

**THE
COMMUNIST REVIEW**

“The present position which we, the educated and well-to-do classes, occupy, is that of the Old Man of the Sea, riding on the poor man’s back; only, unlike the Old Man of the Sea, we are very sorry for the poor man, very sorry; and we will do almost anything for the poor man’s relief. We will not only supply him with food sufficient to keep him on his legs, but we will teach and instruct him and point out to him the beauties of the landscape; we will discourse sweet music to him and give him abundance of good advice.

“Yes, we will do almost anything for the poor man, anything but get off his back.”—Tolstoy.

THE COMMUNIST REVIEW

Published by the Workers' Weekly Publishing Co.

Volume 6

APRIL 1926

Number 12

C O N T E N T S

Editorial View - - - - -	533
The Class War <i>H. Sara</i> - - - - -	538
The Negro Arrives <i>D. Ramsay</i> - - - - -	543
The Communist International at Work <i>R. W. Robson</i>	546
Batuschka : Poem <i>Thomas Bailey Aldrich</i> - - -	553
Divide and Conquer <i>Emil Burns</i> - - - - -	554
The House of Commons <i>S. Saklatvala, M.P.</i> - - -	559
Britain Annexes the Sudan <i>J. Crossley</i> - - -	564
Song of the Lower Classes <i>Ernest Jones</i> - - -	569
Soviet Russia and the Co-operative Movement - - -	570
Book Reviews - - - - -	576

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

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

Subscription Rates. HOME & ABROAD—Single copies, 6 months, 2s. 9d. postpaid. One year 5s. od. postpaid.

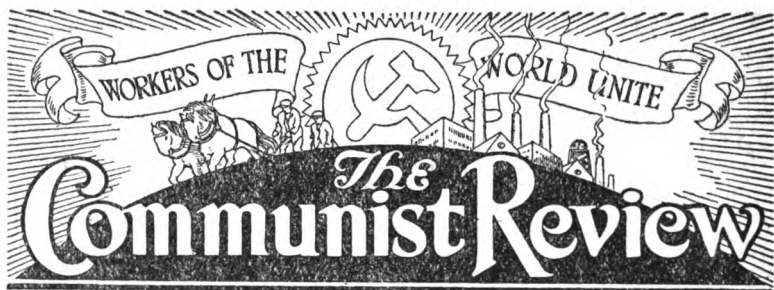
Bundle Orders. Home & Abroad, 12 cops. 3/- postpaid sale or return.

Father Vvedenski, Head of the "Living Church" :

"You say you are descended from a monkey. And we, we say we are the children of God. Very well. That proves each of us knows his true ancestors better than anybody else does."

Lunacharsky, Commissioner of Public Instruction :

"Agreed. But place me beside a monkey and you will be forced to recognise that from the monkey to me is a formidable advance. But you, who class yourself in the image and likeness of God—put yourself by the side of the All-Powerful, and it will be quite clear, miserable creature that you are, that you bear but slight resemblance to Him."



THE EDITORIAL VIEW

COAL—AND POWER.

THE strategy of capitalism against the workers continues to develop, and the Report of the Coal Commission is an example of the consummate skill of those in charge of capitalism's General Staff. To get a correct perspective of the situation it is necessary to view the Report, not as an isolated document dealing with a specific industry, but as part of a plan to demoralise the whole working class movement and make victory for the employing class easier to achieve.

There is nothing in the recommendations of the Report which deserves the support of the working class, but there is in the Report a very clever attempt to destroy united action for its rejection. There is much more evidence of the Commission members' understanding of the weaknesses of the official Labour movement than there is evidence of knowledge of the coal trade. The members of the Commission were, as a matter of fact, chosen not because they represented the coalowners as such, but because they were experienced and loyal representatives of capitalism as a whole.

* * * * *

It is recommended that the subsidy be stopped. This will meet with the unanimous approval of that august body known as the taxpayers, who, being all body and no head, invariably support any and every appeal for "economy" in public expenditure. It will also have the approval of all those who exist by extracting profits out of industry other than mining. These all along have resented the necessity of supporting one industry at the expense of others. But all recognise the need for keeping the coal industry going. Here is where the Report becomes exceedingly interesting to the miners and the working class generally.

The cost of production must come down. How else is the deficit to be met? Obviously if the industry is to be self-supporting in the future; if profits are to be assured; if foreign competition (intensified, by the way, by the introduction of the subsidy) is to be met; if the demands for cheaper coal by other industries are to be satisfied, there is only one means of meeting the deficit, and that is by throwing the burden on the workers. When that is borne in mind there is really no need for the miners (and their wives) to take A. J. Cook's advice to study the Report. Commonsense is all that is required.

* * * * *

More efficient management and up-to-date methods are recommended by the Commission. That means speeding-up, and to ensure that not only management, but men contribute to this end it is suggested that day-workers consider the desirability of accepting piece rates. To make this more palatable profit-sharing is suggested. At first glance it is difficult to see how profit-sharing in an industry with no profits (see the owners' statement to the Commission) is expected to be an attraction to the miners. As a matter of fact it is intended, not to appeal to the miners—who understand perfectly well what is behind profit-sharing—but to that section of illogical sentimentalists who have recently come into the Labour movement. It is part of the tactic of alienating possible supporters of the workers.

* * * * *

Transport and distribution have also been considered. Perfectly reasonable the proposals appear and calculated to command the support of all who pride themselves on their business capacity. But this proposal means eventually, if found to be practicable, throwing thousands of transport workers out of employment. The municipal distribution of coal is a recommendation specifically meant for the muddle-headed "gradualists" who, for even this sop, would appeal to the miners to sacrifice something in the interests of "progress."

Particularly dangerous is the proposal that five days instead of six should be the rule. The recommendation is that, to make up the Saturday, nine hours should be worked for two days of the week and eight hours for three days. Again an apparently harmless suggestion. Bitter experience, however, shows that this is only the prelude to eight or nine hours for every day of the week. If possible for two or three days, why not for five?

* * * * *

Reduction of wages is, of course, an essential part of the programme, and that question is approached also with a view to creating division. Only certain categories are to be singled out. Settlements are to be carried out by district agreements—that means pitting district against district and destroying the power of the Federation. And then comes the shadow to counter-balance the substance—a recommendation to the employers that holidays should be paid for “if and when industry stabilises itself,” new houses “if and when new pits are opened” or “if and when otherwise possible.” If and when!

There is no reason for a revision of the Communist Party's attitude on the crisis. Nothing has emerged from the Report to justify optimism regarding the future of the men and women engaged in the coal industry. Conflict on a national, possibly an international, scale is inevitable sooner or later. The trade union and political leader who does not see this is hopelessly deficient in understanding. The rank and file must see to it that everything possible is done in preparation for battle. Complete solidarity must be our slogan.

* * * * *

THERE is very little evidence to show that the “leaders” of the working class are anxious to shoulder the responsibility of leadership in times of struggle. On the contrary, there is every evidence of reluctance to engage in any activity which is likely to interfere with their personal comfort. On this the reply of the E.C. of the Labour Party to the Communist Party's invitation for joint action against the capitalist offensive is illuminating.

The Communist Party's communication specified four points upon which united action was imperative: Nationalisation of the Mines propaganda, a living wage for miners, 100 per cent. trade unionism and Workers' Defence against O.M.S. and Fascism.

In view of the crises existing and impending these seem reasonable grounds for the pooling of the resources of Left, Centre and Right, but the Labour Party Executive refuses to accept the suggestion on the grounds that the National E.C. was working in conjunction with the General Council of the T.U.C. and the Executive of the Miners' Federation. When *they* express a desire for action the E.C. of the Labour Party will “readily co-operate” with them. The question of 100 per cent. unionism falls into the same category. On the fourth question (defence against Fascism) their committee, they say, has taken and will continue to take such action as is considered necessary. This last is a gem!

We read this letter with a shrug of the shoulders, scarcely expecting anything better from the Eccleston Square pundits, and turn, with perhaps a little more hope, in the direction of the General Council. But here also rot has set in, possibly as a result of the return to the Council of a number of hopeless reactionaries. Just at the moment when everything points remorselessly to the need for consolidation of the forces of the working class under one leadership, the General Council issues a communication to all affiliated organisations stating that it is felt that there is no immediate necessity for any extension of its powers. This probably explains Eccleston Square's readiness to co-operate with the General Council. It is much less fatiguing than co-operation with the Communists—and so much safer. But there is still hope if only the rank and file push the matter with sufficient vigour. The T.U.C. is nearer the struggle than are the intellectuals of the Labour Party.

* * * * *

In whatever direction we look, we see the same tendency to shirk responsibility. Among railwaymen the cowardice of the leaders has compelled the district councils, composed of direct representatives of the rank and file, to shoulder the responsibility of preparing for a fight over the heads of the "leaders" who shamelessly hold out their hands for the salaries they do not earn. The engineers are in precisely the same condition.

Already the metal workers have reached the limit of what they can stand in the way of wage reduction. Even with steady work it is difficult to understand how existence can be maintained. Unemployment has hit the metal workers perhaps more heavily than any other section, and it is apparent to all with eyes to see that there is no likelihood of any improvement in the volume of trade.

It is interesting to see the difference in the tactics of the engineering employers from those of the mineowners. Precisely because there has been no real leadership, no signs of fight, no desire expressed from Peckham Road for common action with workers in other industries—in fact nothing but meetings with employers to *plead* for consideration of the hapless plight of the membership, Sir Allan Smith simply uses the club. No argument is necessary. It is the old story of the policeman against the unorganised and, therefore, easily demoralised mob.

* * * * *

And yet a fight is inevitable. But, as with the railwaymen, the E.C.'s of the unions concerned are afraid to face the responsi-

bility. Again the onus is placed on the unpaid rank and file representatives to rally their sections for battle. The machinery for action so painfully built up for over seventy years is not to be allowed to function. The defeatists are sabotaging the chances of victory.

Compare all this with the solidarity of capital. If defeat for the workers comes in the battles immediately ahead, if starvation is stabilised to stabilise exploitation, if the hour of liberation is set a long way off, if the path to victory is long and cumbered with almost insurmountable difficulties, history will have no difficulty in placing responsibility where responsibility lies—on the heads of degenerate “leaders.”

* * * * *

GENEVA.

THE simple folk who expected Sir Austen Chamberlain to be sacked as a result of his Geneva blunderings have much to learn about the British party system. The debate was the usual sham fight. MacDonal was careful, in the midst of his rhetoric, to say that he wanted Chamberlain to go back to Geneva in September. Thomas almost apologised for daring to criticise the government's foreign policy. And the Tories loyally gathered in defence of one of the Tory “old gang,” with the comic result that Sir Austen quite recovered his self-esteem and again thinks himself a heaven-born diplomat.

Sir Austen, however, is of no great consequence. The important thing about the Geneva meeting is that it has shown quite clearly that the League, though a handy instrument when big powers want to coerce small ones, is quite helpless the moment it is faced with a dispute between the big powers themselves.

No one but the ostrich-like optimist can imagine that futile council, which muddled about for ten days over a problem of precedence, ever being able to do anything at all when confronted with an issue of real importance involving a serious clash of interests.

The Class War

By HENRY SARA.

IN one of the innumerable reviews of Trotsky's recent book, it was suggested that in speaking of Communism, one had to draw a distinction between, say, the Communism preached by William Morris, and the Communism advocated by the Communist Party. It was implied that the teachings of Morris were not dangerous, but that the standards of the Communist Party were out of all bounds in political discussion. Whatever influence William Morris had in his day one never thinks of him as trying to be a "respectable" politician, and there is every reason to believe that were he alive his sympathies would be nearer to the Communist Party than to any other party.

The man who could pen these lines was far removed from the Party of "Gradualness," for instance :

"Many a century lay between the mediaeval serf and successful revolt, and though he tried many a time and never lost heart, success was not to be for him. With us it is different. A few years of wearisome struggle against apathy and ignorance; a year or two of growing hope—and then who knows? Perhaps a few months, or perhaps a few days of the open struggle against brute force, with the mask off its face and the sword in its hand, and then we are over the bar.

"Who knows I say? Yet this we know, that ahead of us, with nothing betwixt us except such incidents as are necessary to its development, lies the inevitable social revolution, which will bring about the end of mastery and the triumph of fellowship."

—WILLIAM MORRIS ("Signs of Change").

That may be miles off the present outlook of the Labour movement but it is pregnant with commonsense. It shows a grip on the class struggle which is much needed in our time. It portends also the possibilities of a coming conflict which may be long drawn out or may be brief. And best of all it insists on the inevitability of the social revolution. To these things the Communist Party subscribes.

To speak to the masses of the inevitability of a social change is to give them hope; to ignore the brutality of the capitalist class is to weaken the power of the masses.

Exterminate the Rebels.

We remember the cry of years ago in the capitalist press :

"The only eventual cure for Communism is the sword."—(The "Globe.")

The Independent Labour Party used to quote it in their Year Book. There was no Communist Party in existence then. The sword was to be used against the workers' movement, even though Bolshevism was unheard of.

Did not the "Sunday Chronicle" only last year give space for Mr. Harold Begbie to say :

"Give capitalism this right; let the British Government have power to shoot agitators in battalions and to send the whole tribe of pedagogic Socialists to Broadmoor, and capitalism, we may safely conclude, would work a great deal better than it is doing now."

It is absurd to say that these sentiments do not matter; they matter very much because they betray the mind of the defenders of capitalism, and destroy the sentimental nonsense that finds so much favour in the Labour Movement in this country. All the twaddle preached about the British capitalist being different, or the institutions being more responsive to the wishes and aims of the people, is but putting off the day for the masses to come into their social rights. What we have to face is the fact that the capitalist system is in itself a brutal one and that in a crisis that brutality would be bared at the least thing—not necessarily a provocation.

One has only to connect up certain features of the war period to find full justification for such a statement. It is a commonplace these days to think in terms of more or less calmness. The passion of the war is forgotten. But if we recall that passion we shall recall how common was the demand by all kinds of people to have other people shot. Dean Inge, for example, in one of his post-war volumes of essays says that he is afraid that passion ran too high in those days and that much was said that was to be regretted. Presumably this would apply to his letter to the Secretary of the Anti-Vaccination League written in the early months of the war, when he wrote from his Deanery, at St. Paul's :

"Sir,—I cannot imagine a more disgraceful or unpatriotic agitation than that in which you are engaged.. If I were at the head of affairs, I should have you shot summarily.

Yours faithfully,

W. R. INGE."

This has an amusing side really. This Christian Dean, who had shares in the armament manufacturers, Messrs. Vickers and Co., who could reconcile the preaching of the Gospel of Christ with the production of means of force and violence, could take part in the campaign against Soviet Russia for its attitude towards religion. Soviet Russia was a ghastly tyranny, the worst that had ever existed, it could not last long. He said :

"When a small body of bloodthirsty ruffians declared war against the three strongest instincts—religion, the family and private ownership—it surely could not last long."

For a man to speak about bloodthirsty ruffians, when he himself has gained profit by the sale of man-killing weapons, and who has himself expressed the wish to have the power to be able to have someone else shot summarily, is really interesting.

This wonderful method of turning the tables, however, has its devotees in the Labour Party camp.

Was ever a more wonderful example given of this very point than that by Mr. Stephen Walsh, who is reported in the "Manchester Guardian," for December 9th, 1918, when speaking in the Ince Division, as saying :

"I am supporting the Coalition programme—the Labour Party programme is one that, in my opinion, is making for bloodshed and revolution. I have stated this with great distinctness to my own Miners' Federation, and I, for one, will not be associated with it."

And this very man in the name of Labour, and on behalf of the Labour Party, which he condemned, held office during the period of the Labour Government as Secretary of State for War at a salary of £5,000!

The cries and charges of bloodshed and violence want going into very carefully. The capitalist law always will try to create the belief among the masses of the people that the Communist Party advocates, preaches and foments civil strife. From the capitalist law we can expect not much else. We are exposing its own brutality. It is our duty to lay bare the sword in the hand of the capitalist State. We do not expect roses in exchange. But we do expect the Labour movement, and all who act in its name, to refrain from repeating those charges. The Communist Party merely repeats what the older men of the working class movement themselves used to say. There is a class struggle. The first attempt on the part of the workers to assume control and—away go all the conceptions of the capitalist class about constitutional action of which they prate so much. To hear Labour leaders repeating these phrases about constitutional action is proof of the extreme danger of class collaboration. Fortunately actual experience of the workers is teaching them the futility of these phrases. But the Communist must aim to keep that experience from being too bitter—in other words too brutal—and so warn constantly. Where his own words are not perhaps effective enough, it is not out of place to recall in confirmation what some one else has said. Next month is to see a crisis. Put plainly, next month the miners are to be at war possibly with the mineowners; two classes will meet openly in conflict and the end is doubtful. This is a first class "Crisis."

MacDonald and Force.

We have had first class "Crises" before, on this same question. In 1920 for instance Mr. Ramsay MacDonald wrote in the Glasgow "Forward," September 4th :

"The plain fact is that capitalism wishes this strike to come off. It has been preparing for it for a long time. They have been preparing their manifestoes about food supply to frighten the public and their White Guards to shoot them.

"One day, it is hoped, the conflict will be upon us—and then there will be peace for the exploiter and the classes. That is the programme: and we see it being worked out.

"If the democratic and parliamentary weapon cannot now be used, then let us frankly admit the impotence of what are called 'constitutional' methods. *For, remember, the Government and capitalist game is not constitutional.* It is to create trouble in order to suppress it with spurred heels."

Again in 1921, same problem.

Mr. MacDonald again writing in "Forward," April 16th :

"The Government has set up its standard of civil war, is calling its soldiers to camp, and is enrolling its White Guards. The fact remains, and must not be forgotten."

We were on the fringe of civil war then; we are on the fringe of civil war now, Communist Party or no Communist Party.

One is reminded of the great railway strike of 1911, when the men won on the "brink of civil war" as the correspondent of the "Daily News" phrased it.

This called forth an expression from Keir Hardie in his pamphlet on the affair, "Killing No Murder." He wrote, page 12 :

"They were out for recognition; they got it, 'on the brink of civil war,' it is true, but they got it, *and now they are going to keep it, again at the 'brink of civil war' if need be.*"

Peace—after Victory.

No, the Communist Party is not wrong in its summing up of the industrial situation. It aims not at freeing passion, but organising the working class. All talk about folding arms is idle talk when there is work to do. The working class have to be encouraged to rely upon themselves, to take over industry, to abolish landlordism, to abolish the class struggle, to take over all power into their own hands; then, and not till then can we talk of Peace.

One of the best-known leaders of the workers to-day, George Lansbury, can talk as much as he likes at certain times about being opposed to force, etc., but when confronted with grave class injustice is just as much compelled to exercise that force which

he condemns, *and advocates it*, if we are to believe his statement in the House of Commons (Wednesday, May 2nd, 1923, Hansard, page 1508) :

"I want to see the House taking this matter in hand in the only effective manner by the nation finding the money, *buying up the slum owners, or hanging them, whichever is the most effective means of getting rid of them*, and destroying the business of making money in slum property."

The Communist Party is pledged to work, struggle, and fight for the social revolution. It is a proletarian party aiming at Workers' Power. Its ranks would be stronger were it not for a timidity which is encouraged by those who for some reason or another fear the coming day. Much of that timidity will pass as men and women cease to be misled by phrases, which when examined have no actual relation to Communism, but which in reality describe capitalism.

The Communist Party wants to end the "Class War" upon which capitalism thrives.



"The law in its majestic equality forbids the rich as well as the poor to sleep under bridges, to beg in the streets and to steal bread."—Anatole France.

The Negro Arrives

By DAVE RAMSAY.

THE spectacular advance of the Japanese, which has resulted in Japan being recognised as one of the Great Powers of the world; the less spectacular, but nevertheless continuous growth of nationalist consciousness in India; the awakening of important masses in China to a realisation of their strength; the revolt of the peoples of the Near East and Northern Africa; all pregnant with far-reaching changes in the status of races and classes, have overshadowed to a great extent the advance of the Negro.

Africa has, until comparatively recently, been described as a continent without a history. Up to the middle of the nineteenth century very little was known about Africa with the exception of the small possessions of Britain in Cape Colony and the Gold Coast, and Portugal in Mozambique and Angola. The Mediterranean Coast of Northern Africa for a few miles inland was, of course, better known, and Egypt provides the exception that emphasises the description of having no history—its history dates back to between 5,000 and 4,000 years B.C.

Africa's isolation in the past is not difficult to explain. The vast desert of Sahara presented an insurmountable obstacle to exploration from the north. Africa abounds in low-lying, therefore hot and fever-stricken, lands. There were few inducements for pioneers—no evidence of great wealth to exploit, nor fertile land to develop profitably. It was the "Dark Continent," mysterious and terrifying because unknown. Western European technique had to develop before Africa could be colonised to the extent that it is to-day.

This was the land that cradled the Negro races, and these the environments which produced the characteristics which outwardly distinguish the Negro from the peoples of other lands—the black skin and woolly head, which resist the rays of the sun. Socially their development was backward because a tropical and semi-tropical country provides no urge for development. Any race, left to themselves in such surroundings, would simply mark time and follow the customs of their ancestors. There was nothing inherent in this "backwardness." The Negro was pre-eminently adapted to survive in his own environment and nothing more can be said of any race.

Slavery.

But at last the white man did arrive—in the shape of slave merchants. The terrible conditions in the Spanish mines had killed off the home supply of available labour and, to meet the demand for exploitable material thus created, the British merchants entered the field. The unlimited supply of Negro slaves soon led to a congestion of the near home markets and then the shipment of “black cattle” to Carolina and Virginia began.

It would require a better pen than that possessed by the writer to describe adequately the horrors of the slave trade. Sufficient to say that ships were loaded from keel to deck with the slavers’ captives. Absolutely no provision was made to ensure that the “goods” would be delivered in an undamaged condition. Down in the holds of the ships men, women and children died of suffocation, thirst, hunger and disease. More often than not, they were not allowed to die there, but were dragged out before death and thrown to the sharks. In these long sea voyages only the strongest survived, but this probably did not affect the profits made—at least it prevented a too rapid glutting of the market. But the Negro had discovered America.

From Chattel Slave to Wage Slave.

The time arrived when it became obvious that two economic systems—one built on chattel slavery and the other on wage-slavery—could not exist side by side. After a four years’ war the industrialists of the North forced the abolition of chattel slavery. This occurred in 1865—but it brought with it no amelioration of the terrible conditions under which the Negro existed. In many ways his lot was worse. It is doubtful whether the wage paid for what capitalist humbugs call “free labour” was equivalent to the cost of maintaining the slaves in a fit condition for work.

The abolition of private property in human brain and muscle brought with it fresh terrors for the Negro. The erstwhile slave-owners became afraid of this newly-created proletariat. Terrorist organisations sprang into existence for the purpose of “keeping the nigger in his place.” With or without provocation of any kind Negroes were lynched, burned at the stake, whipped or baited to death with dogs. Existence was a nightmare to these unfortunate victims of capitalist “progress.”

Even to-day there are practically no educational facilities in the southern States for the children of Negroes and there is no opportunity for acquiring possession of land. Wages were so miserably low that it was impossible to save enough to escape

from their bondage. It took the world war to afford the first opportunity and hundreds of thousands rushed to seize it.

The Negro Arrives.

The demand for an abundant supply of labour for war industry brought more than 1,000,000 Negroes north. This created a shortage of labour on the southern plantations and led to some slight improvement in wages conditions there. Better wages only stimulated migration, and restrictions against immigration into the States increased the demand for unskilled labour for the Northern factories. A constant and steady stream of humanity flowed from South to North and, to the astonishment of wiseacres who talked and wrote so glibly of the essential inferiority of the Negro, speedily adapted themselves to their changed surroundings. The Negro communities already show just the diversities which are found in any community. Among them are skilled artisans and poets, peasants and litterateurs, labourers and lawyers, exploiters and exploited, adventurers and preachers, but in the main, as in all communities, workers, taking their place alongside their white brothers in factory, mill and mine. Inside the factory white and black workers co-operate to produce surplus value for the employers, but outside there is a different story.

Instead of immediately realising the significance from an economic, social and political point of view of this influx of unorganised but quite efficient colored workers, every obstacle that can be placed in the way of solidarity is being utilised by the reactionary trade union official caucus. As for the employers, whilst quite willing and anxious to find employment for the Negroes, they also (for sound class reasons) encourage the artificial division of workers along the line of colour. The Negroes themselves want solidarity; they have offered to join existing unions; failing to get support for this they have formed their own unions and are asking for affiliations to the older unions. Only very slowly is their existence being recognised, although the Negro attitude has all along been correct.

Meantime, the wave of industrial prosperity in America is on the decline. The time is rapidly approaching when the demand for labour will decline. Unemployment will bring keen competition for work, and wages will suffer. Will the white workers see what is coming in time and force the officials to open the unions to the Negro? That is the burning question for American Labour to answer—and upon a correct answer, backed by action, will depend to a great extent the standards and status of American labour.

The Communist International at Work

By R. W. ROBSON.

THE meeting of the Enlarged E.C. of the Communist International, which has just concluded in Moscow, discussed problems and reached conclusions of the utmost interest and importance to Communists everywhere and particularly so to members of the C.P.G.B.

Considerable fuss has been made by some Tory M.P.'s regarding proceedings at this Plenum, and the usual stories about "Moscow's orders" have been trotted out; actually there were present more than a hundred delegates from forty-two countries, the Russian Communist Party (now called the Communist Party of the Soviet Union) being represented by only five of these delegates. These figures prove conclusively the international and representative nature of the Enlarged Executive.

The continued decline of British capitalism, the awakening of the colonial peoples, the increasing class-consciousness and activity of the British workers resulting from British capitalism's inability to solve its problems, and last but not least, the tasks of the C.P.G.B.—these questions occupied a prominent place in the discussions, and it is essential that the whole of our membership be made acquainted with the conclusions arrived at, and the reasons put forward, more particularly with those regarding Britain and the tasks of the British Party.

Capitalist "Stabilisation."

The Plenum examined the view expressed at the Fifth World Congress that capitalism had succeeded, temporarily, in stabilising itself, and re-affirmed the correctness of this view, emphasising, however, that the Communist International does not believe this stability to be of a permanent character. Evidence was brought forward to show that the "stability" secured is only relative in comparison with the confusion and weakness during the years immediately following the war.

At the beginning of 1926 European capitalism is again faced with a whole series of new and serious crises demonstrating the instability of the "stabilisation." This partial stabilisation has been achieved, to a great extent, by means of placing the burden

upon the shoulders of the working and peasant masses through increased taxation, higher prices, lower wages and longer hours.

The most marked aspect of the economic life of Great Britain is industrial crisis and chronic unemployment. Coal, iron and steel production remains considerably below pre-war level, and the wages of the workers, far from being raised in proportion to the increased cost of living, have actually been reduced in a number of branches of industry. Economic developments in Great Britain have brought about great changes in the British Labour Movement. The influence of the "labour aristocracy" has declined. The masses are veering to the Left and are seeking new ways and new methods. The changes now taking place within the British Labour Movement are of world historical importance.

Soviet Stabilisation.

With the continued decline of European capitalism and the increasing influence and strength of North American capitalism, a remarkable economic development and consolidation of the economic and political power of the working class in the U.S.S.R. has to be noted. Despite the antagonism of the bourgeois States towards the U.S.S.R. and the terrible inheritance of the civil war, the first Workers' Republic has been able to raise its industry to pre-war level and to achieve considerable success in Socialist construction, which is certain to extend and grow. This progress is already attracting the attention and warm sympathy of ever-growing sections of workers throughout the world. Even Reformist leaders who for years carried on a fierce struggle against the Russian Revolution and the Soviet Power, are being compelled to admit that the U.S.S.R. is becoming strong and is overcoming the great difficulties encountered in its path to Socialism.

Danger of War.

In the present world situation there everywhere exists fundamental differences between two systems, two worlds, between which at present a more or less precarious balance is maintained. On the one hand is the world of capitalism headed by U.S.A., whose hegemony within this sphere is an important fact, and on the other the world proletarian revolution headed by the U.S.S.R. The ranks of international capitalism, however, are not united in a solid bloc: considerable differences exist and are developing, principally between America and Great Britain, as, for example, on such questions as China, Mosul and Mexico.

Economic differences also exist, and have increased during 1925. These are to be witnessed in the Pacific, China, Japan,

Turkey, South America, etc.—differences fraught with the menace of another world war.

The Locarno Agreement is intended to hide the remarkable tissue of contradictory aims and interests existing between the various capitalist States resulting from the world war, and to introduce confusion into the ranks of the workers. The objective meaning of Locarno may be summarised as follows: American capitalism is attempting to consolidate its interests against the whole of capitalist Europe. (The pacification of Europe is a guarantee that the debtor nations will "conduct" themselves properly, and regularly pay interest to America. At the same time, America viewed with great displeasure the first weak attempt of the debtor nations to unite to a certain extent against the U.S.A.) Through Locarno British imperialism hopes to defend its special interests against France, and the French bourgeoisie to consolidate its special interests against Germany by enlisting Great Britain as an ally. British imperialism also hopes, with the support of French imperialism and the help of the Locarno Agreement, to develop its opposition to the U.S.S.R., to isolate the Soviet Republic, and to bring Germany also into line for the achievement of this object.

It is becoming more and more evident that attempts to consolidate peace through the League of Nations are really only methods for the preparations of new wars. Pacifist illusions connected with the activity of the League of Nations, particularly with regard to Locarno, are still prevalent, even among the workers, thanks to the reformist leaders who are accomplices of the League of Nations in the deception of the masses, and have converted the Second International into one of the links of the League of Nations. The whole trend of events, however, goes towards dissipating these pacifist illusions and to exposing the duplicity of the League. Economic developments in a number of the most important capitalist countries, leading to a still further deterioration in the conditions of the mass of the workers, and the proven inability of capitalism to solve the problems facing it, are leading to large numbers of the workers revising their views as to the value of reformism. This is bringing a strong desire for unity based on the class struggle. In this sense a wide basis for a real application of the United Front tactics is now being created.

Working Class Unity.

The Communist International and its sections must meet with determination and sincerity these honest endeavours amongst the masses of the workers to secure greater unity. These new and tremendously important phenomena, have among other things

led to the formation of the Anglo-Russian Trade Union Committee, to the success of the Minority Movement in Britain, to the joint struggle of the Communists and Social-Democrats in Germany for the confiscation of the Hohenzollern property without compensation, and so on.

While the reformist leaders, Right and Left alike, are being forced, by the pressure of the masses, to pay attention to this strong desire for unity, they continue to slander the Communist International and to attempt to turn the workers away from the idea of a united working class on a world scale. This is done in various ways, one of which is to depict themselves (the reformist leaders) as being even more definitely "supporters of unity" than the Communists, and to urge that real unity can only be created in the event of the Communists renouncing the idea of an independent political party and agreeing to join the Socialists.

On this point the Plenum declared that there can be no question whatever about any amalgamation of the Communist Parties with the Socialist Parties. Such a thing would be open treachery to the cause of the proletarian revolution, and a complete renunciation of the great historic role of the proletariat. The most important victory of the working class during the past few years is that despite all difficulties it has succeeded in forming, in various countries throughout the world, independent Communist Parties openly opposing the treachery of the reformists, defending the idea of a proletarian revolution and making preparations for it. Only within the ranks of the Communist Party can the entire proletariat be united—and in due time such unity will undoubtedly take place.

The Enlarged E.C. of the C.I. at the same time declared its willingness to form a united front with the reformists on specific issues facing the workers, and to press this policy with greater energy than before. All sections of the Comintern are urged to welcome fearlessly and sincerely, every endeavour of the mass of the workers to achieve a united struggle against the capitalists and to join with the Socialist rank and file in carrying out various practical activities, even on moderate slogans, and to display a friendly and co-operative spirit towards the Socialist and non-party workers so that a united march against the capitalists may be secured.

Beware of Disruption.

The Comintern has no doubt at all that the majority of the reformist leaders will sabotage the united front of the workers as in the past, and as they are doing now in Germany. But the changing situation is creating a different mood among large masses of the workers, and this must be the first consideration in conduct-

ing the united front tactic. The united front tactic is by no means the same as a parliamentary bloc with the Socialist leaders, nor does it mean the merging of Communist Parties with Socialist Parties, or the renunciation by the Communist Party of its independence in matters of propaganda and agitation.

The reformist leaders, opposing the united front, often assert that Communists in reality do not sincerely desire a united front. Such statements are absolutely false. The united front is for us primarily a means for realising the real class mobilisation of the workers in the struggle against the capitalists for their immediate needs and demands. If at the same time, Communists continue to criticise the reformist leaders, this is due to the fact that the latter hinder the union of the workers in their struggle for the bare necessities of life.

At the same time as the mass of the workers, feeling the imperative need for greater unity, are pressing the reformist leaders towards a united front with the Communists, the capitalists of the European countries are attracted towards the American imperialists, seeking salvation among them, and the Social-Democratic leaders are also casting their eyes towards America, seeking inspiration from those typical agents of capitalism in the workers' camp, the leaders of the American Labour movement.

The leaders of the American Federation of Labour are systematically seeking ways and means of transforming the Trade Union organisations into tools of American capitalism. To this end they support the formation of company unions, workers' banks, etc., etc., and their efforts are regarded with envy by reformist leaders in Europe, many of whom, particularly in Germany, are advocating "American methods" for the European Trade Union Movement. The "Right" leaders of Amsterdam see in the A.F. of L. salvation from the Bolshevik danger. Together with the "blessings" of the Dawes Plan, the "blessings" of "Gompersite Americanisation" of the Labour movement are also to be imported.

Tasks of the Comintern.

The objective conditions for the victory of Socialism in Europe are becoming more mature, more favourable for the working class struggle for liberation; it has, therefore, become a matter of pressing importance that the subjective factor, *i.e.*, the degree of readiness of the Communist Party for executing the historic mission with which it is entrusted, should receive much more attention.

The most important task of the Communist International during the coming years is to give more attention to the political training of the various Communist Parties, to see to their organisational defects, and generally to assist in their all-round improvement and capacity to approach the masses.

The United Front tactic should be developed extensively in view of the desire for unity which is now the main feature characterising the present mood of the workers everywhere. The united front tactic should change its form in accordance with the changing situation and in accordance with circumstances of place and time.

The centre of gravity in carrying out the united front tactic is the trade union movement. The characteristic peculiarity of the Left-wings now being formed in the Labour movement of various countries is their trade union nature. Hence the increasing importance of the work of Communists in the trade unions. Assistance to the Left elements in the trade unions, support of their efforts to rally the forces of the working class, the struggle to establish trade union unity in each country, the first for the formation of one International of trade unions based on class struggle, constitute the main lever in the work of conducting the united front tactics.

In connection with these tactics the failure to understand the part to be played by Communists in the existing Labour Parties, or those that might be formed along the lines of the British Labour Party, will do serious damage to the united front tactics as a whole. The most important task of the Communist Party in this comparative lull of revolutionary struggle at present is to penetrate still more into the every day struggle and life of the workers. *They must win the majority of the workers to their side* and at all costs become, if not the only, at least *the main and most influential workers' party in the country.* If the united front tactics are correctly carried out, this task is quite possible of realisation.

The Communist Parties must also pay some attention to their internal organisation. In many places Communist nuclei are organised in small or medium-sized industrial enterprises, whereas the influence of the Party in the large enterprises is weak. The larger industrial enterprises must become the object of our special attention and should be made the centres for the formation of the strongest Communist nuclei.

The re-organisation of the Party on the basis of factory and works nuclei has completely justified itself and the objections to this principle have been proved to be incorrect. At the same time,

in organising the Party on the basis of factory nuclei there must not be excessive rigidity. Modifications should be made, where necessary, for the organisation of Communists according to residence.

The Tasks of the British Party.

This necessarily brief outline of the Comintern's analysis of the world situation and the tasks of the Communist Parties in relation thereto indicates the main lines laid down for our work in the immediate future, and brings to the forefront a number of important tasks facing our Party in Great Britain.

The Plenum emphasised that while it is not possible to say whether the "tempo" of the revolution is becoming quicker, that revolutionary crises are near, or whether the tempo will be slow and the final struggle deferred, the Communist Party everywhere must prepare itself for the first eventuality, for a rapid development towards revolutionary struggles.

In Britain we must garner the fruits of our past work, taking advantage also of the Leftward movement developing among large sections of workers (resulting from their growing realisation of capitalism's inability to find a way out of its difficulties except by increasing the burdens imposed on the working class), by recruiting new members to the Party on as large a scale as possible.

This is an essential preliminary to the extension of our work.

The numerical smallness of our factory nuclei and our trade union fractions in particular, as well as of our Party units in general, together with the neglect of organised work in the trade unions, constitutes a great handicap to the development of our activities and the successful accomplishment of our task.

The education of the Party membership must also receive great attention, as well as internal Party organisational problems.

The tactic of the united front must be energetically practised wherever and whenever possible, not formally, but as a concrete method of uniting the largest possible numbers of workers in a struggle to secure even elementary demands.

Great opportunities are facing us; we must take the fullest advantage of them, realising the immense importance of our work; and the great responsibility placed up our Party in Britain, where the class struggle is growing more and more intense as capitalism's difficulties increase.

Batuschka

From yonder gilded minaret
Beside the steel-blue Neva set,
I faintly catch, from time to time,
The sweet, aerial midnight chime—
“God save the Tsar”!

Above the ravelins and the moats
Of the white citadel it floats;
And men in dungeons far beneath
Listen, and pray, and gnash their teeth—
“God save the Tsar”!

The soft reiterations sweep
Across the horror of their sleep,
As if some demon in his glee
Were mocking at their misery—
“God save the Tsar”!

In his red palace over there,
Wakeful, he needs must hear the prayer.
How can it drown the broken cries
Wrung from his children’s agonies?—
“God save the Tsar”!

Father they called him from of old—
Batuschka! How his heart is cold!
Wait till a million scourged men
Rise in their awful might, and then—
“God save the Tsar”!

THOMAS BAILEY ALDRICH.

Divide and Conquer

THE COAL COMMISSIONS' REPORT ANALYSED.

By EMIL BURNS.

THE composition of the Coal Commission was sufficient to ensure that its Report would not endanger the prestige of the capitalist system. The presence on it of persons accustomed to handle large-scale financial schemes made it equally certain that any positive proposals would have as their main object the further concentration of capital and domination of financial interests. It is in this light that the Commission's Report must be examined.

In the first place, the present disorganisation of the industry is not only acknowledged: much stress is laid on it, just as Baldwin makes great play with the present disorganisation in the electrical industry. The time of competitive capitalism has gone by; the archaic survivals of that period must disappear, along with the out-of-date equipment, the unscientific use and distribution of coal, and everything that stands in the way of the most effective exploitation of the workers in the industry. And the change is to come about for the benefit of the capitalist groups representing the most highly developed forms of production and use of coal.

Ground Bait for Official Labour.

Thus, as was expected, "the primitive and divided ownership of the minerals" is condemned—not because it gives a tribute, representing 2s. a week for every person working in and about the mines, to wealthy individuals who perform no useful functions—but because the private and divided ownership stands in the way of extending amalgamations and working of an area by a single concern. The fact that every person working in and about the mines works for about two hours a week for the royalty owners is not noticed; or rather, it is noticed, and an arrangement made whereby this can continue without hampering the progress of the projected combines. The present royalty owners are to be bought out at a cost of £100,000,000; they will presumably be paid in State bonds, and will draw interest. The miners will continue to do their two hours extra work per week and pay

the result to the State, which will pass it on to the royalty owners in the shape of interest. The position of the miners will remain unchanged; so will that of the royalty owners; only the position of the large mineowning concern will be improved, by the removal of artificial barriers.

It must be pointed out that this is exactly what the Labour Party asked for in its scheme submitted to the Commission and the Commission does not miss the opportunity of rubbing it in. The fact that the M.F.G.B. opposed the principle of compensation was noted: but, of course, the Labour Party's view was taken as representing the "official" attitude of the Labour movement.

Concentration for Profit.

Having cleared the ground, so to speak, the Commission then proceeds to consider how the large concerns can be facilitated in their development without opening the door to any encroachment on "private enterprise." And it finds an easy way of presenting the case.

"Very many of the collieries are on too small a scale to be good units of production. A number are defective in equipment and some in management. On the other hand there are a large number of collieries which are admirably planned, equipped and managed. . . . Mining, in many places, should be intimately associated with several other industries—with gas, electricity, smokeless fuel, oil, chemical products, blast furnaces and coke ovens. A beginning has been made towards this combination, but it is no more than a beginning."

Then the argument runs: close down the small concerns—either by economic action if they are absolutely not worth working; or by purchase and joint working with larger concerns. And at this point the function of the State as the tool of the dominant section is remembered. "Any general measure of compulsory amalgamation, on arbitrary lines, would be mischievous." It might saddle the big concerns with mines that they didn't want. Each case, therefore, must be treated individually: the State as mineral owner "will be able to promote *desirable* amalgamations when granting new leases or renewing old ones." But if the big concerns can't wait for the leases to fall in, then "legislation should provide for a compulsory transfer of interests under existing leases where desirable amalgamations are prevented by the dissent of some of the parties or their unreasonable claims."

In other words, the Coal Commissioners (nominated by the Government) will function, as the police and military function against the "unreasonable claims" of the workers, not only to force on individual collieries entrance into a larger and more

powerful combine, but also to make them accept the terms of the combine where the amalgamation on such terms is "desirable"—to the combine.

But the concentration of collieries is only a step. Beyond that the Commission sees an infinite vista of concentration, not only with electricity production, but also with gas, chemical products, iron and steel, etc. This development must take its course (it has already taken it pretty far); but in electricity they see the next important step, and accordingly they suggest that Baldwin's electricity scheme should be "co-ordinated with the generation of electricity at the mines."

The Few to be Helped by All.

As for the rest, distribution doesn't concern the big men—therefore, let local authorities have power to engage in the retail sale of coal. "The selling organisation and the methods of transport are too costly, and do not secure the best financial results for the collieries." In other words, let the municipalities help, let the railways help, and pass along any savings to the big combines. In the same way the benefits from the common use of wagons, and enlarging the size of wagons, are to be passed on to the collieries. The whole organisation of the industry is to give the greatest possible advantage to the collieries—which, as already indicated, will be concentrated in fewer and fewer powerful groups, combining coal production with every form of using coal.

What the Miners Get.

And all of this will benefit the miners? The Commission earnestly hopes that it will. But so that they will appreciate the benefit (when it comes), the miners are now to accept lower wages. The Commission avoids saying how much lower; the reduction is to be arranged by districts (and confirmed nationally); in some districts it would be more, in others less; but clearly the figure of 10 per cent. reduction, on actual earnings, is indicated as the probable average. Men now receiving subsistence wage are not to be touched—this might create trouble—but all other grades are to suffer. As for hours, the miners must not work longer hours, because this would mean over-production; but they *must work* double shifts wherever "desirable"—although it is clear that this equally means over-production. But the Commission evidently thinks this is the way to get more work (and subse-

quently more unemployment) out of the miners, without causing trouble such as would inevitably occur if the longer working day were enforced. There are other relatively minor points in the recommendations with regard to wages, hours and conditions generally, but it is not necessary to discuss them.

It is not necessary to discuss them because they will never arise. The miners will no more accept the report because of one or two minor concessions, than the Commission has accepted nationalisation because the Labour Party scheme has watered down the miners' intentions. The fundamental divergence between the miners and the mineowners has not been bridged by the Report. No serious attempt has ever been made to bridge it. When the subsidy expires at the end of April the fight must come (if it does not come sooner), and the Commission's Report is intended to prepare the "public" mind for the attack on wages and when that is out of the way and the miners' organisation broken, to lay down the lines along which a concentrated capitalism can most effectively reap the advantages.

It is a well-thought out scheme, from beginning to end. The little details about co-partnership shares, to be distributed (instead of increasing wages) when the profits of any concern get unreasonably high, show that it is built for the future. After wages have been lowered—for that, of course, must be the first step, as "unfortunately" none of the other steps can be taken so quickly—then the men are to be kept contented: by getting an interest (on bonus shares) in the concern; by the provision of pit-head baths; by the provision of pit-committees (which in no case will discuss "cases of discipline"); by the provision of family allowances (to make sure that wages are kept down to the fodder basis); by better housing; and, since the amalgamations will lead to the closing of many pits, by Government assistance for emigration (many of the miners "would be suitable for agricultural work" in the Colonies).

Who Will be Deceived?

In such a future the miners will be tied hand and foot—and, above all, mentally. It is perhaps a little curious that the Commission should devise such a scheme for men to whose intelligence and education they pay more than one soft-soaped tribute. But the explanation is simply that the scheme has not been made to attract the miners. It has been made to play up to the Labour Party leaders—it agrees to nationalisation of royalties *with compensation*, it agrees to coal distribution by local authorities; it

agrees to pooling of wagons and other minor adjustments. In this way it appeals to the disciples of Gradualness, and practically asks them to take these in return for helping to distract the miners' attention from the little matter of wages. Will the scheme be successful? Will it create the desired disunity in the Labour movement?

The Party's activities must ensure that no such defeat for the miners takes place. The Party must concentrate, not on the miners only—they will see the true position without any help—but on the workers in other industries. The slogans of last July are the slogans of to-day; and if the work is energetically pushed forward the result will be the same, even though a more critical position will undoubtedly arise.



“The unfit and the unneeded! The miserable and despised and forgotten, dying in the social shambles. The progeny of prostitution—of the prostitution of men and women and children, of flesh and blood, and sparkle and spirit; in brief, the prostitution of labour. If this is the best that civilisation can do for the human, then give us howling and naked savagery. Far better to be a people of the wilderness and desert, of the cave and the squatting place, than to be a people of the machine and the Abyss.”—Jack London.

The House of Commons

By S. SAKLATVALA.

TO be an iconoclast is bad enough generally, but to have the misfortune to be adversely impressed by an institution of great fame is a veritable disaster. However, I am in it. My earliest visions of the House of Commons were created through books at a distance of 6,000 miles from the thing itself. Pitt, Sheridan, Burke, Macaulay, Disraeli and Gladstone were like idols in a temple of worship, and the scene of the Chamber as seen from pictures and illustrations made one believe in its grandeur and superb greatness.

I came to England at the end of 1905, and my first abode for a few months was the National Liberal Club, which was in an Indian's imagination then the home of Liberty, Equality and Justice. I saw at familiar distances the heroes of 1906 who made up the contents of the great House of Commons. Day by day my throbbing anxiety to see them at work in the Mother of Parliaments cooled down, and ultimately I decided not to be in a hurry. Within 12 months I shook myself out of the National Liberal Club and bade good-bye to its politics, too.

Disillusionment.

Then I threw myself into the struggle of life. I mocked at what I knew in my early days as Indian slavery, when through the Labour Movement I saw British slavishness. Parliament seemed to be away and not of one's work in the struggle for emancipation. At every stage of life here I saw the hand of Parliament and Parliamentary law *grinding down* humanity, scoffing at the rights of masses, rewarding and protecting the strong, bullying and robbing the weak, scorning the womanhood of this country as a subject sex, and despising the manhood and womanhood of my country as a subject race. My enthusiasm to see this great Chamber of democratic fights died out altogether, and I left such a visit to some mere chance. Such a chance came in 1917, when I accompanied a friend to the Visitors' Gallery to hear Austen Chamberlain on India. The first sight of the Chamber appalled me. It had no grandeur; it was not even suit-

ably arranged or furnished for any great business purpose. I said to myself that all the pictures I had seen on the walls of my University and other public libraries had lied, had deceived and misinformed me. The thought came like a flash: "Were my historical books and newspaper records as mendacious as the pictures?" "Were all the pretences put forward for this Mother of Parliaments as the custodian of the peoples' rights, deciding the fates of millions of men and women on a democratic basis, fallacious and deliberate shams to throw dust in the eyes of oppressed peoples?"

Then I saw Austen striking attitudes and assuming airs merely to create impressions which are not natural to life's honest functions. He made big efforts to popularise Empire Preference for the benefit of a few thousand shareholders at the expense of many millions of workers. He announced new duties for the benefit of 286 millowners of Bombay, Ahmedabad, Cawnpore, and Calcutta, to the detriment of half-a-million British textile workers and 240 millions of Indian peasantry. He talked of Indian princes and kings and all the king's horses and all the king's men. Then he spread out a thin veneer of seductive honey and vague and false promises over the gall of subjugation and slavery to seduce and entice away the simple-minded Indian politician in those dark and terrible days of war between British and German rival imperialisms. Of the hunger, poverty, misery, political enslavement, cruel infantile mortality, denial of education and denial of elementary rights of democracy to 300 million human beings, nothing or little was said. I heard Philip Snowden trying to trounce the Conservative Secretary, but really making a hash of international Socialism, and in his turn getting trounced by Sir John D. Rees. I had spent £8 14s. 6d. in the previous week and issued a leaflet to all members of the House asking them to think of the poor underpaid workers and peasants of India, during their debate on "Protection" (!) for India. This appeal evidently did not fit in with the mental framework of parliamentarians and "sob stuff" appeared to me to be the permissible limit of "democratic" discussions.

Enlightenment.

Then came the Russian Revolution, forcing upon all thoughtful politicians the great question: "Are Parliaments capable of securing real and complete emancipation of the workers?" With careful observation I could only conclude that very little effective economic power was vested in Parliament, and that those struggles between the employers and the employed, the exploiters and the

exploited were indeed carefully kept out. At the same time, one could see the great strength and support the parliamentary instrument was to the capitalist owners of land, houses, means of production and distribution and colonial concessions. It became obvious that such an instrument would have to be snatched away from the master class as speedily as possible to be substituted ultimately by a working class institution representative only of honest workers engaged in useful service to society and free from the control of privileged peers or the Crown. Even a Labour majority that consented to submit to the House of Commons and the House of Lords, as they were, would be able to show no good results.

It was when I had reached the conclusions outlined above, that after a whirlwind campaign in the election of 1922, I found myself ushered into the Assembly at Westminster. My critics who were jesting and jeering, and my friends who were smiling in doubt, confidently looked forward to my almost immediate conversion to the requisite mentality for the Mother of Parliaments. However, I had decided to give the benefit of doubt to the House of Commons, to take it as an assembly where democratic voice, manners, expressions and actions, would be permitted if only one tried and gave them a chance. I came fresh from a constituency where most of the Irish electors were annoyed by the proposed Irish settlement, and, as in duty bound, I attempted to act up to the expectations of my democratic voters. Ridicule, contempt, sneers, showered from all sides, and a look of "cut him out, he is no good to us in this assembly" seemed to be upon the faces of all my colleagues. The heavy frowns were not limited to reactionary capitalists, for MacDonald's and Henderson's frowns were even more severe. From that day to the day of the ban on my American visit last year, and to the days of the Army and Navy Debate this month, I have been realising that to be a successful "democrat" in the British House of Commons one has got to be artificial, artistic and artful.

Sabotage.

One has the right of interpellation, but the rules and regulations that hedge round one's right to put questions, are an absorbing study. If all the intelligent electors framed their questions in their own clear honest language, and commanded their M.P.'s to attempt to put them to the Ministers in the House and to report the results to their electors, there would be some revelations as to the limitations that govern their democratic rights. Then again the Ministers who answer the questions are not pledged

on oath to give the *whole* truth, and any *little* fraction of it is constitutionally to be accepted as all the information that one will receive.

Public petitions may be presented, but only by reading one sentence of it, and then sending it on to a blind alley committee.

One is at liberty to move any resolution or Bill. The only little hitch is that one is not given time on the time-table of the House. One can move a ten-minutes' Bill if one likes, provided it is not of any important, radical or revolutionary character.

By observing a few simple rules as to notice, etc., one can offer amendments. The only obstacle in one's democratic way is that in practice only one amendment is discussed, and that preferentially would be from an acknowledged party leader, and the rest are never reached.

One has complete liberty to take part in and speak at any debate, but time allotted for each delegate is too short to accommodate half the expectant speakers and then again there is no consideration of one's long attendance or persistent offer to speak creating any preferential right. Front benchers can just look in at appointed time, speak and retire, and the back benchers must continue their fruitless struggle hour after hour, on the off-chance of getting an opportunity.

One is at liberty to bring forward all one's arguments. It is necessary to pretend and falsely maintain that one is expressing views and using arguments to *convince* the House and obtain the approval of members by force of reasoning, when all the time one is perfectly conscious of the fact that no member is ready or permitted to vote according to the measure of his belief or disbelief in the arguments used. In an average debate, when an ordinary back-bench member is putting his arguments, if 60 out of 600 members are present, it would be considered a very large attendance. It would mostly be between 20 to 30. Votes are cast by the hundred, but members trot out from various places to vote as they are told, barely 10 per cent. of them having followed the debate at all. If one dares to suggest any regulations to limit the right to vote only to those who follow the entire debate, one would be laughed at as a crank, condemned as a person untrue to the traditions of Parliament and unfit to be a member.

Alternative.

Even if any of your points are carried, there is the probability of their being turned down by the other Chamber if there is the slightest suspicion that the measure will operate against the privi-

leges of vested interest. The question for the working class is whether to wait for the reform of the House of Commons or to get on with the perfecting of their trade union machinery so as to enforce their will on the exploiters. The real fight is outside, not inside, the House of Commons.



“The less dexterity and strength are required in manual labour, *i.e.*, the more modern industry develops, the more is the labour of men displaced by that of women. The differences of age and sex have no longer any social importance for the working class.”—Marx and Engels: “The Communist Manifesto.”

Britain Annexes the Sudan

By J. CROSSLEY.

THE year 1925 and the opening months of 1926 have witnessed a great development in Britain's Imperialist offensive policy in Egypt, the Sudan and the Near East. The end of 1924 found Great Britain faced with many problems which alarmed the politicians and foreign concession hunters. The chief of these problems were :

(1) The growing influence of the Russian Soviet Republic and the bond of sympathy which was being established between Sovietism and the oppressed peoples of the East.

(2) The rapid spread of the Nationalist Liberation movement throughout the East, stimulated by the magnificent resistance of the Riffi in Morocco against French and Spanish imperialism.

(3) The falling off of the world's supply of raw cotton, particularly in Egypt, where from 1914 to 1923 the production of cotton has fallen by approximately 33 per cent. This was further aggravated by the increasing development of America's cotton manufacture and the corresponding restriction of the amount of raw cotton otherwise available for marketing to Great Britain.

(4) The steadily increasing demand by the Egyptian peoples for complete independence and the withdrawal of all British occupational forces; the settlement of the outstanding questions of the control of the Suez Canal; the Sudan; and the status of the British functionaries who occupy all the leading posts in Egyptian and Sudanese administration.

Rival Jealousies.

These differences were further intensified by the rival imperialist competition of France and other powers who also have designs in the Near East, and who, in common with British Imperialism, were promoting irritating and undermining activities, such as furnishing certain tribes with arms, ammunition and

money for the purpose of carrying on marauding expeditions into their rivals' territories and mandated areas.

For several years prior to 1923, Britain had been making provisions for the development of cotton cultivation in the Sudan in order to supplement the supplies available from Egypt and to satisfy the needs of the 57 million British spindles.

From 1899 joint Anglo-Egyptian control had been established in the Sudan, Britain claiming her right by virtue of the re-conquest of the Sudan from the Mahdi. In 1914 at the outbreak of the war, despite 20 years of proposals and promises of withdrawal, Britain declared Egypt a British protectorate.

Independence with Reservations.

After the war the demands of the Egyptians for national independence grew in volume and were suppressed by forcible means. In 1919, the Milner mission reported on the situation and its proposals led to the framing of a new constitution for Egypt. This was rendered necessary because of the great Nationalist disturbances, and in February, 1922, Egypt was granted a constitution and independence.

The British Government informed all powers that full rights were reserved by Britain to take any action judged necessary in Egypt should occasion arise to warrant it.

The Sudan Government, which was a wholly autocratic one, consisting of the Governor-General (then Sir Lee Stack) and a few officials, succeeded in 1919 in securing a loan of five million pounds for the purpose of developing irrigation schemes. In 1921, finding that the whole of the loan had been shamefully squandered and the irrigation work not completed, Sir Lee Stack asked for a further loan from the British Government and was refused.

The Sudan Plantations Syndicate then stepped in and by the agency of a "strong" deputation, including Mr. J. R. Clynes and the son of H. H. Asquith, induced the British Government to advance a further loan of £3,500,000 for irrigation purposes and £1,500,000 for railway construction, etc.

The Sudan Cotton Planters' Syndicate.

The Sudan Cotton Planters' Syndicate are the British Cotton interests. This syndicate stores the cotton for the Sudanese

cotton growers and charges for these services. It advances loans to cultivators based upon the amount of cotton held in store, and receives interest on such loans. It charges a commission on all sales of cotton made and receives an addition of 25 per cent. of the cotton grown in the district as a reward for its services. Its profits in 1924 were at the rate of 35 per cent.

The Sennar Dam.

The place chosen for the great cotton growing scheme was the Ghezireh Valley, the triangular stretch of land between the Blue and White Niles, having its base at Makwar and its apex at the junction of the two great rivers at Khartoum. Roughly, the valley consists of one million acres of cultivatable land. By the construction of a huge barrage on the Blue Nile at Makwar (or Sennar) it would be possible to bring into immediate irrigation and cultivation 300,000 acres of land for cotton growing. The construction of a railway through the district connecting up with the Khartoum—Port Sudan Railway would afford an outlet to the Red Sea and make the country independent of the Egyptian Railway route. The construction of the barrage was commenced, and, after an expenditure of 11 million pounds on the undertaking, was completed and opened in January of the present year.

The workers and peasants of Egypt depend for their very existence upon the waters of the Nile, and British Imperialism's threat to divert more and more of the water for irrigation purposes in the Sudan is viewed with alarm by the whole of Egypt. Many demonstrations and strikes occurred throughout Egypt as protests against Britain's growing power in Egypt and the Sudan, and the development of the huge irrigation schemes which were under construction at Makwar. The opposition to the British scheme was led by the Egyptian Nationalists under the leadership of Zaghlul Pasha.

The Egyptian Government under Zaghlul Pasha had insisted that the area of land to be irrigated by Nile water in the Sudan should not exceed 200,000 feddans (acres). The British, however, had schemes on foot for the ultimate irrigation of over two million acres and were chafing under the restrictions imposed by the Egyptian Government and its representatives in the Egyptian-Sudanese Government.

The Murder of Stack Solves the Difficulty.

The situation had reached a very critical stage for Great Britain when a way out of the difficulty was afforded by the

timely assassination of the Sirdar, Sir Lee Stack, which took place in Cairo in December, 1924. This incident was seized upon by Great Britain as a pretext for launching an ultimatum to the Egyptian Government which demanded the immediate withdrawal of all Egyptian troops and officers from the Sudanese garrisons and transference of complete control to British authorities; the recognition of Britain's claim not to be bound by any previous undertaking respecting the limitation of acreage of land in the Sudan to be ultimately brought under irrigation and cultivation; the imposition of a fine of £500,000 as compensation for the murder of the Sirdar; immediate steps to be taken to trace and punish the assassins; postponement for indefinite period of all questions respecting future control of the Suez Canal and also of the displacing of British officials and functionaries in Egyptian services; seizure by Britain of Alexandria Customs until terms were agreed to.

Naval and military forces were rushed to Egypt. Zaghlul Pasha, the Premier, whilst prepared to make apology for the murder, to pay the indemnity of half-a-million pounds and to punish the responsible persons, refused to accept the other humiliating terms of the ultimatum. Thereupon Lord Allenby, the resident commissioner in Egypt, notified Zaghlul that the Egyptian troops in the Sudan would be removed by force. Zaghlul Pasha immediately resigned office, and King Fuad, the tool of Great Britain, appointed the reactionary Ziwar Pasha as premier with a puppet ministry answerable only to the Court and its British overlords. On the order being given for the removal of Egyptian troops from the Sudan, a rebellion took place of certain garrisons which were crushed with great severity and many casualties, and most of the survivors were afterwards executed. Thus Britain became the sole owner and controller of the Sudan and by this bit of piracy was able to seize all the railways, roads, irrigation schemes, Government buildings, etc., which had been built and paid for by Egypt with millions of pounds extracted from the peasants and workers.

Growing Opposition.

How long Britain will be able to maintain the position she has usurped remains to be seen. One thing is certain, the enormous amount of hatred of British imperialism which exists throughout the Arabic world and which has been overawed for some time by the brutal display of military and naval force, is smouldering beneath the surface. The National Liberation movement grows stronger day by day. In Egypt within the last few months we have seen the remarkable growth of the opposition to

Ziwar Pasha and the consolidation of all the Nationalist forces in Egypt under the leadership of Zaghlul Pasha. The united voices of the Egyptian peoples have demanded that new elections be held under the old constitution law which had been destroyed by Ziwar Pasha and have already succeeded in forcing a promise for an election in April. When the election takes place, the result is a foregone conclusion. The combined Nationalist Parties led by Zaghlul Pasha will have an overwhelming majority and Ziwar Pasha and his crowd will have to go. Any attempt to interfere again with the establishment of a popularly elected government must have grave results. The whole of the Near East from Syria to Morocco is a potential powder magazine at present and nothing can prevent a conflict in the not far distant future.

The task of the British workers is a clear one. We must combat imperialism; demand the withdrawal of all British troops from occupied and mandated territories; demand the granting of full independence to Egypt and the Sudan and all other peoples at present being held down by the armed forces of British imperialism; organise support of the British workers to the struggling Nationalist Liberation movements of the East: give assistance to the native workers to build up their shattered trade unions and syndicates, and to organise the peasantry: demand the release of all Communist and Nationalist prisoners at present in gaol in the Near East and the right of workers to form their own political organisations.

“Hereditary bondsmen! know ye not

Who would be free themselves must strike the blow?

By their right arms the conquest must be wrought?”—

Byron.

Song of the Lower Classes

We plough and sow, we're so very, very low,
That we delve in the dirty clay;
Till we bless the plain with the golden grain,
And the vale with the fragrant hay.
Our place we know, we're so very, very low,
'Tis down at the landlord's feet;
We're not too low the grain to grow,
But too low the bread to eat.

Down, down we go, we're so very, very low,
To the hell of the deep-sunk mines;
But we gather the proudest gems that glow,
When the crown of the despot shines;
And whene'er he lacks, upon our backs
Fresh loads he deigns to lay;
We're far too low to vote the tax,
But not too low to pay.

We're low, we're low—we're very, very low—
And yet from our fingers glide
The silken floss and the robes that glow
Round the limbs of the sons of pride;
And what we get, and what we give,
We know, and we know our share;
We're not too low the cloth to weave,
But too low the cloth to wear.

We're low, we're low, we're very, very low,
And yet when the trumpets ring,
The thrust of the poor man's arm will go
Through the heart of the proudest king.
We're low, we're low—mere rabble, we know—
We're only the rank and file;
We're not too low to kill the foe,
But too low to share the spoil.

ERNEST JONES.

Soviet Russia and the Co-operative Movement

By A.L.M.

ONE of the latest books published by the International Labour Office of the League of Nations is "The Co-operative Movement in Soviet Russia." In the preface the authors state that the book is compiled from data obtained through "the kindness of the Centrosoyus library." It is true that the figures and quotations given are taken from Soviet sources—but only such as help to support the conclusions arrived at by the Labour Office. All the quotations and tables are one-sided.

As the book deals only with consumers' co-operation, we shall restrict ourselves here only to that subject. Though it is divided into four sections, as a matter of fact it can be divided into two :

- (1) Co-operation in Russia during the period of militant communism ; and
- (2) Co-operation under the New Economic Policy.

In the first section, the authors give a number of tables and figures showing how the turnover of the various co-operative organisations and Centrosoyus diminished during that period as compared with the war period ; how inactive Co-operation was ; how its capital diminished ; how insignificant was the part played by Co-operation in supplying its members, etc. ; hence the conclusion that it was the policy of the Soviet Powers and the general programme of the Communist Party that had reduced Co-operation to this deplorable state.

What are the Facts ?

The period of militant communism was that of Civil War in all parts of the country : the British armed forces in the north, Denikin assisted by the French and Americans in the south, Koltchak assisted by the Americans, the Japanese and the whole of the Entente in the east ; and in the west Judenitch and the Poles—again, of course, assisted by the Allies. All these armed forces of the capitalistic world joined in the blockade of Russia. In the interior spasmodic outbursts of counter-revolution : the whole country as a military base. In addition, there was the

general disorganisation which Tsarist Russia had left as a result of the war, and the famine following on the failure of crops. It will be quite clear then that there could be no question of a normal operation of any economic organisation, nor of co-operation either.

As there was a complete shortage of foodstuffs and articles of first necessity, it was quite natural that the Government controlled distribution. Recollect what the position was in England during the war. In the matter of foodstuffs the conditions were immeasurably better than in Soviet Russia, but a certain shortage was experienced, and the Government intervened in distribution.

It is quite obvious that British Co-operation could not have pursued a policy independent of the State during the war. Co-operation was compelled to act merely as a distributor. Provisions were allotted to co-operative organisations in proportion to the number of consumers they had to cater for. It is obvious that in respect of these products, Co-operation did not put into practice any commercial or distributing policy apart from the general State policy. But it would not occur to anyone to reproach British Co-operatives for not showing sufficient activity during those years.

Circumstances were exactly the same in Soviet Russia during the years of militant communism, only on a much larger scale, and to reproach Russian Co-operation for being insufficiently active or efficient in supplying its members, means to adopt the attitude held by the Labour Office of the League of Nations, *i.e.*, that of discrediting at all costs the work of co-operation in Soviet Russia.

The first section of the book speaks of the loss of capital of co-operative organisations in Russia. Now co-operative capital was not great, and the country being in the position we have described, with the value of currency depreciating precipitously, losses were inevitable and were in no sense peculiar to Soviet Russia. Probably proportionately losses were much greater in such comparatively wealthy organisations before the war as the German Co-operative Wholesale Society and the German Consumers' Societies.

In the terrible conditions into which the country was thrown, the Soviet Authorities did all in their power to protect Co-operation from complete destruction, gave it the possibility of preserving its capital and machinery, and enabled it, after the liquidation of these adverse conditions, to progress and develop on firm lines.

With the introduction of the New Economic Policy, the Soviet Government issued a decree on the strength of which all the Co-operative factories and mills which during the Civil War were entirely taken over by the State or in one way or another were lost to Co-operation through the fault of the State, were returned to Co-operation. No such thing was done by the German Government in regard to German Co-operation which had also lost a large portion of its capital during the war, as well as during the first years after the war, owing to inflation.

That is how matters stood during the first period of the existence of Co-operation, the period of militant Communism.

Two Opinions.

The authors give a fairly detailed picture of how, after the introduction of the New Economic Policy, consumers' Co-operation began to gain strength. They reproduce conscientiously a number of quotations and tables showing the trying conditions existing in different cases in one or other co-operative organisation of Soviet Russia, but eventually they arrive at most unexpected conclusions. We quote below the concluding passage of the book :

"The principles and forms of their organisation and the extent of their work are still defined by the State. In reality they have no independent existence ; they are still considered not as associations of consumers but as economic institutions serving the general economic policy of the Communist Party.

"Consumers' co-operatives in Soviet Russia thus still possess the special characteristics which so strikingly distinguish them from co-operative societies in other countries. There cannot be said to be a free co-operative movement sprung from the initiative of the masses. But it is clear that in the struggle between the theories of the Communist Party and actual economic conditions, economic realities are steadily forcing a return to the principles which underlie the co-operative movement in other countries."

Generally, an attentive and conscientious reader, after perusing the first half of the book, without closing passages, must, in spite of the quotations, tables and figures being selected one-sidedly, come to a conclusion in a positive sense, that co-operation in Soviet Russia is developing rapidly and, considering the period of time, more rapidly than in other countries, and that, in spite of difficulties, it is playing a bigger and bigger part in economic development. The conclusions drawn by the authors, however, are somewhat surprising. Their meaning, nevertheless, is plain to us bearing in mind the object which the Labour Office is pursuing when describing this or that aspect of life in Soviet

Russia. On the other hand, in issue No. 2 of February, 1926, of the official organ of the International Co-operative Alliance, "The International Co-operative Bulletin," p. 63, the following paragraphs close the review of this book :

"When the new economic policy was adopted in 1921, it was applied to Co-operation equally with other branches of the national system. Under the new policy called by Lenin "State Capitalism," co-operative activities were to be given a new orientation, including a return to voluntary membership and the cessation of State financial support.

"The role of Co-operation under the new conditions, particularly in connection with nationalised commerce, was one of considerable importance, and the Co-operative Movement as a whole developed greatly. During the last two years the Movement has been steadily tending towards its pre-revolution autonomy and the complete re-establishment of voluntary association."

You will observe that that is quite a different conclusion from the one quoted above. This is only as one might expect because the International Co-operative Alliance being an international co-operative centre is better informed as to the conditions of the Co-operative Movement in Soviet Russia, and, therefore, arrives at conclusions opposite to those contained in the book.

Co-operative Development in Russia.

Co-operative Societies in Russia were first formed in 1863, *i.e.*, 23 years later than in this country. The Tsarist Government put various obstacles in the way of co-operation; to open a co-operative society it frequently required several years before permission was granted. Until 1905 Co-operation was in a sorry condition, but with the rise of the social movement among the working class Co-operation began to develop more rapidly.

From the beginning of the Twentieth century rural Consumers' Societies began to be formed. At the end of the war there were more than 11,000 co-operatives and about 1,650,000 shareholders with a total capital of about 32,000,000 roubles.

During the war, and partly owing to the general scarcity of foodstuffs, the functions of co-operation were extended, and co-operative organisations numbered towards the end of 1916 about 20,000 societies with a capital up to 7,000,000 roubles.

Russian Co-operation To-day.

Since the introduction of the new economic policy the membership in Consumers' Co-operation has developed as follows :

In 1922, 4,900,000 members; 1923, 6,200,000; 1924, 7,200,000; 1925, about 10,000,000 (according to preliminary data).

Of these ten million, a little over four million are workmen who are members of urban co-operative societies, whilst the remaining six million or so are peasants—members of rural co-operative societies. The capital of consumers' organisations is also rapidly increasing.

Co-operation and the Masses.

Now concerning some of the accusations against Russian co-operation contained in the book and the conclusions derived therefrom.

The two chief accusations are that co-operatives in Russia are not free organisations of the masses and do not function on independent lines as consumers' societies should, but are simply and solely economic institutions controlled by the Communist Party.

Those who make assertions of this kind must either be absolutely ignorant of what takes place in Soviet Russia at the present time or they wilfully ignore the facts. In their opinion, Co-operation in Soviet Russia is apparently part and parcel of the State machinery, destined to fulfil certain distribution functions, but not an independent entity sprung from the initiative of its members.

There are certain features of Soviet Co-operation which could, with advantage, be imitated by other countries.

In Soviet Russia Co-operation is regarded as a factor of immense organisation reposing entirely on the free and unfettered initiative of the masses. The essential value of present day Soviet Co-operation lies in the fact that it has taken root in the masses of the people, that it has united the peasants and workers in definite societies, that in the fullest sense of the word it is engaged, together with the whole population in the building up of Socialism.

The Tasks of Co-operation.

As to the third accusation levied against Soviet Co-operation, namely, that Co-operation in Soviet Russia differs entirely from the co-operative movements in other countries. This is partly true, but why? Co-operation all over the world functions in capitalistic surroundings under a bourgeois regime, where poli-

tical power is held by the bourgeoisie, whilst in Soviet Russia the political power is in the hands of the peasants and workers.

The essential tasks of Co-operation in Britain and other bourgeois countries are the union of consumers for the defence of their material interests against the capitalists who supply them with the products and goods they require, and, of course, tasks of an educational and cultural nature, but they are subordinate to the former one. Therefore, a working man is necessarily brought to the conclusion that as long as his society is prosperous, enabling him to get full value for the money he spends, without a penny going to the middleman or shopkeeper, the task of co-operation is fulfilled.

In Soviet Russia, the activities of Co-operation differ, of course, from the tasks set to Co-operation in other countries in the sense that during the transitory period through which Soviet Russia is now passing, all the activities which characterise Consumers' Co-operation generally are also contained in its programme but in addition it has to accomplish a new and tremendous task—the establishment of Socialism.

This then is the essential difference, and this is why Co-operation in Soviet Russia is actually of far greater significance than Co-operation in all the other countries and this is why it is able to achieve so much more for its members than any other co-operative movement.

“All those who oppose intellectual truths merely stir up the fire; the cinders fly about and set fire to that which else they had not touched.”—Goethe.

“Society can overlook murder, adultery or swindling; it never forgives the preaching of a new gospel.”—Frederick Harrison.



BOOK REVIEWS

A Sociologist's Cross-Word Puzzle.—
("Notes on Law and Order," J. A.
HOBSON. Hogarth Press, 2s. 6d.).

Mr. J. A. Hobson after a long life devoted to the study and elucidation of modern economic development, has been amusing himself with a little conundrum.

Every reasonable man, he says, desires orderliness and peacefulness and truthfulness yet, at the same time, man does not desire perfection in these virtues. Then how much law and order, how much peacefulness, etc., are necessary for mankind's future happiness? And forthwith he discusses some clues to the solution of this problem.

As to this enigma that an impeccable and consummate State is apparently an unalluring prospect we feel that life for the bulk of the working class is so appalling that the supposition that when it has removed its economic chains it will desire, because of such a streak of unreasonableness in human nature, the reimposition of some of its former burdens is beside the point even if believable.

A very interesting and clever essay—but, shall we say, also very futile.

L.

Karl Marx's *Capital*: An Introductory Essay. A. D. Lindsay.
(Oxford University Press. 2s. 6d. net.)

This book is announced as an introduction to the study of Marx's

Capital. It is safe to assume that the last thing the author would desire is that his readers seriously take up the study of Marx. That would be fatal for the author of the *Essay*, since it would provide the complete answer to the tissue of misrepresentation contained therein. One or two examples will illustrate the sort of nonsense the Master of Balliol College considers good enough for his unfortunate readers.

Capitalist accumulation, says in effect our gifted author, was made possible because Puritan theology and morals led all the really good men to work hard and save money. This—in an alleged introduction to Marx—without any reference to Part VIII. in the first volume of *Capital* which contains the only possible explanation of capitalist accumulation.

When dealing with "surplus value" Mr. Lindsay solemnly asserts that Marx is not fair to the capitalist inasmuch as the employer ensures the realisation of value by intelligently anticipating demand and thus earns all that he gets. If labour is the source of value, how, he asks, is it that the merchant, employing no workmen, realises a profit? The obvious answer that the merchant shares the profits of the manufacturer is not dealt with, but simply brushed to one side.

The book was written to obscure the robbery of the workers and justify exploitation. In that sense it is useful—for the employers. For the worker it is undiluted poison.

D.R.

BOOKS RECEIVED

"The Victory of Reason": W. ARNOLD FORSTER. (Hogarth Press, 2s.).

A textbook on "pacifist" arbitration in international disputes containing a history of the arbitration principle.