in the Congress of the League in 1847; in September the first and only number of the *Kommunistische Zeitschrift* appeared in London, with the memorable sub-heading, “Proletarians of all countries, unite!” and in November, 1847, took place the final Congress, which was attended both by Marx and Engels, and which commissioned them to write the “Communist Manifesto” as the most adequate reply to those questions.

M. BEER.

FRANCE AND THE PEACE

La Paix. André Tardieu. Payot et Cie, Paris.

THE real drama of the Peace Conference was the conflict between France and Great Britain.

President Wilson took the limelight. But he didn't really matter. That, indeed, is why he was given the limelight. He was very useful, not only to bemuse Liberals with charming phrases and with Leagues of Nations, but also to distract attention from the real business of the Conference.

That is why, in M. Tardieu's book, you will find very little about the President and his League. They served their purpose: but the people who really counted at the Conference weren't worrying about them. And, very definitely, M. Tardieu was one of the people who counted.

He can claim to have been one of the makers of the war. He was among the chief makers of the peace. He was to M. Clemenceau

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pretty much what Mr. Philip Kerr was to Mr. Lloyd George. Only he had a far more cynical appreciation of realities than Mr. Kerr.

Of course his book—like other Conference “revelations”—is a book with a purpose. He is out to justify M. Clemenceau and M. Tardieu and their treaty against the critics. And therefore one makes the necessary allowances, and one forgives some of the turgid rhetoric.

But the essence of the book is extraordinarily interesting just now. For it is the history of the earlier phases of that Anglo-French quarrel which has led at last to the breaking of the Entente and to the beginnings of an entirely new orientation of European politics.

That quarrel came inevitably with victory. For the two Governments approached the problems of the peace with two entirely different purposes.

For Great Britain the essentials were secure. Germany's navy was destroyed: and with its destruction all fear of Germany vanished. Germany's colonies had been conquered: and the lion's share of them was in British hands. Germany's over-seas trade had been apparently captured. England had her desires.

For the rest she was concerned—because of election pledges—with the punishment of the war criminals, and with the securing of as big an indemnity as possible. But the territorial disruption of Germany was of no advantage to her. It was even a disadvantage, tending to unbalance Europe and to reduce Germany's capacity to pay. Nor had Britain's business interests any desire to see all the richest industrial districts of Germany pass into the hands of the French and their clients.

For France, on the other hand, the disruption, the enfeebling, of Germany was the prime necessity. Economic interests pointed to the Rhineland, to the Ruhr, to Silesia, as desirable loot. But over and above all France was afraid; afraid of a German revival, afraid of a war of revenge.

That is the key to the Conference disputes. It is the key to the disputes since the Conference. England has nothing to fear; France has everything to fear.

It is the recurrent theme of M. Tardieu's book. It is the dominant motive of French policy. Germany, in any case, was being so treated that she must hanker for revenge. Therefore she must be treated so that she would be incapable of revenge.

France must hold the Rhine. Germany must lose the Saar. Germany must lose Silesia. She must be pillaged and plundered so that she should be permanently at the mercy of France. Not so much Imperialism, lust of domination, the Napoleonic tradition, as sheer stark fear, was the motive of all the vindictiveness of Clemenceau and Foch.

Book Reviews

The whole quarrel is summed up in the note which M. Tardieu himself drafted in March, 1919, in reply to an appeal by Mr. Lloyd George for moderation in the European settlement, lest harsh terms arouse bitter resentment in Germany.

"The proposal," said M. Tardieu, "would be valuable, if the war had been only a European one.

"But there have been taken from Germany, without hesitation from fear of her resentment, her colonies, her war fleet, a great part of her merchant fleet, and her foreign markets.

"If it is desirable to give satisfaction to Germany it is not in Europe we should look for satisfaction."

That retort is still valid enough. It is not for British imperialists, fresh from the annexation of East Africa, of South West Africa, of Palestine, of Mesopotamia, of the Pacific Islands, to accuse the French of imperialism.

Both are imperialist, because both are Capitalist. But France is also afraid. Her craving for a military hegemony in Europe, her ceaseless desire to inflict new injury on Germany, are follies bred of fear.

M. Tardieu, for all his noisy patriotic pride, makes that clear enough: and so has added a useful contribution to the pathology of imperialism.

W. N. E.

A GUIDE TO THE INTERNATIONAL

The Labour International Handbook, 1921. The Labour Publishing Company, Ltd., 6, Tavistock Square, London, W.C.1. 12s. 6d. net.

THE first impression given by this Handbook is its amazing comprehensiveness. It deals with everything which is of interest to industrial and political Labour, from the Peace Treaties to the Russian Soviet system, and with labour in every country from Argentine to the United States. The industry required for its compilation must have been immense, and its Editor and his colleagues are to be congratulated on the result. The Handbook should be on the reference shelves of every person and organisation in the Labour movement. The editors of capitalist papers would also be well advised to consult it, and in particular to send copies to their foreign correspondents, whose messages frequently reveal the most abysmal ignorance of the movements which they attempt to describe.

The Handbook is divided into two sections, of which the second deals with the Labour movements in every country. This section is of enormous value, and gives a concise account of the development of the Labour movement—industrial, political, and co-operative—

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with a clear explanation of the various tendencies, and an indication of their strength when this is known. The only criticism that can be made is that in these accounts of the movement in each country, little information is given about the "Left-Wing" movements in the Trade Unions, although the political Left-Wing is usually dealt with. This omission is no doubt due to the fact that the Left-Wing movements in the Trade Unions have only within the last few months become coherent units, with a common policy identified with that of the Red Trade Union International. The Internationals—both political and industrial—are, however, dealt with separately, and the main documents relating to each are printed in full.

In attempting to review the first section of the Handbook it is more difficult to preserve an open mind. This section consists for the most part of signed articles, some of which betray the prejudices which might be expected. The exposition of the Peace Treaties is clear and useful; the League of Nations Covenant is given in full, together with a critical statement of the League's activities; the International Labour Office of the League of Nations is described—in far too objective and uncritical a spirit—and other organs of international government are dealt with briefly. Then follow articles on the Economic Conditions after the war, and the economic effects of the Peace Treaties, with useful statistics. The remaining chapters on Russia, Ireland, India, Egypt, Problems of Racial Conflict, the British Empire Constitution, and various aspects of Foreign Policy, are very unequal. They are all of great value from the point of view of history and information; but some—notably the description of the British Empire Constitution, by H. Duncan Hall (who has recently been writing for the *Times* on a similar subject)—show a total lack of the critical spirit—especially of that criticism which is based on class. A little more of definite class criticism would have added to the value of the first part of the book.

Nevertheless, the Handbook is of extraordinary value, and the user, whether "Left" or "Right," will find in it every fact about the International movement, and about international affairs generally, which he can reasonably want to know.

E. B.

THE LAW RELATING TO TRADE UNIONS

By HENRY H. SLESSER, Standing Counsel to the
Labour Party, with a Foreword by the Rt. Hon.
Lord Justice Atkin 5/-

THE LABOUR INTERNATIONAL HANDBOOK, 1921

Edited by R. PALME DUTT, 12/6

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The Labour Publishing Company, Ltd.
6 TAVISTOCK SQUARE, LONDON, W.C.1

THE
LABOUR
MONTHLY

A MAGAZINE OF INTERNATIONAL LABOUR

Volume 1 15th SEPTEMBER, 1921 Number 3

H. N. BRAILSFORD

The Washington Conference

L. PETROVSKY

The Facts About the Famine

HERBERT J. SELIGMANN

Economic Phases of America's Colour Problem

T. NOSAKA

The Labour Struggle in Japan

&c.

THE LABOUR PUBLISHING CO., LTD.
6 Tavistock Square, London, W.C.1

PRICE ONE SHILLING

Library
Institute of Industrial Relations
University of California
Los Angeles 24, California

The Labour Monthly

Editorial Office:

39 CURSITOR STREET · E.C.4

Advertisements Office:

6 TAVISTOCK SQUARE · W.C.1

¶ The Editors of *The Labour Monthly* invite contributions. They cannot, however, be held responsible for MSS. sent to them, and can only return the same when stamps to cover postage are enclosed.

Subscription Rates:

[PAID IN ADVANCE]

Six months - 7/6 One year - 15/-

Advertising Rates:

Ordinary position, per page, £5 5s. and *pro rata*

Special positions:

Inside Cover, per page, £8 8s. and *pro rata*.

Facing "Contents," per page, £7 7s.

THE
LABOUR MONTHLY

A Magazine of International Labour

VOLUME 1 SEPTEMBER, 1921 NUMBER 3

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The Labour Publishing Company Ltd.
6 Tavistock Square
London
W.C.

NOTES of the MONTH

The Famine in the Volga Provinces—The Press and the Famine—Sabotaging Relief—Relief plus Reconstruction—The Rôle of International Labour—The Depression in Britain—And the Future

OVERSHADOWING all else in the international situation at present is the famine in the regions of the Volga which threatens the lives of eighteen millions of people. By the decree of July 21 the famine area was declared as constituting the following provinces: Astrakhan, Samara, Simbirsk, Saratov, Tsaritsyn, Ufa (Beleyev and Birsk counties), Viatka (Yaran, Soviet, Urzhum and Malmyzh counties), the German Commune of the Volga, the Tartar Republic, the Chuvash area, the Mari area (Serunsk and Krasnokokshaisk cantons). This area, which covers some eight hundred miles from north to south and three hundred from east to west, with a population of eighteen millions, is equivalent in extent to the whole of France, Belgium, and Holland. There is some measure of correspondence in the regions affected (especially if the reported serious situation in the Ukraine is taken into account) with the area which suffered from the maladministration of the White generals and the ravagings of counter-revolutionary bandits: but there seems no real justification for tracing a connection. The calamity is purely climatic. The average rainfall in the region affected for the past ten years between October and June has been 14 inches: between October, 1920, and June, 1921, it was 2.75 inches, or 19 per cent. of normal. The crops, where they have not failed outright, have attained about 15 per cent. of normal. The calamity has come the more cruelly in that the increased sowings which have taken place during the past year under the Soviet administration would have, under normal conditions, produced an increased crop. As it is, the 1921 harvest in Soviet Russia, despite the position in the Volga region, is in excess of the 1920 harvest; but the advantage of this is destroyed by the lack of transport. Not only is

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road and rail transport still crippled by the legacy of the war and the blockade, but in addition the coincidence of the famine region with the waterway of the Volga means that the great highway of Russia is held up by the inability of the starved population on its banks to cope with the operations of loading and unloading.

IT is a curious commentary on the atmosphere of Western society that this great natural calamity in the East has been made the occasion of a singularly ignorant campaign against the Soviet Government. Even while the statesmen concerned have, from the very responsibilities of their position, been forced to recognise the terrible nature of the menace and to proclaim the necessity of relief for simple reasons of self-preservation, the Press has thought it a suitable opportunity to improve the chances of relief by attributing the drought to the Bolsheviks. From the *Times* downwards (or upwards) they have proclaimed the famine to be "the result of Bolshevism." Now it is not often that this habit of opposition organs of attributing anything that goes wrong to "the wickedness of the Government" can be proved wrong; but in this case it happens that thirty seconds' reasoning can prove the *Times* thesis to be false. For if Bolshevik rule has produced the famine, then the area of the famine should show some relation to the area of Bolshevik rule. But the contrary is the case. In just those regions around Petrograd and Moscow, where the Bolshevik rule has been most continuously and securely established, the harvest has come nearest to normal or even above it. The famine area is a specific geographical area, the greater part of which has not been under continuous Bolshevik rule. A case might be argued for connection with the previous White Governments and wars, because of the measure of coincidence of area. We do not accept that view, because the climatic statistics afford a wholly adequate explanation. But no case whatever can be made for connection with the Bolshevik Government. The matter may be put in another way. Under the British Government in India famines have taken place of a very terrible character. In 1918 alone partial famine and underfeeding resulted in six millions being carried off by the wave of influenza, the total death-rate for

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the year rising from the normal eight millions to fourteen millions. Whether the famines in India are to be connected with the methods of administration of the British Government is a question of hot dispute. But if the *Times* habit of immediately attributing the existence of a famine in a country to the maladministration of the Government in that country were to be accepted, then the *Times* articles would only go to prove that, in the opinion of the *Times*, the British Government is guilty of gross maladministration in India.

THE Yahoo habits of the civilised Press would not be of much importance if it were not for the object that is behind them. That object was briefly exposed by the *Times* in its leader of August 25, when it said: "So long as the Bolsheviks remain in power in Russia, very little real relief is possible." To exploit a natural calamity for the purpose of overthrowing the Soviet Government is the real object of the present campaign. It is an object that cannot be openly avowed; for the revulsion such an avowal would produce would defeat it. But it can be pushed in a hundred indirect ways, by playing for delay and prolonged negotiations, by sowing doubt and distrust of the good will of the Soviet Government, by demanding impossible and humiliating conditions, and by endeavouring to use the opportunity to set up an elaborate foreign machinery in the heart of Russia under the banner of "independent control." Therefore nothing is more important than for it to be made clear from the first, as the reports of independent expert observers and helpers have already established, that there can be no question of carrying through relief effectively save in co-operation with the machinery already set up by the Soviet Government, that the proposal to set up an entirely independent relief administration over the quarter million square miles of the famine area is as preposterous a proposal (viewed simply in terms of personnel) as would be a proposal to set up an independent system of local government from outside over the whole of France and Spain, and that the demand for such a scheme is simply an indirect method of sabotaging relief. The American Relief Administration was able to conclude on August 20 an agreement with which they expressed perfect satisfaction, giving full powers and

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diplomatic privileges to their representatives, while at the same time arranging for joint working with the Soviet machinery, and giving the Soviet Government power to request the removal of any representatives who might abuse their privileges. At the same time the voluntary organisations, by their conference at Geneva on August 15 and 16, have set up a central International Relief Committee with Dr. Nansen at its head; and a Labour Relief Committee, representing Socialist and Labour organisations of all colours, has been set up at Berlin. But voluntary help cannot go far with sufficient speed, and the Allied Governments at the end of August had only reached the stage of appointing delegates to an International Commission to "Study the question of giving help to starving Russia."

WHAT makes the question of time all the more important is not only the lives of men, women, and children who are dying with every day and every hour of delay, but the less obvious, yet no less desperate, need of immediate provision, to prevent even greater calamity in the future. September 15 is the latest date for the sowing of the seed for the next year's harvest: and if the necessary supplies, not only of relief, but of seed-corn have not reached the stricken provinces by that date, the imagination shrinks before the prospects that next year will have in store. The more the whole situation is examined, the more it becomes clear that the question is wider than one of relief. Relief, immediate, unstinted, unconditional, is the first necessity; but it is not the solution. Unless relief is accompanied by measures of provision for the recovery of Russia, relief to-day will only be succeeded by the need of more relief to-morrow. It is the machinery of production, agricultural machinery, locomotives, rails, spare parts and supplies, of which Russia has been deprived by years of war, blockade and trade-bans, which is the urgent need of to-day. To help Russia to stand upon her feet again is no more than the reparation that the world owes Russia for the deadly and treacherous injuries of the past years; it is the redemption which the world owes itself for its own self-preservation. Let the agriculture of Russia receive the modern machinery which

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it so urgently requires and which the Russian Government itself is so eager to introduce; let the industrial production of the towns be re-started on a full-time basis, so as to be able to resume relations of exchange with the country: and Russia will become a help, and not a hindrance, to the world's production. All this means international credits for the immediate importation of the necessary machinery and supplies for Russian reconstruction. It may take the form, as suggested by Lord Parmoor and Sir George Paish, of an international credit under the League of Nations. Or it may take the form, as has been suggested elsewhere, of an Anglo-American loan of a hundred million pounds. Such a loan would, of course, only be possible on the basis of the recognition by the Russian Government of the previous Russian debts. This is a matter for the decision of the Russian Government; but there are indications that they would be prepared to face this liability if the necessary help were forthcoming. At the present moment it is the imperative interest of the Russian Government to re-establish Russian production at all costs; and it is the imperative interest of the rest of the world to re-establish Russia in her place in the world of economic interchange if the whole economic system is not to be in danger of collapse.

IN the present juncture the international co-operative movement should have a great part to play, if its members are sufficiently alert to secure the activity of their organisations. The memory of the food ships sent to Dublin in 1913 is a standing inspiration for the future. The first International Co-operative Congress since the war has just been held at Geneva during the end of August. Four hundred delegates were present, representing 24 countries, with an aggregate membership of 24,295,520. It is satisfactory to note that the proposal of the Central Committee to exclude Russia from representation was defeated by the Congress by a vote of 733 to 474; and in securing this result the British delegates played an honourable part. But it was clear from this, as well as from other incidents at the Congress, that the Central Committee has been out of touch with the spirit of the membership. The general proceedings of the Congress, as far as it is possible to judge from

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the reports, gave the impression of a certain lack of clearness of direction and an unpreparedness to grasp the immense possibilities of the future; and the outlook does not appear hopeful unless the members are able to exert sufficient power upon the great wholesale organisations to make them live up to the ideals of co-operation. An International Congress which has revealed a slightly more pronounced policy was that of the Metal Workers at Lucerne on August 8 to 14. This Congress, which united representatives of 3,338,477 workers in 18 countries, reached a decision worth noting on the subject of the manufacture of munitions of war. Last year's Congress at Copenhagen had already passed a general resolution in favour of refusing to manufacture further arms, munitions, or war material. This year's Congress proceeded to endeavour to give substance to that decision by making it obligatory on all constituent Unions to concentrate propaganda on its execution. For this purpose full international records are to be drawn up of all work done in the manufacture of weapons of war. It is interesting to note that while the Congress was in progress a strike of French workmen was taking place at Roubaix against the manufacture of grenades, which it was presumed were intended for use against Russia. It is less satisfactory to note that the English delegates, voiced by Mr. Brownlie, expressed some opposition to the resolution.

“**T**HERE is a better spirit in the industrial world,” according to Mr. Lloyd George, in this country. By this he means that the victim is pretty well knocked out, and that for the time being Labour has about as much fight left as Carpentier after meeting Dempsey. No further anæsthetic being needed, the process on the operating table can go on; wage cuts are made in the most amicable manner, and unemployment meets with riots, not resistance. This situation has its natural reflex in some of the more conservative influences in the Labour movement, who have seized the opportunity to preach the virtues of industrial peace, to hint at possible understandings between Capital and Labour, and to attack bitterly the more ardent of their followers for goading them into positions they never intended to adopt. It is very human that all this should

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happen; but it may be suggested that for this very reason it ought not to happen. It is one thing to accept defeat with a good grace and with determination for the future. It is another to kiss your chains and curse your followers. We do not defend the much criticised "Left Wing" campaign with its monotony of personal invective and its substitution of denunciation for explanation and guidance. But the weaknesses of the Left Wing do not establish the justice of the Right Wing policy. It may no doubt be true that the defeat of 1921 was in the main inevitable, even had there been no errors in tactics. But if it was inevitable, it was because it had been made inevitable by the policy of 1919, and indeed by the whole policy of 1914-1918. In the controversy that has gone on in our pages between Mr. Cole and Mr. Robert Williams, Mr. Williams has replied to Mr. Cole by taunting him with his participation in the National Joint Industrial Council. This may be a very good answer for Mr. Cole, but it is no answer for the Labour movement. The question still remains of what is to be done in the future to prevent a repetition of the past. Are we to see again a repetition of the usual swing of the pendulum from industrial to political action, without realising that both the old Trade Unionism and the old Parliamentarism have proved equally futile in relation to the issues of to-day? Or will the present disaster lead to a reconsideration of the whole present spirit and policy of the working-class movement in this country?

IS there a way out? it is asked. It is not possible to pretend that any single person or group of persons is in possession of the key to the present problems of the British Labour movement. But certain things do emerge as tolerably clear already. In the first place, the whole aim of Trade Unionism needs to be reviewed afresh. The clash at present between conflicting schools of thought inevitably makes for paralysis in action. Are the larger aims now commonly professed by the Trade Unions definitely and deliberately meant? If they are meant, we must shape our organisation accordingly. It is no good professing aims which go beyond the whole present system, and maintaining a scheme of organisation which was built up solely for the

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purpose of protection within the present system. And this consideration of aim leads at once to the primary and immediate question before us, the question of machinery. The two crying evils of the Labour movement to-day are the evils of obsolete machinery and the evils of sectionalism. With the best will in the world for class solidarity, the machinery at present in existence prevents it being carried out. In fact, we may say that if the decision on the initial question of aim goes in favour of the root-and-branch policy of the destruction of the existing system, the present machinery of the Trade Union movement renders the execution of that policy impossible. Not only a new spirit is needed, but a new plan. That new plan must be at once simple and comprehensive: it must be comprehensive enough to embrace the whole sphere of Trade Union structure and organisation; it must be simple enough to be understood in its broad outlines by every worker, and for every worker to feel that he can play his part in it. Can any such plan be conceived? To the details of this we shall return in our next issue.

THE WASHINGTON CONFERENCE

By H. N. BRAILSFORD

THE Conference which President Harding has summoned to deal with Disarmament and the Far East, may prove to be the most instructive of all international meetings since Imperialism entered on its modern phase. For the first time in conferences of this type, power and the motives for the accumulation of power are brought into their obvious correlation. That is a new fact in the history of official internationalism. There have been conferences enough to promote disarmament, which tried to attain their end without considering the reasons which impel Great Powers to arm. The Hague began this record of futility, and the League of Nations has continued it.

At Washington, for the first time, the whole phenomenon of modern Imperialism will come under review, at least in its more superficial aspects. The three Powers chiefly interested in the exploitation of China will have to scrutinise the economic processes in which they are engaged, and one divines from the terms of Mr. Harding's invitation that American realism finds it natural and proper to admit the connection of the struggle for spheres of influence, closed Hinterlands, concessions and monopolised markets, with the rivalry in building super-Dreadnoughts, and in the acquisition of naval bases. It seems to follow, that any considerable success in limiting naval competition must depend upon the discovery of some new formula, or the invention of some new technique for adjusting, regulating or eliminating the economic competition. The unusual simplicity of the problem adds to the interest, since it makes disguise and secrecy difficult. Though the Siberian Republic is excluded, the chief victim of "expansion" in the Pacific will herself be present at the Conference,

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and however ruthless in fact the process of spoliation may be, a people so highly civilised, so articulate and so numerous as the Chinese, cannot be treated in public as White Empires are wont to treat the dim tribes of Africa, or the nomads of Mesopotamia. The result of the war, moreover, has been to simplify the problem of naval power by reducing to three the fleets which serve large ambitions, and are capable of acting with effect in a distant field.

One may dismiss any expectation that the Conference can deal seriously with land armaments. That will happen when France and Poland offer to disarm, a miracle which we shall witness only after another no less improbable—the voluntary abandonment of the European system created at Versailles. On the other hand, any attempt to regulate the naval problem of the Pacific is necessarily a general naval settlement. “The sea is one,” as the experts are fond of reminding us, and the sea-power of the British Empire cannot be united in the Pacific without affecting sea-power the world over. Much more than the counting of capital ships will enter, explicitly or tacitly, into everyone’s calculations. The entire Peace Settlement rested, and will rest on two dominating real factors—the ability of France with her big conscript army, her African reserves and her East-European satellites to dominate the Continent on land, and the ability of Great Britain to repeat at any moment the blockade, which was the main factor in reducing the hungry populations of Central Europe to abject submission. It is conceivable that financial pressure might bring the British Government to the point of accepting a fairly drastic limitation on the building of capital ships. They play no direct part either in attacking or defending commerce. What is vital to British sea-power is the almost unlimited right to blockade, as it was stretched by the experience of the Great War.

We may never see another blockade in our life-time, but the psychological basis of our world-ascendency will remain. The generation that is growing up from the Rhine

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to the Volga, bears in its shattered nervous system and its rickety bones the mark of our hunger-blockade, and when Downing Street speaks, there will long be a perceptible physical reaction to its words. There were two decisive preliminaries to the wrecking of the League of Nations and the whole Wilsonian idealism at Paris. One of them was certainly M. Clemenceau's decision to act on the maxim that peace is war pursued by other means. The other was Mr. Lloyd George's refusal to consider "the freedom of the seas." Given the determination to retain this terrific threat to mankind, the League could be nothing but a stucco façade built to conceal the fact of our mastery of the seas. That is, perhaps, the decisive, though not the only reason why America will not enter the League, and it is certainly the main reason that underlies the resolve of America to build a navy at least as powerful as our own.

Mr. Wilson's notion that the right to blockade might be invested in the League and in it alone, was an attempt to fetter sea-power, and subject it to the regulation of the whole civilised world. It broke down before the resolve of our governing class to abate nothing of the awful power which it had tasted in the exercise of our blockade of Germany. Mr. Wilson's idealism may have been simple-minded. The League, if he had managed to create a working League, would have blockaded Russia as ruthlessly as the Supreme Council did. His failure, none the less, dated the new naval epoch. Its basic fact is that the right to blockade belongs to any Power which is strong enough to use it. It would be a mistake to assume that America is building solely in order to check Japanese expansion in China, or to win for herself a place in the sun. She is building, also, in order that she may have the power to veto or exercise the right of blockade.

Disarmament, then, in any sense in which it is likely to be discussed at Washington, may leave the problem of militarism at sea wholly untouched. The right to exercise this terrific power will still be left to the arbitrary decision of national governments. If, as is probable, the negotiations

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turn mainly on the limitation of capital ships, the gain may be great from the standpoint of economy, but scarcely from any other. The united case of the economists, the younger sailors and the pacifists against the capital ship is overwhelming. It serves no purpose save to fight other capital ships, and if the three chief naval Powers really were resolved to avoid war among themselves, there would be no obstacle, save the pride of the various services and the interests of the steel trades, to its total and general abolition. To that we may conceivably come when the conviction of the few, that the costly monster is also a useless encumbrance, has outlived the present generation of admirals. The probability is that the Washington Conference will not go beyond an arrangement to suspend the further building of capital ships or to limit their numbers. The acuter debate, indeed, may turn on other equally vital factors in naval power. America has a great superiority over Japan in capital ships, and the ability to increase it almost indefinitely. The chief weakness of her naval position in the Pacific is that she possesses few naval bases, and has neglected to fortify those she does possess, or to equip them with docks in which a super-Dreadnought could be repaired. That deficiency is so serious that a naval war in its early stages might result in a considerable success for Japan. Capable experts, for example, think it likely that she could occupy the Philippines without much difficulty. Any naval arrangement must obviously include expenditure on fortifications and docks, as well as on capital ships. The real risk in Japanese-American relationships is that the Japanese are well aware of their initial advantages, while their memory of their comparatively easy victory over Russia may incline them to underestimate the reserve power and the obstinacy of the United States, which would certainly not accept a first check as decisive.

An arrangement to limit building or expenditure or both, between Great Britain, America and Japan is thinkable and may even be easy, provided the central economic question of China is solved. Imperialism in its modern form dates from

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the transition in the latter half of last century from the export of goods to the export of capital. One may envisage it as the transition from cotton to iron. So long as textiles were the typical export, there was little incentive to the acquisition of territory, and, on the whole, the philosophy of the Manchester school prevailed. The change came with the spread of railway building to the backward continents. It could proceed only on a concession basis. It had to deal no longer with private customers, but with "native" Governments, and this in turn meant that national groups of capitalists had to secure the backing of their national Governments. The concentration of capital went on with rapid steps, and entered the phase of "finance-capital." Capitalism at this stage aims openly at the suppression of competition, and the stakes of diplomacy become the closed monopoly area, the concession zone or the sphere of interest, reserved for the exploitation of a particular national group, formed as a rule round a bank. The struggles which filled the first fourteen years of this century must be read in the light of the evolution of the steel industry. To dig iron ore in Morocco, and lay it down as steel rails to Bagdad, was typical of the aims which inspired the struggles and the competitive shipbuilding of the armed peace.

If that be so, one may reason, then it is futile to talk of Conferences and arrangements. Over the vaster area of China and its richer fields of iron-ore and coal, the struggle will go on, with bickerings and armings, until the "inevitable" war. The conclusion is not irresistible. There are two chief methods by which Capitalism has in the past, and may again in the future, avoid the extremity of war. It may, first of all, reach an amicable arrangement among the chief competitors to partition the coveted area. That has been done by the Allies in Turkey, though one cannot say that the result has been any startling development of good-will among them. They might have applied the same technique of conquest to China at Paris, but for the inconvenient fact that she herself was nominally an ally and a

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victor. At several moments in the last generation China has seemed to be near partition. Shadowy British and French zones emerged; Germany acquired a footing; and even Italy put in a modest claim, only to withdraw it; while Russia and Japan fought for the North. No accepted lines were ever drawn, however, and our own claim to the lion's share, the Yangtse Valley, was allowed to lapse. During the war, Japan showed her hand rashly in the famous Twenty-one Points of her secret Ultimatum, which really involved the setting up of a prior claim to economic preference and a political protectorate over the whole of China. There Japan overreached herself, and though she has continued by devious intrigues in Peking, by fomenting the civil war, and by subsidising Chinese military adventurers, to overshadow the whole political life of China, her predominance is not formally recognised, save, indeed, in the vague Lansing agreement, which undertakes to respect her special interests. Much more solid is her position in Manchuria, where from the lease of Port Arthur and the military control of the railways, she has gone on to monopolise trade by means of preferential transport rates, and has even begun to colonise the soil. Had she been content with Manchuria and the neighbouring Mongolia, her usurpation might have been tolerated. But the peculiarly scandalous claim to Shantung, where she has expanded the German privileges and pushed her military occupation into the interior along the railways, was a form of "liberation" which aroused American wrath. The clause which abandoned Shantung to Japan was almost enough in itself to secure the rejection of the Versailles Treaty by the Senate.

How far the Anglo-Japanese Alliance disguises some arrangement, formal or tacit, to partition China, is a question very difficult to answer. That may lie in the logic of events and the manifest destiny to which Imperialists always appeal, but no evidence of any secret agreement has come to light. It is an obvious consequence of geography that Japanese expansion has begun in the North, while our pene-

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tration, with its base in Hong Kong, is most conspicuous in the South. The risk of such a partition is greatly increased by the internal dissensions of the still unstable Chinese Republic, and the apparently permanent condition of civil war between the relatively Conservative North and the more alert and progressive South. There is one grave piece of recent evidence which tends to show that with or without an understanding with Japan, we are ear-marking a portion of the South as our own economic preserve. The facts have been published in the *New Republic* by no less an authority than the American philosopher, Professor Dewey. During the civil war, while the Northern faction was in temporary military possession of the province of Kwantung, a syndicate of British financiers obtained from it a widely drawn concession to work the entire coalfield of this big and wealthy province, and incidentally to develop its railways and waterways. The details of the contract suggest that all the profits will probably go to the syndicate, and only if they should exceed an improbably high yield will some modest share fall to the provincial revenues. The concession has not been ratified by Peking, and still less by the Southern Government; but Professor Dewey states, with corroborative detail, that it has been backed by British diplomacy, and even quotes an official of the Hong Kong administration as claiming that Kwantung is "a British Hinterland." Were this concession ratified, it would, by bringing the power supply and the transport of Canton and Kwantung under the control of a single British syndicate, create a monopoly as absolute as Japan possesses in the North. It would be interesting to know how far the Hong Kong "Hinterland" extends, and also whether a similar claim is based on our possession of Wei-hai-wei.

It is impossible that an amicable solution of the problem of Imperialism should be found at Washington on the lines of partition. That would imply that the United States was prepared to come into the "deal," and to accept a region of China as her own preserve. This, for a variety of reasons,

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she will not do. In the first place, her interests are not localised, but rather widely diffused. While we have become a debtor, she has become a creditor nation, and with her great surplus of exploitable capital there is no reason why she should consent to confine herself to a limited area of China. In the second place, her very active Christian Missions, which devote themselves mainly to education, have given her the undisputed leadership in the cultural advance of China. She is popular with the Chinese, because she has snatched neither territory nor spheres of interest for herself; and while large numbers of Chinese students have reason to be grateful to her, large numbers of American teachers have acquired a decided sympathy for the Chinese. A disinterested concern like this may avail little, if finance pulls the other way, but in this case the pro-Chinese sentiment and financial interest are, up to a point, agreed. The slowly awakening nationalism of the Chinese is now thoroughly aroused by Japanese encroachments, and of late it has begun to turn against us as the allies of the Japanese, and the practitioners on a smaller scale and in a less high-handed way, of the same policy. There have been threats in the South that the boycott of Japanese goods might be turned against us also—a risk which has lately caused our China Association (the powerful organisation of British traders in China) to modify its original attitude of support for the Alliance. American interests are naturally well aware that they have something to gain by avoiding the suspicions in which their chief rivals are involved. Lastly, though the United States, after completing the absorption of its immense continental area, has begun on a small scale to expand over-seas, the sentiment against "Imperialism" is still very strong. How rapidly the passion for expansion will grow, as American capital reaches out for the opportunities of monopoly, one cannot predict, but it is likely to absorb the Mexican oil-field long before it turns to China. No American Government would dream to-day of claiming or accepting territory on the Asiatic con-

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minent, even under the disguise of a mandate. There will be no solution by partition at Washington. On the contrary, we may be sure that British diplomacy will be cautious in arousing any exclusive ambitions which it may quietly cherish (Lord Curzon and Mr. Churchill are fortunately absorbed elsewhere), and Japan will be hard put to it, to maintain her pretensions to Shantung and Eastern Siberia.

There is another and subtler alternative to the rivalry of national groups, with which Imperialism has been experimenting at intervals during the last twenty years. Instead of demarcating zones of exploitation, they may combine to exploit. There is no reason why the concentration of capital should stop short at the national group, and before the war there existed several instances in which working arrangements or alliances between national trusts or cartels covered an entire industry throughout the civilised world. Several attempts have been made to ease or remove political conflicts by associating the finance of rival Powers in the exploitation of a disputed country. An agreement of this kind (to admit a certain percentage of German capital into the chief French undertakings) was made at one time over Morocco, but it came to nothing. The Germans tried to disarm hostility to the Bagdad Railway by inviting British and French capital to share in it. M. Caillaux before the war believed that Franco-German hostility could be removed by financial interpenetration, and M. Loucheur is credited with the same idea to-day. Herr Erzberger, shortly before the end of the war, made the shrewd proposal that peace should be guaranteed by an arrangement that British and German finance should each acquire one-third of the shares in the other's shipping concerns. Suggestions from the German side were even made during the Armistice that British capital should buy up a proportion of the shares in all the chief German industrial concerns. Nothing substantial has ever come of artificial proposals of this type, but they are interesting as anticipations of a kind of internationalism to which Capitalism may be tending. As yet the national group, the concentration which

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stops short at the frontier, and desires to carry the flag with it when it establishes itself overseas, is still the decisive unit in world-finance.

To the formula of the Open Door all the Powers do lip service in China. It has generally been held to mean simply the absence of discrimination between imported foreign goods in the matter of tariffs, and perhaps also in railway rates. The Americans desire to extend it also to capital enterprises and concessions. By this they mean presumably to exclude all political arrangements by which the finance of a given Power acquires priority in all claims for concessions in a certain area. A negative doctrine of this kind does not carry us far. The competition of the several groups would continue, involving diplomatic rivalry, and eventually also the struggle in armaments. Nor is it easy to prevent the growth *de facto* of local claims. If a certain syndicate acquires a coalfield, it will look out for the nearest supply of iron-ore, and in either case will try to build or acquire the necessary railways, or else a parent bank will link up all these correlated ventures. More often the railway is the pioneer undertaking. Arrangements of this kind are natural, and make for efficiency. On the other hand, they create a strangle-hold monopoly in that area, and in a weak and disturbed country they inevitably involve, by violence or corruption, or the mere use of prestige, a measure of political control.

It is hard to see how the gradual growth of zones of national monopoly can be prevented in such a country as China, save by the pursuit of a positive and constructive policy of financial internationalism. That would involve, for example, in the vital matter of railways, that all existing and future lines should be built or managed by a single international syndicate, or else that a single Chinese State Railway system should be financed by a single international bank or financial trust. The Americans tried at one time to solve the Manchurian question by proposing the "neutralisation" in this sense of the railways. The more other ventures, especially mines, were handled in the same way, the less risk would

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there be of the creation of national spheres of interest. There exists already a "consortium" of foreign banks in China, which might become the nucleus of a big scheme of internationalisation.

From the Chinese standpoint the creation of a vast foreign money trust is, of course, an immense evil. It would infallibly act in politics, and it might be trusted to act in support of conservative and propertied interests, parties and habits of thought. That, however, is already the case wherever foreign national finance makes its influence felt. Our own bankers, traders and diplomatists favour the Northern as against the much more progressive Southern Government, advocate on occasion the basing of the constitution on a plutocracy, and even sigh for the return of the dynasty. Their tendency is always to back some native "strong man," usually a Conservative and a militarist, against any popular and progressive movement. If the democratic movement deepens into anything that has a constructive Socialist purpose, however sober, or if a class cleavage appears (I gather there is little or none at present, and the ruling class, with its traditional basis in academic distinction, is by no means the propertied class), foreign finance will, of course, be hostile and obstructive. One sees no reason, however, why it should be more formidable, if it acts as a single composite international unit, than if it acts locally in a number of "spheres of interest." The gain to China from an international discipline of capital would be, firstly, that partition would be avoided, and, secondly, that some of the less reputable tricks of predatory finance might be checked. To the rest of the world a settlement of the economic problem would ensure at least a period of peace and a step towards disarmament.

It would be sanguine, however, to reckon on any constructive or far-reaching definition of the Open Door at Washington. Japan will try to avoid even the discussion of her claim to Shantung, on the ground that it was settled at Versailles, while in Eastern Siberia, though she may possibly withdraw her troops, she adheres to her demand for conces-

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sions and large economic privileges. If the Conference breaks up, as it may do, without the withdrawal of Japan from Shantung, there can be no arrangement over armaments, other than make-believe, and a war between America and Japan will be more than ever possible and even probable. There lies the danger of the equivocal attitude of our Government over the renewal of the Alliance. The mischief of the Alliance is not so much that it might involve us in war with America (there is no obligation to go to such extremes), but rather that it commits us to support—or, at least, not to oppose—Japanese expansion. So long as this support is given, the process of penetration and acquisition will go on. The American veto upon it might be effective, by using diplomatic means alone, if Japan were isolated in her worst adventures. As it is, while we stand beside Japan, America can only grumble impotently, and allow the offences to accumulate which may one day make a war. The solution is no doubt, as Mr. Lloyd George now sees (thanks to the rough but salutary tuition of Canada), that the Anglo-Japanese Alliance should be merged in a wider partnership or concert. But it cannot be in form an alliance, and it cannot be based on partition. America will have neither. The indispensable first step is the ending of both Japanese and British encroachments upon China and Siberia. That either Power is prepared for any real sacrifice of the footing won or claimed on the mainland has yet to be proved.

The Conference, especially if it is ineffectual, will be the parting of the ways. It will try by accurate tests the value of our sentimental or prudential professions of a desire for friendly co-operation with America. If we prefer to retain the Japanese Alliance, and if we cover Japanese encroachments (not to mention our own more furtive reaching after Hinterlands), the talk of co-operation will cease, and a period of acute and even dangerous tension may begin. We might, to be sure, resolve to remain neutral, if an American-Japanese war should occur, but our ally would expect loans and munitions, and the inconveniences of a blockade might

DISARMAMENT



THE PEACE LOVER

JAPAN: "Disarmament? Yes, let us talk about it. But—no tampering with my 'sovereign rights.'"

[The Japanese dragon is holding with all its claws on to Kiao-Tsao and Shantung.]—*Notenkraker.*



LOGIC

"Yes, we are carrying through our building programme. How do you suppose we could disarm if we did not first take care and be strongly armed?"—*Notenkraker.*



THE SPANISH TREASURE-SEEKER IN MOROCCO.—

Notenkraker.



"IT WILL NOT COVER THEM"

[A violent law against anti-militarism has been produced in France.]
—*Les Hommes du Jour.*

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soon remind us of the moral very widely drawn from the Great War—that neutrality is impossible for a naval Power in a modern war at sea.

Our historic part in China and in Chinese seas has been one of consistent egoism. We struck the key-note in the Opium Wars with a cynicism rare even in our history. We used the erratic talent of General Gordon to drown in massacre the promising renaissance known as the Taiping rebellion. We have since sanctioned the robberies and cruelties of the Japanese, first in Korea then in Manchuria, and at length in Shantung. In so doing we pursued our traditional policy of the Balance of Power. Japan served our ends by attacking first Russia and then Germany in the Far East. We have now to choose definitely whether, under the dictates of the same maxim of a Balance, we shall continue our cautious and qualified, but still effective, support of Japan against the United States. The instinct of our governing class is to evade the decision. Evasion will be difficult in the publicity of Washington, and a choice may be forced upon us. The risks of a war which might bring the capitalist system and even civilisation itself tumbling about our ears, are sufficiently understood. That madness, if only because it would involve the disruption of our Empire, we shall not choose with our eyes open. The danger is rather that the equivocations, the incompatible policies, the courting of America combined with the supporting of Japan, may be continued until we drift, after all, into a naval rivalry, which may repeat the Anglo-German precedent. There comes a moment in the relation of two Powers when an equivocal and indifferent relationship is impossible. They have to choose between co-operation and rivalry. That moment came in our dealings with Germany twenty years ago. It has come in our standing with America to-day.

HELP RUSSIA

By ELLEN C. WILKINSON

ONE of the chief amusements of the foreigner in Russia is to read the foreign Press. The Russian Government has learned by bitter experience to keep hostile journalists outside its borders; so these hard-working gentlemen produce from scraps of rumour goods of the colour desired by their papers. It is difficult for even the conscientious journalist to tell the truth, for there are few possibilities of checking any news that comes through. At the Soviet Embassy itself, for example, delegates to the International Congress arriving in mid June were told by one official that the Conference was over, and by another that it had not yet begun.

These delegates, greeted with the utmost kindness by the citizens, not only of Petrograd and Moscow, but of all the towns through which they passed, were able to read in the German and Polish Press of how they were imprisoned in their hotels by starving crowds only kept from murdering them by innumerable soldiers, a general strike having been proclaimed on their entry into Moscow; or, alternatively, that they were flaunting themselves in motor-cars round the streets, waving bottles of champagne in the faces of the sullen mobs. The most circumstantial accounts of the doings of Radek in Berlin were given day by day while he sat on the Congress platform in Moscow, and it was strange in that peaceful city, with the cheerful crowds thronging the boulevards, to read of how hordes of insurgents were besieging the Kremlin demanding the downfall of the Bolshevik Government.

If it is difficult for the journalist to know what is happening in Moscow and Petrograd, it is practically impossible to get trustworthy accounts of events in the famine areas, hundreds of miles further inland. Wild stories coming from any of

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the frontier towns should be read with the reservation that the man who has written them knows little more of the actual conditions in Russia than the reader in his English armchair, the journalists being under the additional disadvantage of living in an atmosphere of rumour circulated by the local propaganda factory.

This is not to minimise the distress that exists. No words can adequately describe the extent of the awful calamity that has befallen those living in the Volga Basin. But terrible famines have recently occurred in China, and recur periodically in India without causing more than a mild murmur of sympathy. The Russian Famine has shaken the world, not by its extent or its misery, but by its possible political consequences. "How will the famine affect the power of the Bolsheviks?" is the real issue behind all the talk of relief.

To answer this question it is necessary to consider the situation in Russia before the threat of famine became a certainty. The Communists have always considered that Russia could not maintain a Socialist state by herself, and they therefore regarded their measures as provisional until the Red Wave should cover Europe. If that hope sounds fantastical now, it was a forecast based on the most careful study of the world situation in 1918 and 1919 by men who were in at least as good a position to know the truth as the class-bound diplomatists of Paris. For the European Revolution to be successful, the Soviet Regime had to be kept going at all costs. Russia was the front-line trench of the class war.

Taking over a shattered country from Tsarism, the Bolsheviks threw all their remaining resources into the struggle against the world bourgeoisie. The following table, compiled by the Commissariat of Finances of the Soviet Republic, shows how bad was the legacy they received, and how severe a strain were the years of war which ensued.

Year.	Expenditure (roubles).	Deficits (roubles).	Deficit in % to total expenditure.
1915 ...	11,562 millions ...	8,561 millions ...	74
1916 ...	18,101 ,, ...	13,756 ,, ...	76

Help Russia

Year.	Expenditure (roubles).	Deficits (roubles).	Deficit in % to total expenditure.
1917 ...	27,607 millions ...	22,568 millions ...	82
1918 ...	46,706 " ...	31,126 " ...	67
1919 ...	215,402 " ...	166,443 " ...	77
1920 ...	1,215,159 " ...	1,055,555 " ...	87

(The figures for 1920 include large sums assigned for economically productive purposes.)

Apart from the confiscation of private resources, this deficit was largely met by the issue of paper money. The following table, from the same source as the previous one, compares the number of millions of paper roubles issued per month by the Soviet Government with the Tsarist issue.

No. of paper roubles issued per month in 1915 was	217.6 millions
" " " " " " " " " 1916	281.6 "
" " " " " " " " " 1917	1,597.6 "
" " " " " " " " " 1918	2,829.3 "
" " " " " " " " " 1919	13,645.9 "
" " " " " " " " " 1920	78,651.8 "

What this torrent of paper money meant, in actual purchasing power, has been calculated by the Finance Minister on the basis of the average price of bread in Moscow and Saratov at the outbreak of war. In 1914 the average price of bread per Russian pound was 2.8 kopecks, which rose in 1915 to 3.5 kopecks, the rouble having sunk to 80 kopecks. The price rose to 4.5 kopecks in 1916, the rouble being depreciated to 62 kopecks. In 1918 the total amount of paper money issued by the Soviet Government was 33,952 million roubles, which would then buy the equivalent of the commodities obtainable by 523 million gold roubles. In 1919 the 163,751 millions of paper roubles issued were calculated to be worth 390 millions gold, and in 1920 the 955,223 millions issued were worth about 180 millions gold. In 1917 it was still possible to buy something with 50 kopecks; in 1921 the seller calculated only in 1,000 and 5,000 rouble notes.

Many factors other than the amount of paper money in circulation have to be taken into consideration when trying

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to arrive at a true estimate of the economic position of Russia before the famine; but most of these only make the situation seem more desperate—the continued ravaging of the rich cornlands, the speed with which all kinds of engines had to be worn out, and the blockade which prevented the importation of spare parts. But more serious than all has been the continual wastage of personnel—the skilled miner, the experienced factory worker, the competent administrator, the brilliant propagandist, so many having thrown themselves gladly into the breach when Russia struggled to keep the pass for the exploited masses in all countries, to give them, as she hoped, time to form their ranks behind her.

As 1920 wore on and the hope of immediate world revolution faded, the Communists were faced with a new situation, which led to the struggle between two lines of policy, apparent in the Congress of 1921. This is not to imply that there were two parties with alternative programmes, rather one saw the opposing tendencies struggling in the mind of the same individual. Was it better to attempt to force through, in spite of all, the measures of complete socialisation laid down in the first few months of the Revolution, or to consolidate the present position, marking time until the movements in the other countries should advance, offering concessions to capital in return for the means to restart their industries?

Without losing sight of their main objective, the Bolsheviks used the opportunities of peace to start the work of reconstruction. The great exhibition at the Dom Soyusov (House of the Trade Unions) in Moscow this summer showed how much had already been accomplished, especially in the railway, metal, glass and rubber factories. The grants of seed, the fixed agricultural tax, and the corresponding legalisation of trade in food were great inducements to the peasants to extend their sowings. The clouds seemed to be lifting.

Then came the Great Drought. After seven years of war that gaping maw which had sucked down Russia's best lives and her resources had been closed. Immediately in her very

Help Russia

centre another yawning abyss opens, and what is left must be thrown into that.

The Press has produced the appropriate forgery, a statement supposed to have come from Lenin, a desperate "It is enough, I can do no more." But this came too late to be convincing. Plague and famine are being fought with the same methodical organisation that held back the foreign troops. The machinery of relief is there, but the means cannot be found from Russian sources. On whom provides that relief may depend issues greater even than the existence of the Russian Soviet Republic.

The Russians dread the invasion of hosts of relief workers. They have not forgotten the thefts of platinum and the destruction of hospital stores by Red Cross workers. Is Russia to open her gates to potential or active White Spies and agitators? This is not to suggest that many of the relief workers will not be very conscientious people, but Englishmen may remember that others than pitiful refugees came over from Belgium in the early days of the War. Apart from this possibility the official attitude is well illustrated by the opening remarks of a prominent and high-minded bureaucrat at a Relief Committee meeting. "We must bear in mind that this relief is to be absolutely non-political. Of course, I take it that we are all against the Bolsheviks."

Whatever their opinions about the Bolshevik theories, the Labour movements of the other countries have repeatedly demonstrated that they consider the Russian fight is that of the world proletariat against Capital and Monarchy. Cannot these Labour organisations themselves supply the needs of the Russian workers? In all countries the workers are unemployed and starving, but consider what might be done if the spirit were there. During the miners' lock-out the soldiers and workmen in the Ukraine contributed from their utter poverty over two million roubles to the miners' funds. The Labour funds need not be limited to contributions from the workers, the essential thing is that food, medicaments, and means of transport should be sent to Russia as the fraternal

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gift of fellow workmen, and not held before starving people as a bribe from Capitalism. The distribution of the workers' gifts should be left in the hands of the Workers' Government.

What is the alternative? No sensible man can believe that at the call of human distress the French Government has relinquished its desire for revenge on those who have repudiated its bonds, or that Lord Curzon will let bygones be bygones. The famine has given to the world bourgeoisie an opportunity beyond their wildest hopes. Suppose they succeed in overthrowing the Bolshevik Government, what then? Russia will never have the Monarchy back. Soviet propaganda has gone too deep for that. Any kind of Western Parliamentary democracy, based as it is on a strong middle class, could in Russia only be another name for White reaction, the forcible establishment of the rule of the emigrés. This would lead to endless agitation and repression, and the formation of bands of outlaws harrying the new régime. Makno in the Ukraine has shown how devastatingly effective such operations can be.

Russia's spirit is alien to the democratic forms we know, but she is working out a great experiment in government that the world cannot afford to lose. From the depths of age-long oppression she struggled to the light in 1917. The capitalists of the world have tried to thrust her back, and what they have failed to do with bayonets may be accomplished through natural calamity, under the guise of benevolence. Can the world's workers afford to allow this?

THE FAMINE



"That will teach you to be a Bolshevik!"—*Avanti*.



"Help the Russians? It's against my principles. I don't even give to the French. Charity demoralises."—*L'Humanité*.

FACTS ABOUT THE FAMINE

By L. Petrovsky

TRUE to their vocation of purveyors of opium for the workers, the capitalist newspapers have done their utmost to confuse the issue about the Russian famine. The chaotic and conflicting reports, most of them false, which were circulated by the Press agencies during the first weeks of the crisis were of immense assistance to this. It is a careful and systematic survey of the facts which alone can at once defeat the objects of the workers' enemies, and reveal to the British Labour movement the problems involved in all their magnitude. This work of clarification and methodical exposition I shall attempt in this survey, by the courtesy of the Editors of the *LABOUR MONTHLY*.*

* * *

I. The normal pre-war corn production of the territory now covered by the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic was 4,200 million poods. By the summer of 1920 the decrease in tillage brought about by the circumstances of the civil war had reduced the harvest to 3,000 million poods; which a bad harvest in the central provinces further brought down to 2,100 millions. This year a much larger harvest was anticipated: the energetic "sowing campaign" carried on by the Government and by all industrial organisations in the spring, and the alterations in economic policy introduced in April and May, largely restored the confidence of the peasantry, and sowings considerably increased. In the Ukraine the area sown was larger than in 1916. In 14 provinces of the rest of Russia, of which 7 have now been stricken with famine, the area sown amounts on an average to 70 per cent. of the 1916 area, while the 1920 average was

* For much of the information contained in this article I am indebted to the famine memoranda issued by the Russian Trade Delegation.

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approximately 48 per cent. So marked, indeed, has been the improvement in this respect that even the drought has not been able to reduce the anticipated total quantity of corn to less than 2,250,000 poods—i.e., *more* than last year.

* * *

II. But these figures, which seem to convey a message of encouragement to those who look upon the Soviet Republic as a new world order fighting for life, in sharp contrast to the decaying order all round it, conceal in reality a disaster unprecedented in the history of Europe. Eighteen millions of people are faced with death by starvation or by the pestilence that walks in hunger's track. The average rainfall in the ten or twelve provinces concerned during the important months from October to June was ordinarily 14 inches. In 1920-1921 only $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches fell. The harvest came up early, attracted by the unusually warm spring and consequent thaw; but weeks and then months began to pass without a trace of rain, and the blazing sun, which in normal years transformed the Volga region into the granary of Russia, became from a welcome friend a ruthless enemy. Province after province was transformed into a parched and blackened waste, so dry and iron-hard that, even when rain fell in small quantities in June, it did not penetrate sufficiently far to affect the seeds (Samara, Simbirsk). It is calculated that over 900 million poods (15 million tons) of grain have perished in all. The ten provinces most immediately affected, stretching 800 miles, from Viatka in the north to Astrakhan in the south, were expecting to be able to contribute 60 million poods, or one quarter of the total, to the national food tax, in addition, of course, to the much greater quantity they would have contributed to the national larder by the co-operative machinery set up in accordance with the new economic policy. So complete has been the devastation, however, that the population actually requires 60 million poods (or 1 million tons) of grain to enable it to live on starvation rations (roughly, half a pound of bread a day) until the next harvest; and 15 million poods for sowing the next crop.

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The complete destruction of all civilisation, and the death by starvation of gigantic masses of the population—these were the prospects, unromantically and soberly described, with which the Volga population was faced in the early summer. The result was what might have been expected. In whole areas the peasants began to abandon their villages, moving slowly in long waggon-treks to the south, the east and the west—to the “Tsar of India,” as the rumour went, who would feed them all. The heart-rending descriptions in the bourgeois Press of Western Europe, though intended, of course, to convey an exaggerated idea of the magnitude of the movement, and thereby serve a political end, do not and could not overdraw the scenes of suffering, pestilence, and death which attended every step of these refugee columns. And though the cholera epidemic at no time reached the dimensions it assumed in the fevered imaginations or the malignant inventions of the enemies of the Soviet Government, its growth:

January—March	369 cases
April	649 ”
May	1,755 ”
June	42,803 ”
July (and up to August 10)	33,110 ”

was at one time sufficiently alarming to try the stoutest nerves.

* * *

III. A survey of the conditions prevailing in the districts will give the best possible picture of what the disaster must mean to the Russian man in the street—the unfortunate muzhik.

In the German Volga Commune In 1920-21 the deficit was 4,000,000 poods.
In 1921-22 70 per cent. of the harvest has entirely perished, and of the remainder only 5 poods per dessiatine (90 lbs. per acre) can be expected.

The population is feeding on substitutes, field rats, etc., while the Commissariat for Food has been able to give only 27,000 poods of corn

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and 15,000 poods of fish. The problem is to sow the winter crops, of which 210,000 dess. should be sown, while the province can only sow 20,000 dess. 1,000,000 poods of winter seeds are required.

To feed the 300,000 starving people, there are needed monthly 51,000 poods of corn, 14,000 poods of barley, 7,500 poods of fats, 225,000 poods of vegetables.

Samara Province

The fields represent an almost entirely bare and parched waste, except at one or two points where rain has fallen. The population is feeding mainly on substitutes: all the grass is eaten, acorns are considered a luxury, and bread is being baked from horse-radishes. Field rats are also being eaten. Cholera is rampant; in Samara city alone there are 400 cases daily. The number of children cared for by the State has risen from 20,000 in May to 60,000, and, owing to desertions by parents, is increasing by 60 to 70 daily. The children are being fed (insufficiently) on oat bread and oatmeal. They require 30,000 poods of corn monthly.

Kirghiz Steppe

This steppe, which occupies an enormous district bordering on the Samara and Orenburg provinces, is nothing but a parched desert. Here and there in the valleys may be seen a little green on which the nomads' cattle graze. There is no hay, of course. The corn has entirely perished, destroyed by the drought, while the remainder is devoured by the locusts, which fly in clouds from place to place. The Kirghizes are ruthlessly slaughtering their cattle, and the local markets—Orenburg, Aktiubinsk—are choked with meat. The population expects a ghastly famine this winter.

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*Simbirsk
Province*

In the Singileyev county, the winter crop and vegetable gardens have entirely perished, while the summer crops have not come up at all. The Syzran county is a little better: 25 per cent. of the area will give two to three poods per dessiatine; 50 per cent. about six to eight poods; and 25 per cent. about twelve poods. Wheat and oats have long ago been mown for fodder.

Rains have fallen in the Simbirsk county, but in insufficient quantity to penetrate through the first layer of burning earth, in consequence of which it soon evaporated.

*Tartar
Republic*

The situation in this area along the Kama River is very serious, especially in the southern districts. All private stores are now exhausted, and rich and poor peasants are now suffering alike. A special steamer has been dispatched to this area to reassure the inhabitants that Governmental and other relief is at hand, and this campaign has been successful in stopping the panic emigration which had begun. Groups of starving peasants have been sent to more prosperous districts to collect the food tax and to appeal for fraternal aid.

Saratov

The failure of crops has been unprecedented. In some districts of the Volsk country the yield amounts only to from 40 to 50 lbs. per acre, though the Soviet farms on the whole have given better yields. The peasants, who as late as last April used almost exclusively white bread, have had to resort to acorns and similar substitutes. In these circumstances the live stock has, naturally, been greatly reduced, one of the contributing causes being also the effect of the drought on the pastures. Such is the situation in the Eastern districts of the province. The Western ones have fared somewhat better,

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the yield averaging from 250 to 300 lbs. per acre.

A correspondent of *Pravda*, writing from the Volsk county of the Saratov province, describes the present attitude of the peasants. The absence of any opposition to the Soviets stands out clearly. Only a year ago the peasant was unable to understand the need of State assistance for relieving the starving cities of Central and Northern Russia. To-day he himself is anxiously looking for such help. Moreover, he takes part in organising subsidiary work, such as growing vegetables, etc., and shows a keen interest in the propaganda of national husbandry. At the same time the majority of peasants are seized with a desire to move to "a new land." On all roads one sees carts and wagons carrying household goods and children. Some go to Siberia and Turkestan, others to the Kuban and the Ukraine.

The Middle Volga

Peasants are moving from this region towards Siberia and the Ukraine. They have no bread and live by digging up seed potatoes that have not sprouted, and by gathering the scanty crops abandoned because worthless. In many districts all means of local transport are fully occupied transporting refugees, who are camped on the river-banks near the towns. The local Soviets are making as good arrangements for them as they can.

The peasants are preparing lists of those who wish to leave their provinces; these are handed in to the local Soviets. Some who have already left the famine area have settled down in the more prosperous districts. Letters written to their friends in the famine area by these refugees have tended to increase the number of

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those who tramp the roads without waiting for the schemes that are being worked out by the Government and the local Soviets. One letter, from a peasant who had arrived in the district of Amu-Daria with only 100 roubles and some bundles of cloth in his possession, has become legendary. The traveller is said to have exchanged his roubles and his cloths for over 800 lbs. of flour and two horses, and to have "got on all right." The population of ten districts near Volsk know of and believe in this letter.

The peasants who do not intend to leave their homes are concentrating their energies on potatoes and other vegetables. Near Volsk whole villages have turned out and diverted streams from their channels, using them for irrigation. In this way a very big crop of green vegetable-garden stuff is expected.

Cholera has decreased on the whole, but it is still raging in the villages and particularly among the Mahommedan population, the Chuvashis of the Volsk and Khvaluinsk districts.

The Volsk Soviet lately received permission to transfer 600 starving people to another region. Railway transport was arranged within twenty-four hours.

A Letter from the Districts

Isvestia of August 12 publishes a letter from a member of the special delegation which was sent by the All-Russian Central Executive Committee to report on the actual position in the famine area. The writer of the letter, which is dated Kazan, August 7, reached the famine area on June 30, and during the following month visited about 70 villages, 18 towns and 26 river wharves. Without trying to minimise the extent of the disaster which has overtaken the Volga region, he notes a characteristic feature of the situa-

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tion, the prevalence of fantastic rumours, which remind one of the wild reports that used to come from the war front. As an illustration, he mentions the stories that are circulated about the state of things at Sizran. At the Sizran railway station, they were told, thousands of emigrants were besieging the trains. Bodies of men who had died of starvation were lying about the place, and coffins could not be manufactured quickly enough in view of the shortage of wood and labour. The whole peasant population of the Samara province was said to be "on the wheels," with men pulling the carts, as the horses and even their skins had absolutely been eaten. The people were dying, the crops were completely destroyed, the rodents ate what was left of the crops, and the men ate the rodents. Such was the story spread by rumours. The reality, as it revealed itself to the delegates on their arrival at Sizran, was this: at the station there was a mixed crowd of passengers, numbering about 250, and including a noticeable sprinkling of food speculators. There were only three groups of peasants, consisting of five persons each, bound for Tashkent. The remaining passengers were going to Moscow and other central provinces for ordinary private or business purposes. The rest of the story proved a complete fabrication.

Nevertheless, the actual situation is very grave. The whole middle Volga region has suffered badly from the drought. The situation there is certainly critical, though in view of the abundant rainfall in July, there is still hope that the spring sowings may yield a satisfactory crop. The first week of September will make clear whether this hope has been realised.

As to the harvest of winter rye, the following figures will give an approximate idea of the situation:—

Percentage of total sowings.	Yield (per acre).
5%	nil
10%	6 to 10 lbs.
35%	30 to 60 lbs.
35%	60 to 100 lbs.
10%	100 to 160 lbs.
5%	160 to 350 lbs.

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Despite the critical position, the peasants are breaking up the soil for the coming winter sowing of rye up to 60 per cent., and in some districts (the Chuvash province) up to 90 per cent. of the last year's sowing. The shortage of fodder and the fear that the cattle may not survive the coming winter induces the peasants to increase the autumn sowings as much as possible. There is also noticeable an inclination to extend potato growing, as less liable to damage from drought. The reduction in the number of live-stock and cattle, as compared with the agricultural census of 1920, is shown in the following figures: horses, reduction not more than 20 per cent.; other cattle about 25 per cent.; sheep and pigs about 30 per cent.

The number of people who emigrated from the famine area up to the end of July is estimated at about 3 per cent. of the population, and of these only a small proportion had long associations with those provinces.

In respect of damage caused by the drought, the districts come in the following order, starting from the worst affected: Samara, Kazan, Simbirsk, and Chuvash province.

Mixing flour with grass in making bread began to be practised as early as May, and in some parts even April, the admixture amounting to from 25 to 50 per cent., though in some cases substitutes alone were used. About 40 per cent. of the agricultural population has been feeding on such substitutes. From the middle of July, however, with the gathering in of the new crops, the food used has somewhat improved, though the peasants continue to collect stocks of substitutes for the winter.

It is difficult to say whether cases of death from hunger have actually occurred. The delegates did not come across any such cases confirmed by medical certificates. On the other hand, there have been cases of death caused by stomach and intestinal disorders as the result of feeding on substitutes. One should also note the general tendency among the people to attribute every case of death to the famine conditions.

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The above communication concludes with the statement, "If September shows that the yield from the spring sowings is under the average, then in December the famine will assume the most menacing proportions."

IV. No more complete description than the above is necessary. It remains only to enumerate the measures undertaken by the Soviet Government and the other proletarian organisations of Russia to grapple with the stupendous problems created by the famine.

1. The provinces of the famine area were immediately freed from all taxation. The food tax may still be collected from districts where the harvest amounts to upwards of 130 lbs. an acre, but exclusively for local purposes.

2. An appeal was issued to all peasants in the fertile districts who received advances of seeds from State funds last winter and spring to repay their debts to the extent of 50 to 100 per cent. immediately. This measure, which has already met with an enthusiastic response from all over the country, is expected to bring in over 5 million poods of grain for sowing purposes. The Soviet estates—farms cultivated collectively on behalf of municipal Soviets, large industrial undertakings, etc.—have undertaken to collect 4 million poods of seeds by January from their own produce, half being handed over immediately by them, and half being advanced on their behalf by the State out of the first results of the collection of the food tax.

With certain imports from abroad, therefore (for which a sum of £1,200,000 was set aside), the most urgent need, apart from feeding the sufferers themselves—that of providing a harvest for next year—will have been adequately met. Many thousands of tons have already been dispatched.

3. The People's Commissariat for Foreign Trade has been voted a credit of 500 million gold roubles (£50,000,000) for the purpose of buying manufactured articles abroad, to be used for exchange purposes in the provinces least affected by the drought. These purchases are already being made.

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4. Immediate measures were taken to direct the streams of refugees into regular and controlled channels. All outward-going railway traffic from the famine area was placed at their disposal, the People's Commissariat for Labour and the local authorities in the principal industrial areas of Central Russia being taken into consultation, with a view to preventing the work of relief from becoming more of an economic burden on the community than was inevitable. There were evacuated :

	To Industrial Provinces.		To Autonomous Republics.
In May	15,000 persons	...	12,000 persons
In June	60,000 „	...	33,000 „
In July	57,000 „	...	58,000 „
	<hr/>		<hr/>
	132,000 persons		103,000 persons

Arrangements have been made to evacuate 105,000 persons in August.

5. A series of "shock" measures were taken to check the cholera epidemic—dispatch of sanitary trains and medical detachments, purchase of drugs and medical stores abroad, compulsory inoculation of the Red Army, of transport workers, and of all railway passengers—which, as the figures quoted earlier go to show, have already had the effect of arresting the progress of the epidemic, if not yet of finally eradicating it.

6. While an "All-Russian Famine Relief Committee," composed for the most part of representatives of political and non-political groups, previously either neutral towards or hostile to the Soviet Government, was given a number of exclusive privileges (such as priority and free transit on the railways), the actual control of all relief work was vested in a Special Famine Relief Commission of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee. This body, meeting daily in Moscow, maintaining contact with the districts by means of special missions and plenipotentiary representatives, granting relief through its own local machinery

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(provincial, county, and rural district committees, elected by local executives and working-class organisations), and opening up communications with foreign countries and relief organisations (notably the American Relief Administration), is perhaps the supreme instance of the extraordinary elasticity of mind and creative energy of which the Russian Communist Party is capable when faced with a situation before which every other social force (not excluding Lord Curzon and his "district commissioners" on the Indian model) must have failed. (Let us not forget the 6 millions of deaths from Spanish 'flu in India).

* * *

V. Every issue of a Soviet newspaper contains the elements now needed to complete the picture thus roughly sketched. Under the headings: "Minsk, Briansk, Gomel, Vladimir"; "Chemical Workers, Petrograd Bakers, Moscow Leather Works, Tula Metal Workers"; "The Prokhorov Factory, Art Workers of the Khamovnichesky Ward"; "Children of the fourth Orphan Home, Workers and Peasants of the sixth Crimean Rest Home, invalided Red soldiers of Rostov-on-Don, 8th Battalion of the Extraordinary Commission"; and, most characteristic of all, "Political prisoners interned in the Moscow provincial concentration camp"; we find column after column recording the sacrifices—a week's pay, one day's rations, two days' flour, all the goods accumulated for exchanging with the peasants during the past two months—being made in every corner of Russia by the workers, over and above the support they are showing their stricken comrades through the machinery of the State.

It is this spirit of solidarity and self-sacrifice that brought the Russian workers unbroken through the worst trials of the imperialist war and the revolution. There is every reason to believe that they will emerge as triumphant from this last and, in some respects, worst test. But, if they do, it will not be because of goodwill on the part of their enemies. The weeks which have passed since the European

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Allies began "discussing" and "investigating" the question of international relief are likely to pass into months before anything materialises of their meditations, even if we had not already before us the appointment of Noulens as Chairman of their Council—the former French Ambassador in Moscow, who was the centre of counter-revolutionary plotting in 1918—as a signal indication of the intentions and the spirit in which the Allies approach their humanitarian task. On the other hand, the activities in certain directions of the "non-political" Famine Relief Committee in Russia itself have been such, and its inactivity in others so glaring, that the Soviet Government has been forced to bring its existence to an end.

If the Russian workers win through, they will do so because of their own stern resolution and the support of their fellows in other countries. It is only the British Labour movement whose fraternal help and steady pressure is being counted upon at this moment. More than ever the proletarian watchword of Marx and Engels, "Workers of all countries, unite!" must be called to the aid of the first working-class republic.

THE RUSSIAN ATLAS



Not slipping.—*Liberator*

THE DECAY OF SOUTH-EASTERN EUROPE

By S. K.

THE main difference between the present world economic chaos and previous capitalist crises lies in this unprecedented fact, that the principal cause of the present anarchical situation is, not the over-production of the highly developed capitalist countries, but the under-production and the economic and social disintegration of a considerable part of the world. For this reason, if there is to be any prospect of a recovery of the old capitalist system, the revival must begin with the re-organisation of these decomposed economic units. Otherwise this process of disorganisation cannot even be restricted to its present area, but will spread over other countries, and will end with the total breakdown of the whole capitalist world. For this reason, we cannot pay too much attention to the economical and political development in those countries where the decline of the social-economic system has attained the most serious proportions. It is in this connection that the study of the present situation of the Balkan countries and the Succession States of the ruined Austro-Hungarian Empire is particularly important.

There are some difficulties in analysing this situation, because owing to the anarchical and ever-changing conditions, we possess very few statistical data, and these are also very often incomplete, untrustworthy and out-of-date. But this very difficulty, the fluctuating and uncertain character of our information, is the clearest evidence of the prevailing disorder. And the few statistical data which we can accept as conforming to the real situation and to other sources of information indisputably indicate that not only is

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there no sign of approaching stability, but that on the contrary the situation is becoming more and more critical every day.

This is a very grave statement, if we remember in what a chaotic state the war has already left this unfortunate population. Nowhere was the war so destructive as in these regions. The human and material losses here attained their highest proportions. Old Serbia lost almost one-third of its whole population, and in Austria, where the famine had the most victims, the transport system absolutely collapsed, and agriculture and industry were in a desperate condition owing to the devastations of the war, invasions and the blockade. And as a consequence of the military and economic collapse, there was added to all this the breakdown of the State organisation. Apart from Bulgaria and Albania all the other countries were faced not only with the extremely difficult task of restoring their destroyed economic life, but also with the complicated work of organising a new State apparatus.

But this new partition, creating new customs barriers and separating the organic parts of coherent economic units, has severely reacted on economic life itself. The Chauvinism of the newly-created States was misused for a prolonged policy of national enmity and hatred. The national injustices inflicted by the Peace Treaties are too well known to be repeated here. What is important is their main object, namely that the Allies of Germany are to be made economically incapable of any future action. For this purpose, the small Allies of the Entente are compelled to maintain enormous armies and to continue a suicidal policy of isolation and economic war. The Little Entente of Czecho-Slovakia, Jugo-Slavia and Rumania, with some co-operation of Greece and Poland,* is a clear expression of this mad policy directed against Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria, Albania and Turkey. As

*Their present military forces, according to English and French official declarations, are: Poland 600,000, Greece 250,000, Rumania 250,000, Jugo-Slavia 200,000, Czecho-Slovakia 150,000.

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a matter of fact, we find differences between the members of the Little Entente arising from their different Imperialistic aims, but at present they are united in the oppression of their defeated neighbours. This oppression does not consist, even to-day, in mere blackmailing supported by military superiority, but in continued occupation and warfare.

The Greeks are still fighting the Turks, and thereby cutting off the starving population of Constantinople from its large resources; Southern Albania is still occupied by Greek, and Northern Albania by Jugo-Slav troops.

But if this madness has aggravated the already serious disorder and disintegration in the defeated countries, it has produced the same effect on the "victorious" States. A short survey of the present economic situation reveals a continuous decline in all these countries. Greece, which had a rather easy part in the world war and could remain in a relatively stable position, has lost her privileged position in consequence of her Imperialistic war policy.

The transport system is still in a critical condition. Notwithstanding the fact that without good communications there is no modern economic life, very little has been done to restore even the old inadequate standards. Rumania has not sufficient rolling stock to transport even the largely diminished output of her oil and agricultural production. Poland, with a population of 30,000,000, had in April, 1920, not more than 1,936 serviceable and 1,680 unserviceable locomotives of standard gauge, and 108 serviceable and 153 unserviceable locomotives of broad gauge. Hungary in April, 1921, had only 1,717 locomotives and 2,348 passenger coaches. Railways, roads and all other branches of communication reveal similar conditions in the whole area, and it is impossible to see how these bankrupt countries will be able to bear the large expenses of their reconstruction.

If we turn to agriculture, we find there the same desperate conditions. A few examples will suffice. In Rumania—the most important agricultural country amongst those in

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question—the wheat harvest in 1919 was only 63.5 per cent. and in 1920, 39.6 per cent. of the pre-war average. The cause of this extremely low production is not due to any natural disaster, but to the continued military service of several classes, the unsolved agrarian question, and want of agricultural implements and fertilisers. The sowing of wheat in 1919 (for the 1920 harvest) was less than half of the normal. In Hungary the average yield of cereals was little more than 50 per cent. of the pre-war output. In Poland the total yield of wheat and rye was the following in 1919 and 1920:—

	Rye.	Wheat.
Pre-War	5,009,900 tons	1,637,100 tons.
1919	3,414,400 „	653,600 „
1920	1,901,400 „	619,400 „

In Austria, with its desperate need of bread, we find that the sowings of the main cereals in 1920 have declined, compared with 1913, by 25 per cent., and the total output by 60 per cent. We find a similar decline in the other countries and in the other branches of agricultural production. Greece was an exception to this in 1920, but the prospects for this year's harvest, owing to serious agrarian troubles, are very unfavourable.

With regard to industrial production we find still worse conditions. There are whole branches of industry at a standstill, as with the building industry, which is not able to yield sufficient profits to be worth working. Companies which have re-started work are mostly financed by foreign capital. A very remarkable phenomenon is that the improvement of the currency has an unfavourable effect on production, because it makes dumping more difficult. A good example of this is Austria, where industry has revived just in this year, when the krone has attained an unprecedentedly low state. The production is now about 50 per cent. of the normal. But this revival is only a temporary one, and is not a real revival at all. It is true that some capitalists, foreign and native, are able to make a good profit

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on the export of these cheaply produced articles, which are so badly needed in the country itself. But this profit is paid by the Austrian State, which is compelled to supplement the insufficient wages paid with various subsidies and reliefs. In addition, this is far from equalising the high costs of imported food and imported raw materials, for which import a favourable exchange of currency is desirable. But when the currency improves the factories cease to work. This was the situation in Hungary in the spring, when a slight increase in the value of the Hungarian krone caused again, after a temporary improvement, an almost complete cessation of industrial production. There "revivals" are of almost no importance in affecting the great question of reorganisation. The vacillations simply occur because the general situation is so unstable, that a big speculation, an important strike, a new loan, etc., may produce enormous changes in the disturbed economic life of these dwarf States. In Czecho-Slovakia, where the situation was relatively the most stabilised, a new marked decline is beginning to take place in industry, because they have a too favourable exchange—only one-fifteenth of the pre-war value—and the neighbouring States are easily able to undersell them. The important weaving and cotton-spinning industry is occupied only up to 35 or 40 per cent. of its normal capacity and there is an increasing crisis also in the metallurgical, chemical and sugar industries. In Poland the productive capacity of industry may be estimated at 20 to 40 per cent. of what it was before the war. The Galician oil output, where foreign capital is strongly interested, has amounted in 1919 to 833,980 tons, in 1920 to 765,090 tons. The pre-war output varied between 1,100,000 and 2,100,000 tons. Of the remaining countries mention may also be made of Rumania, where, in spite of new foreign capital, the production both in 1919 and 1920 did not amount to above 20 to 40 per cent. of the pre-war average (the only exception is in the case of the flour mills, which reached 60 per cent.).

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Taking into consideration the great decline of production and the low state of currency on the one side, and the enormous requirements of these exhausted countries on the other, nobody can wonder that all these States have a heavily unfavourable trade balance. Recently the relation between exports and imports has slightly improved, but this is primarily due to the diminished buying capacity of the population. In the interest of the powerful export consortiums and industrial groups, the export duties have recently been abolished almost universally and the import duties raised again. As a sign of the great retrogression the barter system is coming more and more into existence, not only in internal but also external trade.

Corresponding to the diminished production a deficit in the State budgets is universal, and it is growing every year simultaneously with the aggravation of the general economic chaos. The budget estimates are absolutely valueless and in some cases there have been years in which no budgets were prepared at all. But we can see the large actual deficits from the ever-growing national debts, and the new issues of bank notes without any reserve. I leave out of account the fantastical figures of national debts, where comparison is, in fact, difficult owing to the different currencies for each country; but for the better illustration of the alleged recent stabilisation I give two tables: one showing in percentage the increase of the notes in circulation during the last few months, and the other showing the depreciation of the currency, which in the capitalist system is the best register of the economic and political situation.

INCREASE OF THE NOTES IN CIRCULATION.*

Rumania	134%	during the last	12	"	"	"	"
Greece	20%	"	"	"	"	"	"
Poland	209%	"	9	"	"	"	"
Austria	80%	"	7	"	"	July	"
Hungary	34%	"	7	"	"	"	"
Jugo-Slavia ...	20%	"	7	"	"	"	"
Czecho-Slovakia	5%	"	5	"	"	"	"

* There is no official report of Bulgarian note circulation since April, 1921, but a marked inflation took place in the last few months. Turkey does not exist at present as an independent State, and Albania has no national currency.

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RATES OF EXCHANGE.

Figures giving the Exchange for £1.

Currency.	Par.	Aug. 13, 1920.	Aug. 12, 1921.
Vienna.....	krone . 24.02	... 715—725	... 2800—3000
Prague.....	krone . 24.02	... 200—210	... 290—295
Warsaw.....	mark ... 20.43	... 710—810	... 7400—7600
Bucharest.....	lev ... 25.22½	... 160—170	... 283—288
Constantinople....	piastre . 110	... 168	... 545—565
Sofia.....	lev ... 25.22½	... 160	... 420—450
Belgrade	dinar .. 25.22½	... 73	... 145—155
Athens.....	drachma 25.22½	31.70—31.80	65—66½
Budapest.....	krone .. 24.02	... 720—725	... 1300—1400

If the financial collapse—so clearly expressed in the ever-growing deficits and national debts, and the unlimited inflation and depreciation of currency—is only the logical consequence of the devastation of war and of the decline of production, it has also in its turn an important reaction on production. The financial risk connected with an ordinary business stands in the way of any return to sound productive work. The capitalist has always to be prepared for a sudden rise or fall of prices ranging from 50 to 150 per cent. In consequence of this, capitalist enterprise necessarily assumes more and more of a speculative character.

Proposals for the “stabilisation” of currency, as the beginning of a general revival, cannot be taken more seriously than the proposals of a quack-doctor to regulate the pulse of a dying man; quackeries can only accelerate the death of the patient. There is no economic miracle, there is only economic development. An economic miracle would be, for instance, the cancellation of large foreign loans, or the unselfish support of the big capitalist powers for undeveloped countries, or the financial success of a new money system while everything else remained unchanged, etc. The direction of the economic development in the countries in question is towards complete bankruptcy, which actually—if not yet declared—has been already attained in Austria, Poland, Hungary, and Turkey, while the remaining States are rapidly precipitating towards the same

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end. But millions of people cannot live long in a bankrupt state, and the present absurd situation—maintained by terroristic means or by international charity—cannot remain for a long time. What is to come then?

Before going into the examination of this all-important question, we must first study the great social changes which have occurred simultaneously with the great economic disintegration. Till now, in order to avoid complication, I have carefully omitted to mention this important aspect. Great as was the effect of the war and post-war "peace" on the economic order, their direct and indirect influence on the social conditions has struck most observers much more sharply.

The war has revealed the great importance of the working masses, and great were their expectations regarding their future prospects. But, in strong contrast to all their hopes, they find that the social and economic differences after the war are much greater than ever before. Nowhere is this so remarkable as in the countries where money has become absolutely valueless. There is an impassable gulf between the small group of capitalists who possess considerable international values, and all the rest of the population. Owing to their present great economic importance—the consequence of abnormal conditions—these small financial and mercantile cliques have also an almost absolute political power. Being the incontestable masters of the economic life of the country, however ruined it may be, quite naturally they are the absolute commanders of the political field. But they depend largely on foreign capital, and it is the joint front of native and foreign capital and their oppressive organs, which have secured their further domination when the old economic system has already ceased to function regularly. The abnormal conditions offer large speculative possibilities, and profiteering is cultivated on an extremely large scale. This, and the unheard-of display of luxury are only accentuating still more the social struggle.

The most active opponents of this capitalist group are

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the industrial workers. Depending entirely on their inadequate wages, these latter are really in a desperate situation, and therefore it is easy to understand their great activity, even in these countries where the industrial population is but a small part of the whole population. They cannot satisfy even their most moderate desires. They cannot buy healthy and sufficient food, and they are living in unhealthy, overcrowded slums. The increases in wages are never in harmony with the enormous rises in prices, and they have to be fought for by long and desperate struggles. The consequences of this miserable standard of life are dirt, disease, immorality, great mortality, low birthrate and inefficiency of labour. The birthrate in Vienna in 1920 was 14.2 per cent.; in Budapest, 17 per cent.; in London, 26.4 per cent.; the death rate in the same year and towns, 20 per cent., 22 per cent., and 12.6 per cent.; the infant mortality in Budapest was 180 per cent., and in London 76 per cent. In Vienna 117,000 schoolboys and girls were medically examined last year, and of them 64.6 per cent. were found underfed, of whom 34.9 per cent. were severely underfed. The workers have first tried to ameliorate their position by a long series of strikes. After local and partial strikes they made experiments with the general strike. But all these attempts had no durable results, and the more important conflicts, as with the railwaymen, the miners, and the general strikes, have been crushed by brutal means. Militarisation of undertakings of essential importance and the imprisonment of the workers' leaders, sometimes followed by tortures and murders: these have been the answer of the bourgeoisie to the economic attack of the working masses. These lessons have taught the proletariat the importance of revolutionary political organisation and action. The proletariat is preparing for revolution; and strong Communist parties are organising the rebel population, whose number is increasing with every day of the prolonged misery. It is enough to mention the Czecho-Slovak, Jugo-Slav and Bulgarian parties to show the rapidly growing influence of Com-

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munist ideas and organisations. The bourgeoisie has now realised the great danger, and the most severe terroristic means are being used against Communists.

The middle classes are also finding themselves for the most part under the same miserable conditions, and large sections of them are struggling together with the industrial workers. It needed this terrible catastrophe to bring these "brain" workers to understand that they too are wage-slaves first and foremost. Typical middle-class elements are now using the despised strike weapon to obtain higher salaries and better working conditions. Thus we find strikes of bank clerks, (in Constantinople, in Spalato, in Zagreb, in Vienna, and in the whole of Czecho-Slovakia, etc.), physicians, pharmaceutical assistants, State employees, professors, etc. What is the more important, the strikes do not aim only at obtaining larger salaries, but also at securing more control in regulating the conditions of their labour. The middle class is beginning to adhere to the idea of social co-operation in place of that of individual supremacy and competition.

The larger part of the agrarian population, the small peasants and agricultural labourers, is also awakening. In these mainly agricultural countries they are of a very considerable importance. This importance is more potential than really existent, and it is a great exaggeration to state, as is often done, that the industrial workers have suffered and struggled and the peasants enjoy the fruits. The fact is that in Poland, Hungary, Eastern Czecho-Slovakia, Rumania, Northern Jugo-Slavia, and Thessaly (Greece), where we find a large number of big estates, the agrarian question is still unsolved—or, what is the same, solved only on paper. But even where the small peasantry forms the majority of the population their actual political importance is very slight. In Bulgaria, where they succeeded in capturing the majority of the seats in the Parliament and forming a Cabinet consisting exclusively of members of the Peasant Party, they were compelled by the Reparations Commission to

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change their whole programme. The safeguarding of the interests of the small, but with the aid of the Allies, powerful capitalist group was put above the vital interests of a large peasant population. The great riches of the peasants are also only mythical. They have a large stock of valueless banknotes, but they do not possess good plant for cultivation; they work painfully with bad implements (where they have not yet realised the present futility of tillage) and their harvest will be requisitioned, or compulsorily bought at a low price; they are the first to be taken into the army if it is necessary; and pay heavy taxes, whilst the "lazy townpeople" have all the privileges. The enfeebled capitalist system cannot satisfy the desires of the peasantry, and for this reason an important part of the agricultural population in this part of Europe is a revolutionary factor. But owing to the international situation they cannot carry out a narrow peasant policy and build up a peasant state. Either they are serving the interests of the capitalists, or they have to rally to industrial labour. We find already some good examples of this co-operation, the most marked so far being in Jugo-Slavia and Bulgaria, where the Communists have a considerable number of supporters amongst the peasants.

National rivalries are responsible for their own special difficulties, which only serve to aggravate the present situation. These questions will remain a disturbing factor so long as the competitive system exists, and will only disappear with its final breakdown. The question of national minorities, the question of Upper Silesia, Constantinople, Thrace, Macedonia, and the question of hegemony between Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, between Czechs and Slovaks, between "Old Rumanians" and "New Rumanians," cannot be settled definitely under the present economical and social conditions.

Thus the main question still remains: What is the path to economic recovery? The capitalists have utterly failed to achieve any recovery, and the prospect of their so doing

NATIONALISM



Poland, Silesia, Mesopotamia, etc.

"Then, Mother, if there were no more 'right' and no more 'civilisation,' there would be no more wars?"—*L'Humanité*.



I. "Hallo! Yes, I will try to attend the disarmament conference myself. Bravo!"

II. "Hallo! Why have you not attacked the Turks? Get on with it."—*Le Peuple*.

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is still more unlikely in the future, because under-production and economic anarchy have an ever-increasing influence on the economic and social troubles of the "sound" capitalist countries. The peasantry is not able to take over power, and still less to retain it. The reorganisation of the ruined economic and social order can only come from the working masses. It is a singular historical phenomenon that the workers of the less highly developed capitalist countries have to fight for their emancipation, before the large proletarian masses of the big capitalistic powers have arrived at the stage of an open revolutionary period. But the workers of the Balkan and Succession States are forced to begin an active revolutionary struggle, if they are not prepared to accept without resistance a prolonged period of starvation and slavery.

The words of J. M. Keynes, in speaking of the Continent as a whole, apply with redoubled force to these particular countries: "There it is not just a matter of extravagance or 'Labour troubles,' but of life and death, of starvation and existence, and of fearful convulsions of a dying civilisation." If the workers in these countries lose their great battle, this would have a serious influence on the outcome of the general struggle of the international working class. And if this great war does not end with the victory of the working class, there remains only one alternative: the common ruin of both the capitalists and the working classes together.

ECONOMIC PHASES OF AMERICA'S COLOUR PROBLEM

By HERBERT J. SELIGMANN

MOST human problems at present seem to have their origins in the possession, or the desire to possess, the power which is money. This is no less true now of the so-called colour problem in the United States than it was in slavery days. About the simple desire to exploit human beings for profit, however, has grown a social and political complex which seems to many observers to be impelling our society toward catastrophe. Two warnings of the danger have already come to Americans in 1921; one in the form of an extraordinary pamphlet published by the Governor of Georgia, another in the colour riots at Tulsa, Oklahoma, in June.

The first warning, Governor Hugh M. Dorsey's, "The Negro in Georgia," is nothing more than a bare statement of appalling facts. It was published in April of 1921, shortly after the world had learned that eleven Negro peons had been murdered on a farm in Jasper County, Georgia; and that the murders had been planned and executed to obliterate evidence sought by federal agents of the practice of peonage, or debt slavery. "In some counties," Governor Dorsey's report said, "the Negro is being driven out as though he were a wild beast. In others he is being held as a slave. In others, no Negroes remain." There followed a recital of 135 examples of mistreatment of Negroes, only two of them involving the "usual crime" against a white woman, practically all of them unpunished—a list which, as is stated, might have been multiplied had additional cases been sought.

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The report tells of Negroes lynched—hanged, burned and tortured over a “slow” fire, riddled with bullets—for any or no apparent cause. One Negro was brutally assaulted—his daughters with him being also kicked and beaten—thrown in jail, fined, imprisoned, and his family forced to flee, leaving behind them their possessions. “The education of his children and the success of his thrift seem to be the sole offence of the Negro,” is the comment of the report.

The Dorsey report has been bitterly attacked. The Governor’s political opponents talked of impeaching him before his term expired. Every effort will be made in the future to discredit this document, its author and the sources of his information. But the facts stand. North and South, Americans know that there is no horror that was perpetrated in Belgium, in Turkey, Armenia or Korea, which exceeds those visited upon innocent Negroes in the United States as late as 1921. In this sense the Dorsey report is the summation of a case which has for many years been placed piecemeal before a minority of Americans disposed to listen. It is the case of millions of people denied education, disfranchised by fraud and violence,* denied recourse to the law, subjected to segregated and inferior public accommodations at exorbitant prices, denied even the opportunity to defend themselves and their own against the most flagrant and glaring brutalities and violence. The cases chosen to represent conditions in Georgia may be applied with modifications to any other Southern state.

There is much talk of the biological inferiority of the Negro, of the danger of Negro domination, and of the menace to the “purity” of the white race. All this is the bandying of misconceived or fraudulent scientific terminology to conceal one of the fundamentals of the colour problem in the United States; that the economic life of the South is built upon the labour, often involuntary, mostly underpaid, of Negroes.

* See *The Disfranchisement of Coloured Americans in the Presidential Election of 1920*, published by the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People, New York.

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Typical cases in point are numbers 11 and 12, cited in the Dorsey report. Number 11: "A Negro was sentenced to 30 days in the Fulton County Chain Gang for vagrancy. When he had served enough of his time to pay his fine, excepting \$5.00, the son of a farmer in this County paid him out [*i.e.*, released him by paying the fine]. With ten other Negroes he was carried to the man's farm, where they were locked up for the night. They were guarded by two armed Negroes by day and locked up every night." Case 12: "The man stayed from February 1 until September 1, when he and another Negro ran away. They were caught, brought back and whipped. The other Negro begged to be killed. The white owner shot him. A weight was put upon him. His body was put in a nearby pond back of the owner's home. Fifteen Negroes were working on the place. They were frequently beaten." This is to treat human beings as less than chattels.

Similar treatment of Negroes brought about the Arkansas riots of 1919. Those riots were provoked by white men determined to prevent recourse to the courts on the part of Negroes seeking redress. The agricultural system which prevails in Arkansas, in Georgia, and throughout the South, especially where there are large holdings of land, fastens the Negro to the land. By the so-called share cropper or rent cropper system, the Negro farmer pays his rent in produce. Having to purchase his supplies, in many cases, at the plantation store, he is at the mercy of his landlord. No account is rendered him, and he may be kept perpetually in debt. If he demands an itemised statement of his account he is threatened with death. If he tries to escape he may be arrested, whipped or killed. One plantation owner will not take a Negro escaped from another's employ. The white men stand together. Labour has been, and still is, recruited by arresting Negroes on any pretext whatever. They are then "worked" in chain gangs on the roads; or some white man pays the fine and the Negro becomes virtually his property under the pre-

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text of paying off the debt. White men, under this system, talk of the Negro's invariable appeal to some white friend when he is in difficulty. The Negro is forced to this appeal because he has no legal or civil standing respected by white men. Exploitation and pauperisation are familiar bed-fellows.

It is upon this system that the white man's ascendancy is based. He fortifies it with spurious science and maintains it by violence and intimidation. It colours the relations of white and coloured people even where peonage does not prevail in its worst and most brutal forms. Every coloured man who emancipates himself from the condition of labourer or farmer, who becomes other than a source of exploitable labour in the industrial scheme, constitutes, by the fact of his education and his possession of means, a threat to the white man's ascendancy. It is literally true that one of the worst crimes which a Negro can commit, in the eyes of an astoundingly large number of white men in the far Southern states, is to become wealthy and to attempt to live in the manner affected by white men of similar attainments.

At the root, then, of race conflict in the South are economic class divisions, with skin pigmentation as a distinguishing mark. The "good nigger," the "hat-in-hand darkey," as he is named, is what is wanted throughout the rural South. Such Negroes do not demand what is theirs. They take what is given them in return for the labour that enriches the white men. At best such docile Negroes are the recipients of benevolently paternal care. At worst they are robbed, driven from home, or butchered.

II

The urban and industrial difficulties under which the Negro labours in the United States are derived from this antiquated and inequitable agricultural scheme. It powerfully affected the heavy northward migration of Negroes during the war; a movement which is to some extent con-

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tinuing; though the growing industrial depression into which the country is plunging gives it a check. The Negro who wishes to progress has to come North eventually, even if he be an industrial and not an agricultural labourer. In the South there is virtually no opportunity to form Labour Unions which include Negroes. Organisers of Negro Unions are lumped in public condemnation with "agitators," "Bolshevists," and the I.W.W. In one town in Mississippi there was actually posted this spring a warning to the effect that, any Labour Union organiser who attempted to meddle with, or, incite Negroes would be given short shrift.

In lumber towns, and in the mining districts especially, the company "guards" and detectives rule. Officers of local government are often dependent upon industrial managers for their election to office. White labour Unionists in the South, moreover, with few exceptions, are indoctrinated with colour prejudice to such an extent that any admission of Negro workmen on an equal basis with white is inconceivable. In times of unemployment like the present, violence is frequently employed to rid jobs of their Negro incumbents in favour of white men. Only recently the attention of the Governor of Mississippi was called to the murder of several Negro brakemen, constituting an attempt to force Negroes out of that branch of railroading. At the annual convention of the American Federation of Labour in Denver, in the month of June, Negro delegates made a number of complaints of discrimination against their people. A correspondent of the *New York Evening Post* quoted the following statement which had been handed to him by a number of Negro delegates:

"We have been debarred from certain parts of our work, and all holidays, overtime, Sundays or any other overtime. We are told by a committee of white carmen, local number —, that we are not recognised as carmen. We have been working for the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad for five, ten and fifteen years. Now we are only protected by officials of the railroad. Had it not been for them we would have been blotted out by

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white carmen." Similar conditions were said to prevail in all unions but those of the longshoremen.

In the circumstances it will be seen how readily Negro labour can be used as a weapon against white Unionism whether on the railroads in the less highly organised branches, in the stockyards, steel foundries, or, as was the case recently, in the shipping strike at the port of New York. The national and international executives of the Unions constituting the American Federation of Labour, for the most part do not sanction this discrimination against and exclusion of Negroes. But it is practised generally in the South and in the locals elsewhere. Negroes are made to distrust white organisations: they find that if they go on strike the jobs they relinquished are filled, at the settlement or resumption, by white men. The imposing pronouncements against discrimination promulgated by Unions and by the Federation of Labour are unheeded. Only the I.W.W. organisers, hounded and decried as they are, admit the Negro on equal terms.

III

The consequences of the exploitation of the Negro in agriculture, and of his being ground between the upper and nether millstone of industrial warfare, are to be seen in cities throughout the country. Cities are the scene of colour riots. They occur, often, as a consequence of the segregation of coloured and white populations. But there are other effects of segregation, not less serious, in bad housing and lighting in the Negro districts, inferior policing and sanitation. This is not true of the largest cities such as New York and Chicago, but in Chicago even, with its large voting coloured population, municipal administration when applied to paving, etc., is made contingent upon the use of the coloured vote in elections. Furthermore, in the cities there is an active discrimination against Negroes in many forms of employment.

It is from bad housing at exorbitant rentals that the Negro has suffered, especially in American cities. Where he is

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limited to an unofficially segregated district, his own people and white landlords overcharge him. When he migrates from the South in such numbers that his district expands and encroaches upon white territory, as was the case in Chicago, there is war. Property values fell precipitately as the Negroes moved into new neighbourhoods in Chicago, only to rise again as overcrowding brought large rentals. The white owners who sold their residences, parted with them, often at absurdly low prices, to real estate speculators whose interest it was to stimulate both the expansion of the Negro district and the terror and resentment of white people at the invaders. The situation was, of course, intensified by the industrial and manufacturing companies which "imported" southern Negroes and encouraged their migration.

The separation, which is becoming increasingly definite in American cities, between the white and the coloured groups of the population, is reflected in the Press. Attempts are constantly made to foster antagonism. A southern gentleman in an office of importance, told me in Atlanta that it was not fear of physical violence so much which prevented dissemination in the newspapers of the facts concerning race relations, but, as he believed, fear of decreased circulation.

In this way the white press of the South performs a function similar to that of the press in the North and West. All represent dominant classes. In the South, although many white persons live in a poverty and squalor quite as desperate as that of the Negroes, it is in the main the Negro who furnishes the element it is desired to exploit. In the North it is rare that any question involving labour, strikes, or the human aspect of industrialism is adequately or fairly reported. In the South, the underdog "proletarian" is the Negro.

Despite, then, the surviving sense of responsibility which many southerners feel for "their" Negroes, old family retainers or descendants of them; and despite the waning charm of personal relationships between master and servant, the colour problem is becoming one with the problem of freeing

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human beings, white or black, from abuse for money's sake. In this struggle the kindlier voices are silenced. Only a few valiant men like Hugh M. Dorsey of Georgia, Ashby-Jones, Wilmer and their associates on the Inter-Racial Councils throughout the South, are endeavouring to stem the tide of ignorant bitterness, are insisting on humane treatment of Negroes and recognition of their dignity as human beings. There is more decency in the South than finds expression. Here, as elsewhere in the United States, the newspapers are misrepresentative and constitute the chief instrument of power of a governing and possessing minority.

THE LABOUR STRUGGLE IN JAPAN

II

By T. NOSAKA

§ 4—*The Effects of the War: 1917-1918*

ONE thousand nine hundred and seventeen and the following years mark the turning point in the world history, not only because the Workers' Republic was for the first time established in Russia, but also because the enslaved classes in the Far Eastern countries have begun to awake from their long sleep. In Egypt, in India, in China, in Korea, we have seen the open rebellions of the toiling masses against the exploiting classes, both foreign and at home, at first in the form of riot and then in organised mass action.

In Japan this tide of proletarian revolt and organising movement synchronises with (1) an extraordinary development of industrial Capitalism, (2) a numerical increase of industrial workers, (3) an amazing advancement of prices, and (4) revolutionary ferments in Russia and Europe.

Without doubt the "European War" gave Japanese capitalists a golden opportunity for their expansion and adventure, while to European capitalists it meant a sword for their suicide. During the war Japanese Capitalism triumphantly invaded the huge markets of the Eastern countries, seized upon navigation on the western part of the Pacific and the Indian Sea, robbed the former German flash-houses in the South Sea for future large-scale piracy, and finally laid, with the sanction of the English Government, their avaricious hands on rich coal and iron fields in China. Everywhere Japanese and American exploiters have knocked their heads together and grappled together, leading both into another bloodthirsty war.

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At home, the centre of economic gravity passed from agriculture to commerce and industry. The iron and steel industry rose to the rank next to the textile. Financially, Capitalism has largely shaken itself free from British and American gold.

The extraordinary growth of economic power profoundly reacted on every direction of political and social life. The "heimin" (plebeian, bourgeois, or democratic) Cabinet (based on a political party—the Seiyu-kai—of the commercial and agricultural capitalists) took in 1918 the reins of the Government, practically ousting the emperor and the aristocrats from the political sphere, and depriving the militarists of their mighty power. The franchise was more and more extended in the poor middle class. The principle of "democracy" and "liberty" has been actively advocated by middle-class Liberals.

Thus "bourgeois Japan" was completely established.

It is an inevitable result that such a capitalist development has been accompanied with no less rapidity by the increase in number and power of its mortal enemy—the proletariat and semi-proletariat, whose social position is naturally bringing up class-consciousness and class-antagonism in their minds. The following table clearly shows the fact.

Year.	No. of Factories.	No. of Workers.
1905	9,776	689,750
1914	17,062	911,453
1916	19,299	1,157,540
1918	22,391	1,504,761

The economic prosperity caused extremely high prices of life necessities (particularly of rice prices), resulting in the reduction of real wages. The next table indicates the heavy pressure which "war prosperity" brought upon the life of the producing classes.

Year.	Index of General Prices.	Price Index of Rice.	Price Index of Cotton.	Index of Wages.	Difference.
1900	100 ...	100 ...	100 ...	100 ...	0
1914	126 ...	140 ...	119 ...	141 ...	+15
1915	117 ...	106 ...	103 ...	139 ...	+22

The Labour Struggle in Japan

Year.	Index of General Prices.	Price Index of Rice.	Price Index of Cotton.	Index of Wages.	Difference.
1916	136 ...	108 ...	129 ...	146 ...	+10
1917	191 ...	170 ...	268 ...	168 ...	-23
1918	277 ...	280 ...	318 ...	208 ...	-69
1919	294 ...	372 ...	506 ...	267 ...	-27

Every event produced by the Western workers is keenly responded to and soon followed by the Japanese workers. Above all, the proletarian revolution in Russia aroused a stormy enthusiasm, awakened in them a great hope, and drew them into the vortex of the world-wide revolutionary ferment.

But the influence of the Russian Revolution over the Japanese proletariat should not be over-estimated. The Japanese workers not only felt a great difficulty in getting the true news on Soviet Russia, but also they had been never well educated in the Socialist ideals.

With all these conditions Japan entered upon a period of great social and industrial unrest such as she had never seen in any of the foregoing periods. The following figures will show the astonishing increase of strikes since 1917.

Year.	No. of Strikes.	Members directly affected.
1900	11	2,316
1914	50	7,904
1915	64	7,852
1916	108	8,413
1917	398	57,309
1918	417	66,457
1919	497	63,137
1920	282	36,371

In August, 1918, this unrest burst out as the notorious "rice riot," at first in a hamlet and then spreading all over the country. Everywhere rice merchants were raided by hungry people; beautiful show-windows along the busy streets were smashed open. In Kobe and Osaka street fighting took place between rioters and military forces. The price of rice suddenly went down. But these wild risings were mercilessly suppressed by summoning armies and by the arrest of hundreds; and the fury faded away at the end of the month.

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It should be remembered that this event was not any sort of social revolutionary movement in character at all, but an unconscious and unorganised rebellion of the poorest masses against artificially high prices of rice particularly, and against the rich people generally. Not only the majority of industrial and organised workers did not take part in the "riot," but it entirely lacked revolutionary ideas and leaders. By saying so I do not imply that the "riot" ended without any effect. But, on the contrary, it has left a profound lesson to the Japanese working classes—by demonstrating the mighty power of mass action or violent force, against which the rich class was pitifully powerless, and by unmasking the real nature of the soldiers, who were ordered to level their rifles against their starving "brothers and sisters" instead of the foreign enemy.

§ 5—*The New Unionism*

SUCH a growing intensity of industrial disputes gave a fresh impetus to Trade Unionism—both to the re-organisation of the existing Unions and the creation of new Unions. This period of rapid growth took place in the year 1919. Both the Yuai-kai and the Shinyu-kai took on new life, and many new Unions were formed, spreading to the less industrial towns and the less skilled workers.

It is, however, to be remembered that along with the creation of real fighting bodies there increased such Unions as (1) Blackleg Unions, to keep away the employees from the real Unions or to crush the already existing organisations; (2) Yellow Unions, utilised by middle-class politicians for their political ambitions; (3) Unions specially formed for the purpose of electing the Labour Delegate to the Washington International Labour Conference.

Among the militant Unions formed during this period were the Koishikawa Labour Society (1,200 members), established by workers of the Tokyo Ordnance Factory, who carried out a strike for recognition, an eight-hour day and higher wages, leading to the calling out of the gendar-

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merie, the dismissal of a large number of the strikers and the arrest of twenty-three leaders; the Jujo-kai of employees of military powder mills; the Transport Workers' Union of tramway employees in Tokyo; the Miners' Federation of Japan (5,000 members) at the Ashio copper mines and elsewhere; and printing Unions in many towns.

Association also extended from the factory to outdoor workers, and from manual to brain workers. Unions developed covering dockers and carriers, agricultural workers, tailors, dyers, carpenters and cabinet makers, postal workers and clerks.

On the other hand, yellow and blackleg Unions rapidly increased everywhere. Most of them take the form of the workshop committee, openly or in secret, helped or created by the employer, both for the purpose of "promoting the intimate relation between master and employee," and of smashing the real workers' Union from inside. The Kokusui-kai (Nationality Society) is a type of such disgraceful bodies. It was formed in December by outdoor workers, led by political underlings, under the auspices of the Minister of the Interior. This makes a curious coincidence with the Okrana Union in Russia early this century. But the Japanese Okrana has been rendering better service to its patron than the Russian. In February, 1920, it did its best to break the great strike in the Yawata Iron Foundry, and now is carrying on a bloody counter-action against the Socialist and Communist movements.

Two developments during this time are worth noticing. One arose from the election by the Government of a former director of a big shipbuilding firm as a Labour delegate to the Washington International Labour Conference. This aroused huge demonstrations of protest, and did much to awaken the Japanese workers to begin to question "What is the State?" "What is the Government?" The agitation led also to a temporary unity for the first time among the various Unions, which took a more permanent form next year. The

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other development of special interest was the first case of organised (peaceful) sabotage carried on by all the workers (15,000) employed in the Kawasaki Dockyard in Kobe. Being led by the Yuai-kai, this ended in complete victory of the men after two weeks' fight, and also demonstrated a new fighting weapon to the Japanese workers. Since then peaceful sabotage, or go-easy, has become one of the popular methods of fighting, because it is safe from the Police Law which has been yearly throwing hundreds of strike instigators into prison.

§ 6—*Towards Solidarity*

THE later months of 1919 and the months of 1920 brought a heavy set-back to the Unions, with trade depression and increasing unemployment leading to a series of defeats. It was now that the time of trial of the strength of the Trade Unions came.

Almost all Unions, except non-fighting ones, experienced a big drop in membership and more or less a crippling of their fighting capacity, owing to the incessant arrests of able leaders, and economically exhausted scanty funds. Nevertheless, instead of raising the white flag, they turned, under the shower of bullets, from the offensive to the defensive, and commenced to combine all their powers against the triumphant enemy—to federate or amalgamate several Unions. At the same time, from the inside of their camp rushed out a squadron of daring vanguards—the "Left Wing" sections which I shall describe later. That is to say, the Japanese Labour movement has, through the hardest experiments, gained spiritually or qualitatively, while it lost numerically or quantitatively.

The new movement for the amalgamation or federation of separate Unions can be traced back to September, 1919, when a dozen Unions of different industries temporarily combined in Tokyo against the Labour Delegation of the Washington International Labour Conference. Since that

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time onwards, the important Unions took co-operative action; they worked shoulder to shoulder and helped each other in every emergency.

Then, in January, 1920, they acted jointly for their common claim—Universal Suffrage and the repeal of the Police Law. Again in May, they carried on a May Day Demonstration in Tokyo, which was the first May Day held in Japan. The time became ripe for uniting them in a concrete form. In the next month, the former Joint Committee of May Day, including most leading Unions led by the Yuai-kai and the Shinyu-kai, decided to come into a permanent organisation, called the Federation of Trade Unions. This was not a Federation in a narrow sense, but a joint committee for common purposes, industrial and political, consisting of the most advanced section of Unions in several trades and industries (metal, printing, transport, mining, tailoring, teachers, etc.) in and near Tokyo. Later friction arose due to the leading part played by the Yuai-kai in the Federation; in May, 1921, the Yuai-kai and all unions belonging to it decided to withdraw from the Federation of Trade Unions, thereby greatly weakening the Federation. In October, at the annual general meeting of the Yuai-kai, the whole situation caused by this withdrawal will come up for consideration.

In December 1920, a similar body was formed by fourteen Unions in Osaka, called the Western Federation of Trade Unions.

So far I have spoken of the federation of Unions in the different industries. It is of no less importance that the amalgamation of Unions of the same trade or industry has been swiftly in progress. For instance, the Jujo-kai and the Koyu-kai were amalgamated in March, called the Koyu-kai (Workers' Fraternal Society), and mainly composed of the employees in one of the ordnance factories in Tokyo. In July, a great fusion took place in the mining industry, three big bodies—the Miners' Department of Yuai-kai, the

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Miners' Federation of Japan and the National Miners' Union—were strongly incorporated in a single unit, the All-Japanese Miners' Federation, which is directly affiliated to the Yuai-kai. Later, a federation was effected between various seamen's Unions, led by the Yuai-kai; a similar attempt was successfully made in the printing industry by the Shinyu-kai and the Seishin-kai.

As a matter of course, the above-mentioned consolidations are not in a position to represent the whole of the working class all over the country. Such a body, however, is paramountly necessary. So a scheme was planned by the Yuai-kai at its Conference of 1920 to hold annually a big Congress of all existing Unions for the purpose of consulting on common problems. When this plan will be carried out in practice, the Congress should become a training ground in education for the working-class struggle.

§ 7—*The Revival of Socialism*

IN 1910, the year of the bloody execution, the Japanese propertied class succeeded in guillotining or imprisoning a number of Revolutionists, but could achieve no effects in massacring or imprisoning the Socialist ideas. Soon after the tragedy, Sakai* established the Baibun-sha (Sling-ink Society), both for the study of Marxism and for supporting the livelihood of colleagues. In 1914, the Baibun-sha started a monthly journal, *The New Society*. Naturally the society and its journal became a bond of Socialists scattered over the country and in foreign countries.

In 1916 Osugi† published a syndicalist journal, *The Modern Thought*, but it could not continue long.

* Toshihiko Sakai is a leader of Marxism, practically the chairman of the newly-formed Socialist Federation. Co-translator (with Kotoku) of Marx's and Engels' "Communist Manifesto," the translator of Kautsky's "Ethics and Materialistic Conception of History," Gorter's "Materialistic Conception of History," co-writer of "The Life of Karl Marx," etc.

† Sakae Osugi, Anarchist in his youth, then Syndicalist, and now the true leader of the Communist group. Writer and translator on Anarchism, Syndicalism, natural science, etc. The editor of *The Labour Movement*, weekly.

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A little later, there appeared a few small study groups of Socialist intellectuals and workers in Tokyo, among which the Hokufu-kai was prominent.

Taken on the whole, however, all those groups, papers, and activities were largely confined to the academic study of Socialist theory, and the masses of workers and their organisations were not touched by them. Poor, miserable and wretched, not materially alone, but mentally also, were the exploited peoples of this period.

Faced with the life-and-death struggles of the enslaved for their existence at home and the great example of the revolution in Russia, Socialism (especially Marxism), since early 1918, began to revive from a decade's enforced silence, to come out on the highway from its refuge or the dusty bookshelf.

One year from the summer of 1919 was that of the greatest crop of Socialist literature unprecedented in all the previous years. Translations, writings and papers on Socialism of all schools (Marxism*, Syndicalism, Guild Socialism, Anarchism, State Socialism, Fabianism, etc.) were published in a considerable amount by the Baibun-sha group of professors and journalists; some of them, however, being suppressed by the censor and some published in secret. At the same time, groups for the study and propaganda of Socialism sprang up everywhere. Intellectual quarrels took place between various schools.

Alarmed and frightened by the growing new tendency, the possessing classes hurried to exterminate all "dangerous thoughts" with the usual ruthless methods. Since early 1920, there appeared again the hysterical confiscation of "dangerous" papers and the arrest of Socialists; almost all revolutionary propaganda meetings were dispersed by police.

*Marx became so popular that the translation of his whole volumes of "Das Kapital" was attempted by three persons separately, and also the translation by a few professors of all his important works is in progress. His "Lohnarbeit und Kapital" was translated by a professor in this period.

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However, instead of extinguishing the revolutionary thought, this bourgeois terrorism resulted, firstly, in a hasty withdrawal of the counterfeit Socialists and Socialist Philistines from the stage, putting an end to the "popularisation" of Socialism, and justly leaving the victory in the hands of Revolutionary Socialists; secondly, in adding fresh fuel to the revolutionary fire, and in driving all revolutionists towards Communism. Studies of Communist theory and the fragmentary information about the real conditions in Soviet Russia through the foreign books and papers began to appear in all the Socialist papers. Although the propaganda or agitation for Communism is absolutely prohibited, it is being carried on by every possible means among workers, soldiers, policemen, and teachers with considerable results.

Thirdly, it met with a cynical effect in uniting those revolutionary elements into one solid army—the Socialist Federation of Japan,* which was, in the teeth of the authorities, openly formed in Tokyo, December, 1920, although it was practically founded three months before. The Federation is in form neither a Communist nor Socialist party possessing a certain definite programme, but merely a body calling together individual persons and groups which had a tendency of Revolutionary Socialism in a wider sense. But practically it was engineered and led by the Baibun-sha group and dominated by Communism. Therefore, the formation of the Socialist Federation is a preliminary proceeding to create a Communist Party at no very distant date.

Now, turning to the workers' side, the severest experiences of the class-struggle on the one hand, and the revolutionary propaganda on the other, threw a cold light on the

* The manifesto produced by the Organising Committee of the Socialist Federation was confiscated before distribution. December 10 was fixed for the inauguration, but, in anticipation of being broken up by the police, it was unexpectedly (to the police) held on the previous day. At the propaganda meetings on the following day not less than fifty Socialists were arrested under a charge of seditious action. The Federation claims 2,000 members over the country, publishing a monthly, *Socialism*: Address: 44, Ichome, Motozono-cho, Kojicnachi-Ku, Tokyo.

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minds of the oppressed. They gradually began to put their eyes upon the fundamental cause of their present agony, the Capitalist System, and upon the gospel of freeing themselves completely from the fetter of the system, Socialism or Communism. Thus, for the first time, Communism or Socialism rightly came down from being the monopoly of the intelligentsia into the possession of the proletariat themselves. To-day everybody can observe this new or revolutionary tendency in the Labour movement, as revealed in various declarations* of the Trade Unions, in their uncompromising attitude to the master classes, and in their deep hatred to Parliament.

In August, 1920, for instance, each leader of the Yuai-kai, the Shinyu-kai, the Seishin-kai, the Transport Workers' Union and Japanese Watch Makers' Union, worked as a member of the Organising Committee of the Socialist Federation. In December many rank-and-file members of Labour organisations joined the Federation. At the Conference of the Yuai-kai, in October, the "Left Wing," or the Direct Actionist, won in a debate—"Direct Action or Parliamentarism."

This is the latest tendency—the steady increase in power of the "Left Wing" inside the Trade Unions, though the great bulk of the masses have nothing to do with it. Whether this tendency will take more definite shape, and evolve in an acute Communist movement, of course depends largely upon the following achieved by the present Left-Wing leaders and Communists.

* * * * *

* For example: "Through the long and bitterest experiences, we, Japanese workers, learned that the function of Trade Unions is to strike at the nucleus of the Capitalist system. . . . Now the time is approaching when we shake off the yoke of the wage-slavery system—Capitalism."—(From *Labour*, the official organ of the Yuai-kai, published in January, 1921.) "Remember that our urgent demand—eight-hour day and other improvement of our conditions—is nothing more than a first step. . . . Our final aim is upon the complete overthrow of the present wage system itself."—(From *Fraternity*, the official organ of the Shinyu-kai, published in January, 1921.)

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The present prospect for 1921 is dark and gruesome. The economic situation shows no signs of recovering; the tyrannical class does not slacken the reign of terrorism.

In the past two years the toiling masses strove and fought, by common impulse, with all means for their existence. But everywhere they were ruthlessly beaten and defeated. Exhausted and despairing, they retreated to the last stronghold, behind which the abysmal Death Ravine deepens.

Now, they are standing on the cross-roads—more fight or the surrender to their enemy, the Social Revolution or Class Harmony.

In closing this account, I will quote a few words from a manifesto issued by the printers' Seishin-kai in January, 1921, in order to show the spirit and determination of the Japanese proletarian vanguards and also to show the road through which they are going to march.

"Twice we had to be knocked down—but only to get on to our feet again. Thrice . . . Our present silence is merely a short rest for the further fight, for rising up in full force, and for making our fight more vital, more serious, more 'red.' "

§ 8—*A Survey of Present Organisations*

IN order to understand the extent of the Japanese Trade Union movement, it is necessary to bear in mind: (1) that agriculture and semi-agriculture occupy nearly 60 per cent. of the population (56.5 millions); (2) that the handicraft and small-scale industries greatly dominate; and (3) that there is an extraordinary number of women labourers, chiefly employed in the textile industry (650,000 in factories and 700,000 small and home works) and other small-scale productions.

According to the latest official report (1918), we obtain the following figures in connection with a rough estimate of the so-called "organisable" workers, with complete exclusion of wage-earners engaging in distributive, domestic, clerical,

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and other similar services, outdoor (including building), and agricultural labourers.

- (1) Factory workers (factories employing over 10), 1,680,000 (855,000 men and 825,000 women).
 - (2) Transport workers (railwaymen, seamen, dockers, and postmen), 590,000 (560,000 men and 30,000 women).
 - (3) Miners, 465,000 (360,000 men and 105,000 women).
- Total, 2,735,000 (1,775,000 men and 960,000 women).

The total figure shows that there are nearly 3,000,000 of the industrial workers. But, as the Trade Union movement among the women workers is at present extremely insignificant, it is better to omit this section from our estimate for a moment. Thus, we arrive at the conclusion—only hypothetical—that about 2,000,000 of the manual male workers constitute the fundamental “organisable” basis of Trade Unionism.

Under such a transitional phase, nobody can tell exactly how many independent Unions exist in Japan and what membership they enlist. But if I do not make a mistake, from the statistics recently published in connection with all Labour organisations which existed at the end of 1919, I hypothetically estimate that the total number of Trade Unions in the modern sense certainly exceeded 100 Unions and 80,000 members, and probably did not reach 150 Unions and 100,000 members. As the aggregate number of male “organisable” workers was about 2,000,000, the membership of Unions numbered between 4.5 and 5 per cent. of all. This estimation may be moderately applied to the present condition.

Of those Unions, however, only one-third belong to the proletarian fighting bodies.

Although at a glance the present situation of the Trade Union movement in Japan seems confused and without unification, in reality the condition is not so. A few Unions are by far predominant in membership and power over others, and are always leading the whole movement; above all, the Yuai-kai stands unparalleled. Next come the Shinyu-kai, the

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Seishin-kai (both printers), the Transport Workers' Union, the Osaka Iron Workers' Union, and a few other Unions which affiliate to the Federation of Trade Unions both in Tokyo and Osaka.

Trade Unionism is specially concentrated in certain districts, such as : (a) Tokyo and Yokohama district, (b) Osaka and Kobe district, (c) Fukuoka district, and (d) Okaya district.

The industries in which Trade Unionism is mainly concentrated are the iron, steel, engineering and shipbuilding industries (the strongest and most disciplined section), printing (the most revolutionary section) and mining. Transport is weaker; the State railways make genuine Trade Unionism on the railways impossible (there is one exception, the Engine Drivers' Union), and the seamen's organisations are little more than labour exchanges and friendly societies. Textiles and agriculture are almost untouched. There is hardly any organisation of the women workers except for a few bodies of the Yuai-kai in Tokyo.

With regard to structure, it is rather a curious feature that craft Unionism is not very popular among the Japanese workers, and the existing Unions are for the most part constructed on the unit of the factory committee, including all grades of the employees. But it is inevitable in such an immature state that the members are, in fact, chiefly composed of the skilled workers.

Among the rest the Yuai-kai occupies a peculiar position in the Trade Union structure. Accordingly, it will be well to glance briefly at its constitution and strength. At the last Conference, it determined to become a federal body of Unions or Federations which are organised on the basis either of industry, trade, workshop or area, regardless of craft or skill. All units enjoy, as a rule, a great deal of autonomy. But in practice the Yuai-kai is more strongly united than a mere Federation. The Central Committee (elected at the Conference) has not only the right to order strikes to all affiliated

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bodies, but is always interfering in important businesses of the Unions. Where Unions or branches are massed, there is a Local Committee (Tokyo, Osaka, Kobe, etc.). From the administrative point, the country is divided into three wide District Committees (Eastern, Western, Kyushu), and two Industrial sections (All-Japanese Miners' Federation and Seamen's Union of Japan). At the present moment, it includes several industries and trades: iron, steel, ship-building, mining, shipping, textile and miscellaneous trades (tailoring, building, gum-producing, etc.). It claims 30,000 membership and 150 Unions or branches covering the whole country (from Hokkaido to Manchuria).

A word should be added on the legal position of Trade Unions. There is no law directly prohibiting the formation of the Trade Unions nor recognising them. Convinced of the impossibility of wiping out the workers' combination, the Government is now drafting a Bill which is expected to be brought forward at the session of the Diet in 1922, in order to restrict the sphere of labour movement and to destroy the true proletarian Union.

Although Japanese workers have never experienced such a brutal suppression of their own associations as the British workers did in 1800-1824, and the Russian in 1874, the Article 17 of Police Law (1900), which punishes the instigation of strikes is effective enough to hamper the Trade Union activities. The following official figures show how many strike leaders are thrown into prison every year by the Law:—

Year.	Imprisoned.		Strikes.	
	Cases.	Men.	Cases.	Strikers.
1914	5 ...	18	50 ...	7,904
1915	5 ...	64	64 ...	7,852
1916	12 ...	40	108 ...	8,413
1917	22 ...	138	398 ...	57,309
1918	31 ...	359	417 ...	66,457
1919	18 ...	119	497 ...	63,137
1920	22 ...	185	282 ...	36,371

Besides the above there are 2,086 strikers punished by the Criminal Law during the five years from 1916 to 1920.

THE WHITE TERROR IN JUGO-SLAVIA

RECENT reports in the Press have given some slight conception of the White Terror which is raging in Jugo-Slavia and which warrants comparison with the Horthy Terror in Hungary two years ago. The figure of those imprisoned or banished has been placed as high as fourteen thousand; Trade Unions have been broken up, Labour papers suppressed, and even wholesale co-operative societies dissolved.

The text of the Public Security Defence Law just passed (in August, 1921), which gives legal sanction to the Terror, deserves to be widely known. By this law an eighteen-year-old girl can be sentenced to death for distributing anti-militarist leaflets, or for being a member of a revolutionary organisation. This law was issued within less than six weeks of the adoption of the Jugo-Slav constitution by which it is proudly laid down (Article 9) that no one can be sentenced to death for political offences.

It is worth noting that the Western Powers have raised no protest against this Terror, and that the Jugo-Slav Government has expressed the hope that other countries will follow its example and sign an Anti-Communist Convention.

AN ACT FOR THE DEFENCE OF PUBLIC SECURITY AND ORDER.

§ 1.

The following acts will be considered as treason falling within the criminal law :

(a) To write, publish, print or distribute books, papers, posters or appeals, with intent to promote violence against the constitution, or in general, to disturb the public peace, or to endanger public order; further to carry on communist or anarchist propaganda, by words or by writings, or to persuade others that the present economic or social order ought to be changed by coup d'état, violence or any kind of terrorist means.

(b) To organise or support any association, or to be a member of

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any association which has for its aim to propagate communism, anarchism, terrorism, or the preparation or execution of murder, or the illegal and unparliamentary seizing of power, or in general anything mentioned in the previous point.

(c) To let, or to authorise the use of a room or building for an assembly of persons whose purpose is to prepare or carry out anything mentioned in the two previous points, if the person who granted the use of the room or building has known for what purpose it will be used.

(d) To form an organisation or association, or to carry on propaganda with the intention to cause revolt, riot or discontent amongst the soldiers, or to incite soldiers or civilians not to fulfil their military duties, or to prevent, hamper or restrict the production, repairs or transport of war material; further to prepare, attempt or cause damage or destruction to objects in the service of public communication, institutions or necessities, and in general to carry on anti-militarist propaganda.

(e) To be in any connection with any person or association abroad in order to receive from there any kind of support for the preparation of revolution, or violent transformation of the existing order or for any other action mentioned in the previous points.

(f) To produce or buy firearms, weapons or explosive material for the above-mentioned purposes, or to conceal them.

(g) To prepare, attempt or carry out the murder of any State functionary or political personality.

§2.

Every person who commits any action enumerated in Clause 1 of this Act is liable to be sentenced to death or to twenty years' penal servitude. The instruments of the crime are to be confiscated.

Every person who has knowledge of any action set out in Clause 1, and does not inform the State authorities, is liable to be sentenced to a maximum of twenty years' penal servitude.

To ensure the more rapid arrest of criminals, it is allowed to the respective authorities to hold domiciliary visits, even at night, if there is a necessity for this.

§3.

The civil authorities may ask military help from the nearest headquarters in order to ensure public security. If it happens in a particular crisis that their forces for safeguarding life and property are insufficient, detailed regulations about the disposal of military force will be prescribed by the Government Council.

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§4.

If in an emergency military force is sent into a municipality or district, the population of the municipality or district—each house corresponding to its material resources—has to feed the soldiers and to supply them with all necessities. The collection is to be carried out by the local council under the control of the Governmental and Police Authorities, and the collected articles to be handed over all together to the military force.

All other expenses arising out of the disposal of the military force are to be borne by the population ; but if order is rapidly restored they will be freed from the payment of these expenses, which will be borne by the State treasury, and those articles which had already been given to the military forces will be returned to them

Persons convicted for actions which caused the use of military force are liable to refund the expense caused to the State and population by the calling in of the army.

§5.

Upon the requirement of the Minister of Home Affairs, the Minister of the Army and Navy will allow a sufficient number of soldiers to go over into the service of the gendarmerie and to serve their terms in that body.

§6.

Drunkards, vagrants and persons leading an immoral life who cannot prove that they keep themselves in an honest manner are liable to be sentenced to three months' imprisonment, and besides this, as morally depraved persons, inclined to commit crimes, may be sent, after the fulfilment of their punishment, into an institution for compulsory labour. Persons under age, if they are not convicted, may be sent into reformatory institutions, where they may remain for not more than five years if they are under 16 years of age, otherwise till they attain their majority.

The Minister of Justice is empowered to promulgate a statute on the procedure in case of sending these persons into institutions for compulsory labour, or into reformatories if they are minors.

§7.

Every person is liable to be sentenced to penal servitude who produces explosive material or instruments for the production of it, who induces others to do this, who acquires, conceals or sells them, provided that he knows or has reason to know that they are destined to be used for the execution of any crime with the exception of those mentioned in Clause 1.

§8.

Every person empowered to keep explosive material who breaks

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the existing rules of the competent authorities and thereby causes any damage or danger to the property, life, or health of others is liable to be punished with hard labour, or in particularly light cases with imprisonment.

§9.

Every person violating the existing Acts concerning the production, importation and sale of gunpowder, firearms, dynamite and other explosive material is liable to be fined from 10,000 to 100,000 dinars according to the severity of the offence and to his financial position.

This fine may be imposed by the Court also in all cases mentioned in Clauses 7 and 8 of this Act, besides the punishment as fixed there, if this is thought to be in the interests of public order.

§10.

Civil Servants and clerks, workers in military undertakings, employees of recognised bodies, if they cease to carry on their duties in order to strike, either separately, in large groups, or all together, are liable to be imprisoned, and instigators and leaders are liable in addition to be fined 10,000 dinars.

The same punishment may be imposed upon those persons who by sabotage or passive resistance prevent the regular course of the service or work entrusted to them.

§11.

Every person attempting to prevent others from working is to be punished with six months' imprisonment, if his action cannot be taken as a more severe criminal case.

If such persons do not disperse immediately upon the order of the authorities of the place where they had assembled without permission, they are liable to be imprisoned for one year and to be fined 3,000 dinars as maximum punishment.

§12.

Every person is liable to be sentenced to at least one year's imprisonment and to a fine of 50,000 dinars, or to both punishments, who displays at indoor or outdoor meetings or anywhere else any sort of badge, flag or inscription, as signs of appeal or persuasion, in order to persuade public opinion that the existing order ought to be changed by revolution, the destruction of private property or the disturbance of public peace.

§13.

The simple presence at manifestations against the organised State Power, as stated in Clause 12, is to be punished with one year's imprisonment or with a fine of 3,000 dinars, or with both punishments.

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§14.

If the competent authorities have prohibited such, or any other manifestations directed against the interests of the State, those present who do not disperse at once upon the order of the authorities are to be sentenced to at least one year's imprisonment, and instigators and speakers who urge the rest not to go away also to a fine of 5,000 dinars.

§15.

The State Administrative Power shall dissolve any organisation if it finds that the association in question, whether a Trade Union or any other organisation, has changed its original aim, permitted by the law, and has begun to carry on openly or secretly an illegal or prohibited propaganda or activity. Against this decision the legal representatives of the association have the right of appeal to the Court of Justice within the next three days, and against the decision of this latter within the same term to the Court of Cassation.

The legal representatives of such dissolved organisations are liable to be sentenced for their illegal work to imprisonment of at least one year and to a fine of 5,000 dinars, if there is no more severe criminal action connected with their activity.

§16.

If anybody accused on the ground of Clause 46 of the Serbian Press Act is summoned and he hides himself, flees or in general is not in his domicile three days after the summons, and this is duly declared by the official report of the competent authority, the Court will not summon such a defendant through the Official Gazette, but all the decisions of the Court which are to be handed to him will be stuck on the house of his last stay or sojourn and on the tables of the Court, and this will be considered as valid regarding the terms.

§17.

With reference to Clause 20 of this Act it is to be considered in the future that Clause 58, Part 1, of the Serbian Press Act, as also the Press Acts of the other parts of the kingdom, have ceased to be valid as to crimes enumerated in this Act.

§18.

Persons, who are members of the Communist Party or of any other organisation prohibited by this Act, cannot perform any public service or function, nor can they be members of Parliament or of recognised bodies. The same members of the Communist Party cannot be employed in private undertakings or institutions which have special privileges from the State.

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Persons who perform at present such functions are to be dismissed on the coming in force of this Act.

Clerks and Civil Servants who will be dismissed on the grounds of this Act may appeal against the decision of the Minister to the State Council. The receipt of this appeal does not suspend the execution of the decision.

§19.

All the criminal cases based on this Act are to be dealt with as urgent cases before any others, and the judges have to give their sentence upon their free judicial conviction.

The general part of the Serbian Criminal Law (Clauses 1 to 81) is not to be taken into consideration for criminal cases based upon this Act. Notwithstanding Clause 58 of the Serbian Criminal Law, any person who has attained 18 years of age at the time of the offence may be sentenced to death for an offence falling under this Act.

§20.

All Acts of the General Criminal Law, as also other Criminal Acts, Press Acts, Association Acts, etc., at variance with this Act, are not to be taken into consideration so long as this Act will be in force.

SHORTER NOTICES

THE FASCISTI-SOCIALIST TREATY IN ITALY

THE following is the text of the Treaty which has been concluded between the Fascisti and the Socialist Party in Italy on August 3, 1921. The Communist Party took no share in the negotiations or the agreement.

§1. It is understood that the official communiqué of July 28,* which settles the question raised by the Fascisti concerning the relations between the Socialist Party and the Communist Party, is hereby confirmed.

§2. The five parties undersigned pledge themselves to take immediate action to put an end to all threatenings, acts of violence, reprisals, punishment, revenge, intimidation and acts of personal violence.

§3. The emblems, badges and flags of either party will be respected. On this point the question of displaying flags on public buildings has been raised, but the president (M. de Nicola) has pointed out that the solution of this matter is under the jurisdiction of the Government and Parliament and cannot be decided by agreements between political bodies.

§4. The parties give a mutual undertaking to respect economic organisations.

§5. Any action or behaviour liable to be interpreted as a violation of this present agreement, will henceforth meet with disapproval and censure by both parties. The Socialist Party disassociates itself from the organisation and activity of the Arditi of the People, as is obvious from the constitution of the latter, which declares their organisation to be independent of all political parties.

§6. Any infringement of this agreement will be referred to arbitrators, who will publicly determine responsibility.

§7. To carry out this the political and economic organisations of either party will set up in each province an Arbitration Committee composed of two representatives of the Socialist Party and two of the Fascisti, with a president chosen by agreement, or, failing that, by the President of the Chamber of Deputies. If in the fortnight following the establishment of the agreement the various parties have not appointed their representatives on the Arbitration Committee the nomination of these latter will rest with the undersigned.

§8. Any local agreements entered into and not in accordance with the present treaty are annulled.

§9. Both parties agree not to oppose by violence the resumption of legally established responsibilities on the part of those who have been compelled by force to resign from public positions.

* This communiqué of July 28 is a declaration of the Socialist Party announcing their solidarity with the Communist Party in case of the continuance of the attacks of the Fascisti against the latter, but only in that case.

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§10. Both parties reciprocally pledge themselves to restore all objects and possessions of value, belonging to organisations or persons, which have been seized by organisations or persons from the opposite side.

§11. The undersigned invite their Party Press on either side to submit to and conform with the regulations of this agreement, so that the object in view may be more easily attained. All proceedings are made public through the Press, in the hope that, in the present crisis, this common pledge of peace will be understood and obeyed by everyone.

Rome, in the Parliamentary President's room at Montecitorio, August 3, 1921.

Signed: Benito Mussolini, Cesare Maria de Vecchi, Giovanni Giuriali, Cesare Rossi, Umberto Pasella, Gaetano Polverelli, Nicola Sansanelli, for the National Council of the Fascisti and the Fascisti Parliamentary Group; Giovanni Bacci, Emilio Zannerini, for the Executive of the Italian Socialist Party; Elia Musatti, Oddino Morgari, for the Socialist Parliamentary Group; Gino Baldesi, Alessandro Galli, Ernesto Caporali, for the General Confederation of Labour; Enrico de Nicola, President of the Chamber of Deputies.

METAL WORKERS' ANTI-WAR DECISION

THE following resolution was passed at the International Congress of Metal Workers at Lucerne on August 8 to 14, 1921:—

The ninth Congress of International Metal Workers reminds all affiliated societies of the resolution passed at the eighth Congress, held at Copenhagen on August 23, 1920, which sums up its attitude towards war thus: "That it recognises the community of interest amongst all workers, and, in solidarity with the Amsterdam Trade Union International, the eighth Congress of Metal Workers invites workers of all countries to prove their solidarity with their fellow workers by refusing to make arms, munitions or any kind of war material; further, to watch all orders for such work, and to support transport and rail workers in their refusal to carry troops, arms and munitions."

The ninth Conference assembled at Lucerne reaffirms this section of the Copenhagen resolution, and invites metal workers of all countries to carry on the struggle against Capitalism and Militarism in conjunction with the working-class as a whole, so that munition workers may be able to be employed in constructive work of service to humanity and in the interests of the working-class.

For this reason the Congress insists on all affiliated bodies intensifying their propaganda to transform gradually the work of war factories to that of peace work.

It therefore authorises the international secretariat to undertake inquiries to ascertain: How many workers of each nation are at work on munitions and other war materials.

The ninth Congress determines that all nations should regard it as their duty to furnish the International Secretariat of Metal Workers with particulars of the materials manufactured, whether they are cartridges,

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guns, cannons, aeroplanes, airships, etc., at the same stating the number of workers thus engaged and the strength of their organisations.

In addition, the Congress repeats the text of the Copenhagen resolution to the effect that

“All metal workers of the world are called on to respond to any appeal of the Amsterdam Trade Union International in support of anti-war action.”

The Congress reaffirms this resolution, being convinced that the return of war can only be averted through the unity of the workers and their determination to persevere in this struggle.

CO-OPERATION IN RUSSIA 1919-1921

THE famous Moscow Centrosoyus, to which are federated all the Co-operative Unions in Russia, has recently published a statistical account of its work in 1919, together with preliminary accounts for 1920 and 1921. The membership in 1919 consisted of 332 large Unions of Co-operative Societies. (Separate societies are not admitted as members.) In 1919 the turnover on trading operations amounted to 1,544,394 thousand roubles and the resulting gross profit was 98,889 thousand roubles. On warehouse operations the turnover was 5,669,643 thousand roubles, with a gross profit of 429,316 thousand roubles. Products to the value of 249,005 thousand roubles were manufactured by co-operative enterprise. Expenditure on non-commercial activities amounted to 15,768 thousand roubles, including here expenses on propaganda and educational work.

In 1920 the trade turnover was 9,067,051 thousand roubles. Of this the provincial Co-operative Unions were responsible for 5,570,058 thousand roubles, and government institutions for 3,115,336 thousand roubles. The activity on the industrial side is shown by their manufacture of goods to the value of 528,879 thousand roubles. A special section for small-scale production was established in 1920, which produced goods to the value of 192,086 thousand roubles. A separate section was also organised for village industry. Its turnover on seed-stuffs amounted to 87,136 thousand roubles, and on agricultural machinery, fertilisers, etc., to 6,124 thousand roubles.

The preliminary figures for the first four months of 1921 show that the trade turnover during this period was 1,244,329 thousand roubles. The manufacture of goods is recorded at 312,623 thousand roubles. In the section for village industry the turnover increased to 870,851 thousand roubles, while for agricultural machinery, etc., the amount was 1,482 thousand roubles.

As an example of the wide field now covered by the Co-operative movement the following particulars are given of one of the large

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Unions—the Moscow Provincial Union of Workers' and Peasants' Consumers' Societies. This embraces all distributive and credit Co-operative Societies of the Moscow province, and forms a large organisation serving a population of over two millions, of which about 20 per cent. are industrial workers and 70 per cent. peasants. The Union possesses 213 large shops under the control of 20 regional sections of the Union. In 1920 it distributed 14 million arshins* of manufactures, as well as various goods to the value of more than 100 million roubles. It carries on an enormous work in the production of food-stuffs. During the last food campaign it produced 35 million food products of various sorts from rye and bread-stuffs to butter, berries and fruits, the total value being 1,300 million roubles. At present the Moscow Union is undertaking the production of food products to the value of 8,000 million roubles, including 400,000 poods of fresh cabbage, 100,000 poods of potatoes, 25,000,000 cucumbers and 25,000 poods of various vegetables. The Union owns drying works, sausage factories, flour mills, brickworks, etc., and possesses also its own transport facilities, including 20 heavy motor lorries.

CIVIL SERVANTS AND WORKERS IN GERMANY

AN agreement has been drafted between the German Civil Servants' Federation (which was founded in December, 1918), the Association of Trade Unions of Staff Employees (A.F.A.) and the General Federation of Trade Unions. The text of this agreement runs:—

In order that the common interests of workers, staff employees and Civil Servants may be effectually represented, the undersigned Federations agree upon the following terms, whilst maintaining their full independence and excluding all party, political and religious tendencies:

1. The three Federations pledge themselves and their affiliated Unions to co-operate for the protection of the common interests of the workers. Each body shall carry out its own programme. Decisions concerning common action shall be reached by agreement.

2. All the Unions included acknowledge mutually their various spheres of organisation, and will refrain from interference by agitation with the membership of the rest. Disputes regarding organisation shall be settled by friendly mediation and existing disagreements removed as quickly as possible.

3. The Unions included place themselves on the basis of the democratic Republican constitution. They pledge themselves to resist with determination any violation and any illegal alteration of this con-

* 1 arshin = 28 inches.

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stitution in the Realm or the Federal States, but will tolerate without question every political and religious conviction in the ranks of their members.

4. The members' position as employees and consumers shall determine the attitude towards economic questions and the common influence to be exercised on economic policy by the Unions of Civil Servants, staff employees and workers. The first principle in economic policy shall be that the general good shall always be considered before private interests.

5. This agreement shall be binding likewise upon the local and provincial organisations of the Federation included, as well as upon the specialist groups within the affiliated Unions in so far as Civil Servants, staff employees and workers are under the same employers in works and administrative departments.

BOOK REVIEWS

FRANCE IN REVOLT

Le Couteau entre les Dents. Henri Barbusse. Clarté, 16 rue Jacques Callot, Paris.

Les Chercheurs d'Or. Pierre Hamp. Nouvelle Revue Française, 35 rue Madame, Paris.

Reflexions sur l'Avenir Syndical. Pierre Monatte. Bibliothèque du Travail, 144 rue Pelleport, Paris.

Le Contrôle Ouvrier et les Comités d'Ateliers. Theo Argence et Auguste Hercllet. Bibliothèque du Travail, 144 rue Pelleport, Paris.

THE France of Zola and of Victor Hugo is as dead as the France of Voltaire, Danton and Robespierre, and the Third Republic is hardly less of a monarchy than the Third Empire. For patriotism there is a hatred of Germany, and for religion there is (after fifteen years of separation) a rapprochement with Rome. But against the France of Maurice Barrès, of Raymond Poincaré, of the "Action Française," of the shameless, half sentimental, half sinister exploitation of the "Unknown Soldier" and of the paganism-in-pyjamas type of variety entertainment exemplified by "Je Veux Coucher avec Nini," a few heroic minds have groped upwards through terror and darkness towards another French ideal. From his high refuge in the Alps, Romain Rolland, rejecting the France of the little shopkeeper, the newspaper politician, the *rentier* and the speculator on the Bourse, projects into this twentieth century his vigorous peasant, his Colas Breugnon, of the sixteenth. And from his invalid's cottage near Senlis, Henri Barbusse, that other high pinnacle of pure and generous French thought, lightens the dark horizon like a volcano, with sudden flames of pity and of anger for the misery, the childishness, the little corrupt lives, the obscure hatreds and follies of the Frenchmen on the plain.

What Gorky says of Tchekov, in his Reminiscences of the Russian writer, might well be said of Barbusse—he faces the mean-living men of his day and says to them, with anger and yet with compassion, "It is shameful to live so." For, to the intellectuals of his generation, in his latest work, "Le Couteau entre les Dents," Barbusse, the knife of Communism well and firmly wedged between his teeth, says in effect: "It is shameful to think so," or rather "It is shameful to refuse to think." In this little book, issued by the Clarté group, the proud and nervous mind of Barbusse has made an appeal to men of his own period in letters and art that has all the freshness, the sincerity, and the poignancy of Kropotkin's famous "Appeal to the Young." Barbusse rebukes the writers and scientists for their intellectual com-

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placency in believing themselves free in having rejected labels and definitions. "You believe yourselves supreme," he cries in his nervous and indignant despair, "because Thought has sprung from your loins. But your child is now stronger than you. There is behind you a living flood which will uproot the foundations of life itself; which, daily gathering volume and energy, will one day engulf you." For the Revolution, whose phantom the conventionalised intellectuals of to-day regard with perturbation, anger and terror, is but the expression and the power of Thought, to which they have, all their lives, rendered confused homage.

There is, in no language, so formidable a series of epic novels on life under wage-slavery as that written by the Frenchman, Pierre Hamp, under the noble general title "The Travail of Men." The intellectual pedigree of Pierre Hamp is, in the manner of the stock-breeders, *out of Capitalism by Zola*. But unlike his literary sire, he is still troubled by melancholy clanking fetters that he has never entirely succeeded in shaking off. All his youth has been spent, as a manual worker at many trades, under the shadow and daily menace of the industrial system. And the iron of machinery, the dirty grey of ledgers, and the smoke of the chimneys of Industrialism are so in his eyes and nostrils that he can spare little pity for Man the individual, overwhelmingly preoccupied as he is with Man and Machinery in the mass.

The seventh novel in Pierre Hamp's epic series, "Les Chercheurs d'Or"—"The Treasure Seekers" as it has been too picturesquely rendered in the title of the English translation—is probably the worst book M. Hamp has ever written, chiefly I imagine because in it he has got out of his own world, into a world in which he is bewildered, indignant and contemptuous. He writes of Vienna, the lost city of Europe; Vienna the prey of disease, hunger and death, and of worse than these, the little grey, greedy men, the traders of all nations who have descended upon it to exploit—to buy everything beautiful and costly, cast off by a despairing people in exchange for bread; to mortgage the slave labour of Austria for generations to come, in return for a little present aid; to feast greedily upon the harvest of Death, and to quarrel among themselves in the feasting, like the ghouls they are. It is a bad book, but a terrible one: ugly but remorseless like a cheap photograph, in which all the high lights are dirty, and all the shadows ink.

Few Trade Unionists in England, unhappily, possess—with all his conviction of what may be called "the essential minority"—the serenity, the smiling good temper of Pierre Monatte, the leader of the Left Wing in the French industrial movement. These republished reflections on the future of Trade Unionism, written in

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1917 by candlelight in the front-line trenches, or in rest-billets hardly less uncomfortable, amid the major and the minor noises of war (the snoring of one's comrades figuring not unimportantly among the latter), reveal very affably and as it were confidentially the strange serenity of a mind so essentially combative. Monatte insists in these articles (written before the formation of the famous C.S.R. or Revolutionary Trades Union Committees) on the encouragement of a far-seeing and energetic minority, and emphasises (in the pre-Lille preface to the little volume) the importance of preserving the C.S.R. as a critical Left Wing even if the present Left Wing should have gained the victory at the recent Lille Congress of the C.G.T., and the minority of Monatte should have become the majority.

In the same series of very handy "Labour Notebooks," as the publications of the Bibliothèque du Travail are called, is the pamphlet on Workers' Control and Shop Committees, written by Theo Argence and Auguste Hercllet, a very able exposition of the project, conceived as a revolutionary and more particularly a post-revolutionary weapon of Labour, and not as the merely reformist scheme of industrial development advocated in the latest programme of the French Confederation of Labour. This subject, by the way, deserves adequate treatment in English, and in a popular form.

GEORGE SLOCOMBE.

THE LITERARY REMAINS OF LASSALLE

Ferdinand Lassalle. Nachgelassene Briefe und Schriften. Edited by Dr. Gustav Mayer. Vol I. 64 marks. Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, Stuttgart, 1921.

LASSALLE, the founder of the German Working-class Movement in 1863, was killed on August 31, 1864, in a duel near Geneva. His literary remains he bequeathed to his lifelong friend, the Countess Hatzfeldt, the mother of Prince Hatzfeldt, one time German Ambassador in London. The latter, evidently ashamed of the relations of the spirited lady with the famous Socialist agitator, had the papers stowed away in the loft of the family mansion near Wiesbaden, and obstinately refused to surrender them for purposes of publication. Tens of years passed; the Countess and the Prince went the way of all flesh; Lassalle's extant works were published and re-published; German Social Democracy grew by leaps and bounds; then, in the wake of the Great War, came the upheaval of November, 1918, which appeared to usher in the triumph of Socialism. Gustav Mayer, who, since 1892, had searched and vainly applied for the missing literary remains of Lassalle, tried again, travelled to Wiesbaden, and this time succeeded in obtaining from the Hatzfeldts the coveted boxes with the papers—just a few hours prior to the occupation of Wiesbaden and the Hatzfeldt mansion by the

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victorious French military. Verily, books have their own adventures!

The first volume has just been published, containing mainly the letters of Lassalle as a student at the Berlin University, 1841-1844. They are of infinite charm to those who enjoy the spectacle of the unfolding of a great personality, as well as of absorbing interest to those who study the beginnings of German Socialism and its rise from Hegelian philosophy. Our admiration for the immense intellectual power of young Lassalle grows progressively with our reading of his letters. He was not precocious; he was a man, a full-grown man, bodily and mentally, at the age of eighteen. His superabundant political energies required a stage of Western European dimensions, while fate riveted him to the narrow, jagged Prussian rock of the 'forties, which bruised and lacerated him in body and soul the more he pressed against it for freedom and light.

He provoked opposition, courted danger, from sheer delight of having to fight and to overcome it. A born gladiator, he had to interrupt his public-school studies in his Silesian native town, Breslau, and to attend a commercial college at Leipsic, from where he escaped and prepared for his final public-school examination in order to enter the University. He had to fight for his leaving certificate which would entitle him to matriculation. And the Jewish boy bombarded the Prussian Minister of Education with petitions and letters until he obtained what he wanted. He entered the Breslau University in 1841, and soon found himself at the head of the rebellious youth who spread the literature and views of "Young Germany." In 1842 he removed to the Berlin University and plunged headlong into Hegelian philosophy, the rugged melody of which charmed him, as it had proved, some five years before, irresistible to Karl Marx. He came under the spell of the Hegelian theory concerning the dialectical evolution of Nature and society, and it soon flashed upon his mind that the development of manufacture and commerce marked the preliminary stage to Communism. The letters addressed by him, in the midst of his wrestling day and night with philosophical and social problems, to his father or to his friends, on the interpretation of manufacturing and commercial movements in the light of Hegelian dialectical evolution, betray a highly disciplined and most vigorous intellect. The upheaval of the Silesian weavers in 1844 he interpreted, in one of the letters to his bewildered father, as the "initial movements and convulsions of Communism which, theoretically and practically, fills and permeates our views."

This first volume intensifies our regret that Marx, while in some contact with Lassalle since 1848, never cordially responded to the overtures of the latter to act together and to assist one another in the work of propagating Communism. It is, of course, true that Lassalle was not a materialist in the Marxian sense, and that he remained a

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Hegelian idealist, believing in the parallelism of the evolutionary processes of the Idea and the material world, whereby the Idea was the primary power. Still, Lassalle was ready to learn from Marx, and wooed for his *amor intellectualis*, but, unfortunately, never succeeded in entering into closer relations with him. The fault lay, in my opinion, largely with Frederick Engels, who prejudiced Marx against Lassalle, as it is plainly evident from the correspondence of Marx and Engels.

M. BEER.

THE OLD WILSONIANS

The Defeat in the Victory. By George D. Herron. Cecil Palmer. 7s. 6d. 1921.

IN whatever shades or purgatory await our public men after the completion of their labours, a special circle should be reserved for the Old Wilsonians. There, in congenial association, far removed from the harsh clamours of an unheeding world, all the distinguished Liberal and Socialist leaders who ran after the great Will o' the Wisp, could sit together and make moan over the irrecoverable past, gibbering their strange formulas or fluttering after some new phantom. And over them would be written the inscription: "*These to-day suffer anguish, because they put their faith in an idea.*"

It is always cruel to criticise the Liberal, because he is at once so pathetic and so grotesque. Professor Herron, the publisher's note tells us,

. . . is one of those influential men, those "éminences grises" as the French call them, who are the leaders of those who seem to be the leaders. Just what work he was doing during the great war is not known, for it was a work done in the background behind the stupendous scenes of the world-drama. And Mr. Herron will never tell, never betray a confidence. But this much is certain that tremendous issues passed through his hands during the war, and that much unwritten history was made in his house at Geneva. Here the official and unofficial envoys of all nations met; here even the members of enemy peoples exchanged their views; here—and that in spite of Prof. Herron's open partisanship for the Allied cause—the basis was laid for an honest peace, for an understanding between the nations that was to be lasting and that should put an end to the ghastly flood of warfare and vituperation. For Prof. Herron was a supporter of President Wilson and his generous and (with goodwill) entirely practical idea of the League of Nations.

So the gallant story opens, and then, like a study in Nemesis, comes the tragic conclusion:

But Prof. Herron was in a specially unfortunate position. Having come into contact with the representatives of so many nations, he had almost created a Wilson faith and pledged them to all the people of Europe and even with Western Asia. And now came the sudden disaster: Wilson's complete checkmate of the Peace Conference of Paris. With all his hopes shattered and all his fears substantiated, Prof. Herron stood

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in face of a bankruptcy which was all the more real, as all his ideals were involved in it. A grave illness, a complete nervous breakdown, was the consequence in this brave man's case, as in that of President Wilson. The present book, written in convalescence, is the expression of Prof. Herron's disappointment.

It is a cruel story, the old story of Liberalism at war with reality, and no heart can fail to be touched by it. And then, when one opens the book, the pathos suddenly disappears and gives place to the grotesque, as one discovers once again the Liberal in all his wordy self-inflation. For Professor Herron is the sort of man who sends telegrams like this :

A TELEGRAM TO THE PRESIDENT.

Le Retour, Geneva, Switzerland,

July 5, 1918.

Dear Mr. President,

My unhesitating and urgent answer to your crucial question is altogether affirmative.

Professor Herron is of those who proclaimed to the American recruits of 1917 :

In marching against the German, you march to the spiritual rescue of the race.

And when he found the peace was not what he expected, he has to talk of it like this :

It is a peace so atavistic in its psychology, that Julius Cæsar, had he been able to look upon so ignominious a result of twenty centuries of human continuity, would have stood aghast at the base futility of man.

Similarly, when in 1918 he wished to impress upon President Wilson the importance of the British Labour Party, our "éminence grise" gave vent to the following :

The new Labour Party, as it is now organised, includes the best intellectual life of England, and the real English democracy. Such men as Professor Gilbert Murray and John G. Hobson (the greatest living political economist) are among its members. England is absolutely in the hands of this party. The British working-class exists only by the Labour Party's sufferance. Completely organised, splendidly poised, it only bides its time, concentrating its first energies upon the war against the monstrous German. The moment the war is ended, this party will take possession of England.

Alas, poor Liberalism, pathetic alike in its facile optimism and its headlong despair, and childish in both.

It is hardly necessary to add that Professor Herron strongly disapproves of Marx. Marx, he finds, "drove spiritual impulse and also democracy from Socialist doctrine and propaganda." Marx, in fact, was not like President Wilson.

R. P. D.

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