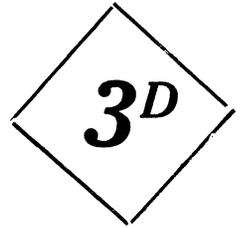


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The Austrian Social-Democrats New Programme

By NIKOLAI BUKHARIN

THE Austrian Social Democratic Party has published the draft of a new Party programme, which will of course be accepted by the next Party Congress. In the official introductory article printed in the "Arbeiter Zeitung" along with the draft, it is stated that "the entire trend of ideas in the draft is Marxist" ("der gesamte Gedenkengang des Entwurfes ist Marxistisch"). But the great thinker, by whose name Messrs. Bauer, Renner and Co. swear, was right when he said: "I sowed dragons, but the harvest I reaped yielded fleas."

The Austrian Social Democrats are fleas—fleas of quite a special kind. They differ from the more blood-thirsty animals of the type of Noske, Wels and Co. They are considerably more moderate, more accurate, and one might even say, more clever. Their work—that of serving capitalist society—is performed much more thoroughly and in a more refined way. They have been able to cling to the body of the working class much more firmly than any of the Social Democratic parties of other countries. Nevertheless—they are only fleas.

As we have said they swear by Marxism. But actually the new draft programme is a critical capitulation to the purest reformism. The authors of the programme state that they have learnt something from Bolshevism (they are not joking) and that they have paid tribute to the "spiritual current" ("Geistesströmungen") in the bosoms of the British "Independents" and the "Young Socialists" in Germany. Actually they have vulgarised a few Bolshevik conceptions and eagerly crammed the programme with feeble sanctimonious moralising drivel, so characteristic of those philanthropic old women who try to find spiritual consolation for themselves in the innocent rose water of the theoreticians of British opportunism.

Capitalism Omitted

It is easy to see that for any workers' party the lessons of the world war and the questions of the post-war crisis of capitalism and of imperialism have a primary and decisive significance. But such happy people as the leaders of the Austrian Social Democrats pass by all these questions. They literally slide away with one or two phrases. Before the war even the Austrian Social Democracy made imperialism the centre of its party work. The war showed with terrible force what this question means in practice. Versailles bent Austria to her knees. The entire world is now writhing in the convulsions of post-war contradictions. But the priests of Austrian Social Democracy are deaf and dumb to all this!

Instead of giving a theoretical analysis of the main lines of the development of modern capitalism, they have preferred to give a couple of quack prescriptions in the spirit of "Socialised" pacifism. From the theoretical point of view, this is bankruptcy, and an intolerable cowardice. It is characteristic that in order to please "Young Socialism" and the British opportunists the makers of the new draft have scratched out all of the old

Social Democratic programme that touches on the historic necessity of Socialism. People bow to "Scientific Socialism," but they have forgotten the *most important thing* in this scientific Socialism: they have forgotten the scientific proof of its *inevitability*. In vain do we search among the "Austrians" for even the slightest trace of Marx's courageous theory of the development in the internal contradictions of capitalism, of the inevitable growth in class antagonism, of the contradictions between the stage of development of productive forces already reached and the shell of capitalist production. In vain do we seek in this programme a reply to the question—what was the importance of the world war from this viewpoint? In vain do we seek a reply to the question that follows from this: what is the fate of the capitalist world economy? There is *nothing* of this in the programme.

Imperialism Not Mentioned

Why? Because these questions lead straight either to an undistorted *Marxist* (i.e., Bolshevik) position, else to a frank denial of Marxism owing to its being "out-of-date." And it is precisely the task of the "Anti-Marxists" to manoeuvre in a cowardly way on this issue. Their "view" is expounded in the following manner:

"The capitalist classes of the highly capitalised States endeavour to conquer economically backward areas outside the European cultural circle, for markets of raw material, and spheres for the investment of capital. Competition in the struggle for colonies begets more and more new contradictions among the capitalist world powers. The penetration of imperialism into non-European cultural circles overthrows their traditional social regime and evokes in them a defensive struggle against foreign domination. A result of these upheavals there is a constant danger of war. Simultaneously, along with the development of the technique of capitalist big industry, military technique changes also. The development of capitalism thus threatens to destroy the whole of civilisation in its terrible wars." (The end of the first section "Capitalism.")

That is all. What is there interesting to us here? First, there is not even the *word* "Imperialism" here. Second, there is only an empiric description of facts, in no way explained theoretically. Third, not a word is said as to the *inevitability* of wars under the capitalist regime; that is, we have here a *complete rejection* of one of the main ideas of Marxism, which defended even by the old Social Democracy.

Hilferding at times used to display a faint hope and in spite of his knowledge of monstrous armaments secret treaties, and imminent conflicts, used to put forward theses on the new shape of capitalism, which thought compelled us to recognise that the idea of the inevitability of wars under Capitalism is incorrect. The authors of this programme do not answer either "Yes" or "No": they maintain a shameful silence, in practice abandoning Marxism.

Fourthly, it is actually untrue to say that the s

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gle goes on for the backward regions (cf. for example the question of Alsace-Lorraine and the French occupation of the Ruhr). Fifthly, the draft programme, in the most shameless and scoundrelly manner, lays the blame on the colonial peoples. Indeed, what is actually written in the sentence quoted? Capitalism "penetrates" into the colonies. Risings start there. And as a result of this there is a danger of "terrible wars." What a fine formulation! Instead of saying that the causes lie in the imperialist policy of the capitalist States, which plunder the colonies and fight for the loot amongst themselves; instead of recognising the right of the oppressed peoples to rebel and pledging themselves to support the national revolutions against imperialists (it is characteristic that the programme does not even call these revolutions by their name) the leaders of the Austrian Social Democratic Party speak of these colonial movements as the main reason for the danger of war!

Such a position is contemptible. It is nothing more nor less than a repetition of the falsehoods and slanders which the British imperialists and their hangers-on let loose when, for instance, they represent the Chinese revolution as being the main threat to peace, and accuse the Soviet Union of being mainly responsible for the infringement of the wonderful "peace" which the imperialist politicians and Social Democrats of the Vandervelde type created at Versailles.

Finally we should point out that in the whole of the draft programme there is not a word about the Soviet Union. Herr Bauer, who is naturally connected with the draft programme, has been compelled to acknowledge, in the "Arbeiter Zeitung," the Socialist elements in our economic system and the corresponding nature of our State. Has he renounced this or not? There should have been an answer to this question in the programme.

Does Soviet Russia Exist?

We by no means demand our recognition on the part of Messrs. Bauer and the like. But the fact that the question of the Soviet Union is passed by can be nothing less but cowardice. It would be more honest to say something anti-Communist, but at least say something! All international policy to a considerable extent depends on this question. But here also the priests of "Austro-Marxism" hypocritically evade the issue.

Such is their "theoretical" analysis.

The conclusions which are drawn in the sixth section of the programme ("Die Internationale") correspond fully with the rest of it.

They mention first of all the "League of Nations." The Social Democrats, you see, are fighting against the "distortion" of the League of Nations and its transformation into an instrument for defending the capitalist social regime. ("Sie bekämpfen die Verfälschung des Völkerbundes zum Werkzeug der Verteidigung der kapitalistischen Gesellschaftsordnung"). This is an opportunist, anti-Marxist and anti-revolutionary presentation of the question, through and through. The programme is hypocritically naive. Its authors know very well that the League of Nations is a League of the gov-

ernments of the victorious imperialist powers, directed against the colonies, against the U.S.S.R. and against the conquered States which it wants to tame. They know very well that an attempt at "correcting" such a "League of Nations" is pitiful nonsense. It is absurd to represent the "League" as a virgin, deprived of her innocence through no fault of her own. The essential fact about the League of Nations is that it is a capitalist and imperialist group. It has not been "distorted" into an instrument for defending the capitalist order; from the very first it has been such an instrument, has acted as such, and will continue so to act in the future. The programme conceals this from the workers in order to screen the treachery of Messrs. Boncour, Thomas, Vandervelde and the other "functionaries" of the League, who at the same time are members of that fraternity called the Second International, in which Herr Bauer is also to be found.

The policy of "reforming" the League of Nations is a most pitiful reformist utopia. The "Holy Alliance" of European counter-revolution is a battle ground for Social-Democratic manoeuvres, now that the Social-Democrats have left off being Socialists, and some of them even have left off being Democrats.

The League and the Republic

On international questions, then, the programme stands entirely on the basis of the "existing order." Support for the League of Nations, with utopian attempts at its "reform"; protests—under the pacifist flag—against the colonial-revolutionary struggle of the awaking masses of humanity; a cowardly pose of silence on the question of the Soviet Union . . . Such is the position of the Austrian Social Democrats. We find the same way of looking at things in respect to "domestic" policy.

Here also the main Marxist principle is forgotten—the principle of a consistently conducted class struggle. On international questions there was neither a class analysis of the League of Nations, nor a class analysis of power in the Soviet Union, nor a class analysis of colonial movements. On internal questions the main thing lacking is a class analysis of the present Austrian State. The entire paragraph on this question is filled with empty phrases about the defence of the Republic—the Republic and again the Republic.

Instead of opening the eyes of the workers as to the bourgeois nature of this Republic, denouncing it as a form of rule by the bourgeoisie, the programme stands firmly for accepting this Republic and strengthening it in all ways.

For a real revolutionary Party, radical and democratic demands are merely a means of shaking up the existing bourgeois apparatus: these demands are a wedge which the proletarian party drives into the State apparatus of the bourgeoisie in order to smash it. By the Austrian Social Democracy (which even before the war got the nick-name of "the Imperial Royal Social Democracy") these demands are worked out as part of a "serious," "orderly" and "honourable" task: the task of helping to strengthen and "perfect" the present Austrian State. That is why the old slogan: "Not a penny for the gendarmes!" has been replaced by a new slogan:—

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"The maintenance of troops adequate for defeating any counter-revolutionary rebellion. Guarantee of the Republican nature of troops In the same manner it is necessary to guarantee the Republican nature of the police and gendarmerie."

It is worth while examining for a moment these "Marxist" (you might at least be ashamed, kind gentlemen!) conceptions. "Adequate troops" are not by any means needed in a bourgeois State in order to suppress counter-revolution. In such a country as Austria, which to a considerable extent exists by the grace of the victorious powers, the bourgeois State (be it *thrice* Republican!) needs troops, police and gendarmes first and foremost in order to suppress the working class. For this the Republican (bourgeois-Republican) nature of a gendarme, a General or a policeman can be "assured." The Republican generals of present-day France, with their banner of "Liberté, Egalité, Fraternité," fire on the workers or smash whole towns to the ground with their artillery in the colonies, while the detectives of the Republic perform their "Republican" work excellently. There is no harm in remembering also the United States, where even the electric chair applied to revolutionaries is decorated with the coat-of-arms of the Republican benefactors. Messrs. Otto Bauer and Company ask that the gendarmes and policemen should be "trained" in the spirit of devotion to the Republic, and do not say a word about propagating the *class* ideas of the proletariat among the troops. Marxism, which is used for mercilessly removing all formal wrappings and destroying all fetish-like absurdities, revealing the class content of any social institution, is transformed in the hands of the prophets of Austro-Marxism into a mass of jelly at which a real revolutionary can only be nauseated.

Form "Republican" police! Form a "Republican" gendarmerie! Form "Republican" troops! Support the sacred, innocent, democratic, non-class Republic.*

Policy in Industry

Since the Austrian Social Democrats approach their class enemy, the bourgeois State, in this way, it is not

* It goes without saying that there can be moments of concentrated struggle against a Monarchist danger. But the corresponding tactical steps serve as a means for the subsequent development of the class struggle, and have nothing in common with support for the policy or structure of the bourgeois Republic.

surprising that they approach in exactly the same way the question of economic policy and of bourgeois production.

Here also the main viewpoint is very "constructive." The Austrian Social Democratic gentlemen have assimilated excellently this "constructive" music, from the Sunday sermons in the temple of Mr. MacDonald, who long ago "abolished" and "conquered" Marxism as "out-of-date."

The first phrase from the paragraph on economic policy begins like this:

"Social Democracy helps to increase the efficiency of labour, as a pre-requisite to the rise in the standard of living of the toiling masses of the people."

Such a formula would be quite in place in a proletarian State. But the Austrian Social Democrats regard their own bourgeois republic and "their own" bourgeois industry with such esteem that, unnoticed by themselves, they assume on their shoulders tasks which in effect are the tasks of the bourgeoisie.

Among the concrete demands put forward there is much that is "correct." But—just think a little, gentlemen!—is not this formula entirely covered by the "rationalisation of production" aimed at by the bourgeoisie, with all its baits? Of course! And the publicists of German Social Democracy have been transformed into the pillars of capitalist reorganisation on the assumption that Social Democracy under capitalism should "help to increase the efficiency of labour."

Fake Factory Committees

Here again: a revolutionary party's economic demands sharpen the class struggle to the greatest possible extent at any given moment. The position from which the Austrian Social Democracy starts is anxiety for the capitalist "whole."

This explains the fact that instead of a struggle against the tariffs and the increasing cost of living, the wise authors of the programme write about "a permanent international decrease in the system of protective (!) tariffs."

In the light of this, the slogan of "democracy in industry" put forward in the section on "Social Policy" assumes a quite definite meaning: it implies the capitalist "constitutional" factory where the corrupted upper strata of the workers help the capitalists to simplify their management and improve or conceal the productive relations of capitalism.

To a revolutionary party of the proletariat, the



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struggle for extending the rights of factory committees, etc., is a means of class struggle *against* capitalist production. But the fakirs and magicians of Austrian Social Democracy are following the path of the Gompers and Greens with their "labour banks," the path of the British reformists who are trying hard to create a "community of interests" between capital and labour. This honourable, "Marxist" task, however, astonishingly resembles a thorough and "well thought-out" betrayal of Marxism.

The Conquest of Power

If we must build up the "Republic" under capitalism (and not undermine it) then what is the use of talking about revolution or dictatorship?

And if under capitalism we must help the bosses in every way in their "social" anxieties as to the "efficiency of labour," then how can we even offend these people, let alone use destructive methods?

In his letter to Weydemeyer, dated March 5th, 1852, Marx wrote:

"As far as I am concerned the service of discovering classes in modern society does not belong to me, nor the service of discovering the struggle among them. Bourgeois historians long before me expounded the historic development of this struggle, while bourgeois economists expounded the economic anatomy of classes. What I did new was to prove the following: (1) that the existence of classes is connected only with definite historic forms of struggle, peculiar to the development of production; (2) **that the class struggle inevitably leads to the dictatorship of the proletariat**; (3) that this dictatorship itself is merely a transition towards the abolition of all classes, and the establishment of a social order in which there will be no place for separation into classes."

Thus Marx himself personally pointed out that the conception of the inevitability of the dictatorship of the proletariat is the basis of Marxism. Herr Karl Kautsky, to please the bourgeoisie, transformed this basis into a "little word" that Marx let slip by chance, and did this just at the time when the proletariat had come face to face with the problem of conquering power. What does the Austrian programme do with all this? Oh, it acts awfully shrewdly, don't you know!

As the main path it puts forward that the Social Democratic Party may "conquer power thanks to a decision on the basis of universal suffrage."

"Only then," the programme suddenly bursts out "will the democratic Republic be transformed from an instrument of the class rule of the bourgeoisie" (Aha! and what about support for the gendarmes, dear gentlemen?) "into an instrument for the liberation of the toiling people."

On the way towards this there may also be an equilibrium of forces—and then the working class "shares" power with the bourgeoisie (coalition!)

Finally the programme puts forward the following conception:

"The bourgeoisie will not yield its positions voluntarily: it will overthrow the democratic republic: it will endeavour to set up a Monarchist or Fascist dictatorship if universal suffrage threatens to hand over State power to the working class, or has already done so. If by such attempts bourgeois democracy were to be undermined the working class could only conquer State

power by civil war, and during the civil war could use its power only with the aid of methods of dictatorship."

These extracts, it seems to us show with sufficient clarity all the eclecticism, all the helplessness, all the opportunist confusion, the whole assortment of contradictions into which the creators of the new programme fall in "manœuvring" between "democracy" and proletarian dictatorship.

If the bourgeoisie inevitably arrives at Monarchism and Fascism, then it is absurd to have faith in its Republican benefactors; then it is necessary to denounce in advance its class position and prepare *in advance* the proletariat for the struggle for the dictatorship.

If the bourgeoisie will not yield its positions voluntarily, then it is absurd to think of a coalition with it.

If bourgeois democracy is an instrument of bourgeois rule, then it is absurd to support the gendarmerie, troops and police.

The Republic then becomes not an abstract "idea" of a Republic but a real State power belonging to a real class.

If the bourgeoisie will not yield its positions voluntarily, then even the winning of a parliamentary majority is not the conquest of power, but is only a vote which does not yet solve a problem that can only be solved by force. The real force must then *be created in advance*, by organising the proletariat, arming it, etc., etc.

The programme says nothing about this. It talks about just the opposite: about faith in the bourgeois Republic, about the need to build it up, etc. In such a context, phrases about dictatorship remain phrases, and "real policy" will be simply a repetition of the same criminal policy by which Bauer helped to crush the Soviets in Hungary and betrayed the Soviets in Austria *ad majorem gloriam* of bourgeois democracy.

All this part of the programme is permeated through and through with legal cretinism.

The economic programme for the transition from capitalism to socialism, developed in the fifth section of this document, is also penetrated with the same cretinism. Here the main "axle" consists of the idea that the process of socialising industry, economy and the preliminary "expropriation of the expropriators" will proceed in such an idyllic manner that there will not be even temporary damage done to production. In full accord with the peaceful "conquest of power" through universal suffrage we have a peaceful liberation from "capitalist commands" in the field of production.

This idyll is so bright that it does not need any special criticism. The programme leaves open the question of compensation, and triumphantly promises that there will be no need whatsoever for such a barbaric thing as the monopolisation of the "means of spiritual production—the press, publishing houses, theatres." In other words here again the talk of the dictatorship is forgotten; it looks like the "free State" of the Gotha programme, about which Engels wrote to Bebel in his letter of March 18-28, 1875:

"As the State is only a transition institution, it has to be utilised in the struggle, in the revolution, in order to suppress one's opponents by force; it is pure nonsense to talk about a free people's State; while the proletariat still needs a State, it needs it not in the interests of liberty, but in order to suppress its opponents; and when it becomes possible to talk of freedom, then the State as such ceases to exist."

The Austrian Social Democrats' New Programme—continued.

Religion and Education

We should say a few words also about such "higher matters" as religion. On this question the programme says:

"It (i.e., Social Democracy) considers religion as the personal affair of each individual. **Social Democracy thus does not fight against religion.**" (Our black type—N.B.)

This is not the viewpoint of a proletarian party. Even in his early work: "*On the criticism of the Hegelian philosophy of the Right*" Marx wrote:

"The struggle" (hearken, hearken!—N.B.) "against religion is . . . an indirect struggle against the universal order of which religion is the spiritual aroma." (Nachlass, III ed., p. 384.)

"The criticism of heaven is turned into a . . . criticism of earth, the criticism of religion into a criticism of law, the criticism of theology into a criticism of politics." (P. 585.)

"It (religion) is opium for the people" (Ibid).

And in the famous "Criticism of the Gotha Programme" we read in reference to the slogan of "freedom of conscience":

"**'Freedom of conscience!'** If they wanted to remind Liberalism of its old phrases used during the 'Kultur-kampf,' this could be done in such a form: 'every-one can satisfy their religious needs without the police poking their nose in.' But a workers' party is nevertheless bound to express its view, viz.: that **bourgeois 'freedom of conscience'** is simply a tolerant attitude towards all possible kinds of **religious freedom of conscience** (Marx's black type) and that it (i.e., the Workers' Party) strives on the contrary, for **consciences free from religious garbage.** However, people do not like going outside the limits of the 'bourgeois' level."

Indeed, Austrian Social Democracy does not like going outside these limits! It prefers to sit in the "religious garbage" and, proud of this free thought, to go on repeating phrases about Marxism. It is not interested in the fact that Marx branded with contempt and sarcasm its attitude. It is not interested in the fact that Marx found the most venomous words for this en-

feebled petty bourgeois spinelessness, which in reality is one of the manifestations of opportunism. The leaders of the Austrian Social Democrats have so inflated all the "spiritual tendencies" in their own Party that not a trace of Marxism is left.

At the same time, allusion should be made to the "pacifist," "tolerant," etc., viewpoint of the programme on questions of education. We will not refer here to details. What is the main thing here? "The Republican spirit," "peace among the peoples," "respect for the rights and properties of other people," etc. All this is very fine. But in vain do we seek for the class idea of the proletariat, the gospel of the class war, or education in the spirit of hate for the cursed capitalist order, for the bourgeoisie, for imperialism.

In effect not a trace of militant Marxism (from which Austrian Social Democracy has always been far distant) is preserved in this programme. Everything is painted in tones of drawing-room tolerance and the humanitarianism of philanthropic old ladies; everything blooms with the wreaths that testify to the absolute purity of the intentions of such "statesmen" as Messrs. Bauer, Renner and the rest of the "Austro-Marxists."

* * * * *

We have not referred to the question of the land policy, already accepted. We also have not examined certain fairly important features of the programme, its attitude towards the peasantry, etc. Here the Austrians have "learnt" a few things from the Bolsheviks. But all these ideas are in essence presented in an anti-revolutionary context. In linking themselves up with the peasantry, the Austrians are not leading the latter into the struggle against capitalism, but on the path towards strengthening capitalism. Their main position is such that a number of correct ideas are wound on to a thoroughly reformist reel. The Austrians are compelled "to manoeuvre"; they are turning their eyes to the left. That is why they are particularly harmful. Their ideology bears the label "Marxism," but this should read: "Reformism. Opportunism. Eclecticism." May the name of this trinity be sacred in the Social Democratic heaven!

Trade Union Unity in Bulgaria

By G. DMITROV

THE destiny of the Bulgarian trade union movement has always been closely bound up with that of the Social-Democratic Party. The great internal struggle which broke out in the ranks of this party between the two tendencies—the revolutionary Socialists ("narrow" Socialists) and the Mensheviks ("broad" Socialists)—led to the formation of two Socialist Parties and made a split in the trade union movement inevitable. This took place in 1904, a year after the split of the Party.

Ever since the beginning of this split in the trade union movement of Bulgaria, the class trade unions, led by the Communist Party, have been working for the complete restoration of unity, in spite of the numerical ascendancy they attained recently (they had 35,000 members against 1,000-1,500 in the Menshevik unions at the time of the 1923 insurrection). They believe that no matter how weak the Menshevik trade unions may

be numerically, their separate existence prevents a united struggle of the proletariat and is only an advantage to the workers' enemies.

After Tsankoff's government had smashed the Communist Party, with the help of Kazassoff, the Menshevik Minister, and with the moral and political support of the Menshevik Party, the Mensheviks started trying to break up the class trade unions. They hoped that the working masses, left without their trade union organisations, and under the regime of terror, would be compelled to enter the ranks of the Menshevik trade unions under the banner of the Menshevik Party.

However, the masses not only did not follow the Mensheviks, but began to hate still more than previously the counter-revolutionary Menshevik Party and the Amsterdam International, which supported it in its splitting and treacherous policy.

The masses in the trade unions that were closed

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down took the first chance that came to rally once more in their own class unions. "Independent" trade unions were formed and in the first few months, despite the persecutions of the terrorist regime, their numerical strength was five times the membership of the Menshevik unions, which enjoyed complete freedom.

At the time of their inauguration the independent trade unions undertook a campaign for trade union unity and made a concrete proposal to the Menshevik trade unions and the autonomous trade union organisations of State employees, concerning unification on an equal basis on the principle of the class struggle. As a result of the extreme worsening of the position of the working class, and the savage capitalist offensive after the dissolution of the Communist trade unions, the masses welcomed very joyfully this initiative for trade union unity. The idea had never been so live and popular. Its influence even penetrated into the ranks of the Menshevik trade unions and autonomous trade union organisations.

The leaders of the Menshevik unions, however, rejected the unification proposed to them. Taking advantage of the conditions of the terrorist regime they announced that whoever wanted unity will find the path by entering their "free" trade unions, "which maintain contact with millions of the international proletariat through the great Amsterdam International."

But they felt that this position, in face of the working masses who were striving for real trade union unity, could not bear criticism; they therefore had recourse to the aid of the Amsterdam International against the unity movement. The Amsterdam trade union centre immediately responded by summoning a Balkan Trade Union Conference for April of the present year at Sofia.

Unity Not on Agenda

The object of this Amsterdam conference was to arouse the Bulgarian workers (and those of other Balkan countries) to adhere to the Menshevik trade unions and to realise trade union "unity" within the framework and under the banner of the Amsterdam International. The independent trade unions in Bulgaria and Yugoslavia, and the Unity T.U.'s in Roumania asked to be admitted to this Balkan conference, as they united the majority of the workers in their countries organised in trade unions. They also asked that the question of trade union unity be put on the conference agenda. These requests were rejected by the Amsterdam International.

In spite of this, the wide campaign of the Bulgarian independent trade unions and of the working masses in favour of trade union unity, which made its mark amongst the working masses, compelled the Amsterdam conference to examine the question of unity. It had to suggest to the Menshevik trade unions that they should enter into negotiations for unification with the independent trade unions and renounce their former insistence that the independent trade unions should come over into their ranks.

The Trick Failed

The splitting plans of the Bulgarian Mensheviks and the Amsterdam International met with failure. The idea of trade union unity so strongly supported by the

wide masses of the workers secured a decisive victory. The joint celebration of the first of May by the Independent and Menshevik trade unions, despite the endeavours of the Menshevik Party to prevent it, show that under the pressure of the workers of both camps a concrete solution of the problem of trade union unity has become inevitable.

The leaders of the Menshevik trade unions were compelled to begin negotiations for trade union unity. The increasing disintegration in the Social-Democratic Party, and its actual split, decreased to a large extent its influence over the workers in the Menshevik trade unions, and helped forward still more the realisation of trade union unity. The negotiations which were begun and carried on under the pressure and control of the working masses themselves, led to the drawing up of a joint unification programme which was passed unanimously by both sides at a huge meeting of workers on July 21st in Sofia ending with the singing of the "Internationale." By this triumphant act the unification of the Bulgarian trade unions, split and at daggers drawn for over 20 years, was at last proclaimed.

The essential points in the unification programme were as follows:

(1) The United Trade Unions are independent of political parties organisationally. But they recognise the necessity of the political organisation of the proletariat and adopt the standpoint of the class struggle.

(2) The United Trade Unions set themselves the task of defending the interests of the working class by means of the class struggle, and of the abolition of the wage slavery of the workers.

(3) Until the unification Congress, which should take place within the next six months, the leading organs of the united trade unions are composed of an equal number of representatives of both sides, irrespective as to the difference in the number of workers in their organisations.*

(4) The United Trade Unions will fight for the international solidarity of the workers, and support any lead (in the first place the Anglo-Russian Committee) towards realising International Trade Union Unity. They will exchange information with the Amsterdam International. This will not place them under any obligation. The question of international affiliation (whether to affiliate to Amsterdam or not) will be settled by the Congress.

A Dangerous Compromise

By virtue of this agreement the most disputed question between the independent trade unions and the Menshevik trade unions, namely, international affiliation, is settled by a compromise. The Menshevik trade unions remain in Amsterdam, and undertake to support the Anglo-Russian Committee. The independent unions, which do not formally belong to any international organisation, agree that the United Trade Unions shall exchange information with the Amsterdam International.

Of course, this compromise includes a certain moral recognition of and reconciliation with the Amsterdam International, which in practice denies the class struggle

* This tactical step (agreement to a parity basis of the organisational Commission) was dictated by the calculation of the Bulgarian comrades that this concession would prevent the reformist leaders from sabotaging the calling of a Unity Congress.

Trade Union Unity in Bulgaria—continued

—the only basis of real trade union unity—and is continuously conducting a splitting policy. This is still more the case if temporary organisational contact with the Amsterdam International is regarded (as it is by the Amsterdamites and certain liquidatory elements in the independent trade unions), as a step along the road to organisational affiliation of the United Trade Unions to Amsterdam, to be decided upon at a general congress. Such a compromise is in contradiction to the fundamental spirit of unity, as the masses themselves understand it, holding that unity is brought about not on a compromising Amsterdam basis, but on the basis of a real class struggle against capitalism.

But despite this error in the unity campaign, an error which, by the way, has been to a considerable degree rectified by the campaign of denunciation conducted in respect to the splitting and treacherous policy of the Amsterdam International, the unification which has taken place is a big event, a definite step forward towards the realisation of trade union unity in Bulgaria, a victory for the idea of working class unity against the splitting policy of the Menshevik Party and the Amsterdam International.

The historic significance of the proclamation of unity does not lie, of course, in the fact that the 5,000 members of the independent trade unions are increased by another 1,000-1,500 members of the Menshevik trade unions, but in the fact that through this unity wide perspectives open up for the consolidation of the Bulgarian proletariat into class unions, for increasing the mass struggle against capitalism and reaction, for developing a Labour movement in Bulgaria after the grave defeats suffered during recent years.

The great significance of the decisive step made towards trade union unity is also confirmed by the attitude of the Bulgarian bourgeoisie towards the Menshevik Party and towards this unity. The Government press has displayed displeasure and alarm at the agreement between the independent and the Menshevik trade unions. They see in the fact that the affiliation of the united trade unions to Amsterdam has not been decided on immediately, a victory for the independent trade unions, for Communism, for Moscow. The papers are asking the Government to watch the activity of the trade unions vigilantly and to take the necessary steps to prevent the Bulgarian trade union movement turning once more into revolutionary paths.

The bourgeois oppositional press doubts whether by means of unity the Mensheviks will be able to "tame" the Communist proletariat and bring them into Amsterdam. It believes the opposite will happen; the Menshevik workers themselves will be led under the banner of Moscow. Both the government and the bourgeois opposition realise that it is a question of joining up the disunited workers' forces on a class basis and in a determined struggle against capitalism and reaction, against the bourgeois order; they see in this unity a revival of their class enemy, so cruelly persecuted and ruthlessly bled; they see in it a lever which will help to revive and develop the movement for the emancipation of the workers.

Mensheviks Angry

The Menshevik Party, of course, is particularly discontented. In its paper "Narod," it has opened up a frantic campaign against the unification programme.

It accuses the leaders of the Menshevik trade unions of shamefully capitulating to the Communists by agreeing to leave the Amsterdam International. Unity outside Amsterdam is a terrible crime!

The Menshevik Party do not believe that the Unity Congress will decide on affiliation to the Amsterdam International, in the present anti-Amsterdam mood of the working masses. After its frantic press campaign against the proclamation of unity, the Menshevik Party began actually to destroy this unity. With the aid of the secretary of the Menshevik trade union centre, who at the time when the unification programme was accepted was away from Bulgaria, the Menshevik Party called a special conference of "free" trade unions to take a "lawful" decision on the question of unity.

The majority of the delegation to this conference, officials of the Menshevik co-operative "Napred," elected by no one, declared the unification proclaimed to be illegal and proposed that the unification programme should be re-examined.

The following proposals had been previously passed unanimously by the Menshevik trade unions: (a) the immediate affiliation of the united trade unions to Amsterdam; (b) to summon the unity congress not in six months time, but in two years, each side to send an equal number of delegates despite the fact that the numerical proportion between the Menshevik and independent trade unions is 1 to 5; (c) the Congress to elect a Central Committee of the unified unions composed of an equal number of representatives of both sides. The workers' section of the delegates to this conference, representatives of the Menshevik trade unions, who had really been elected, opposed this decision almost to a man, stating that the proposal of such monstrous conditions meant that the unity between the independent and the "free" trade unions, already decided upon, would be completely destroyed. They also stated that despite this decision of the "majority," which actually had nothing in common with the trade union movement, they were going to abide by the unification programme, and could not agree to the wrecking of trade union unity, so vitally necessary to the Bulgarian proletariat, just for the sake of the Menshevik Party and Amsterdam.

"We can get on quite all right without Amsterdam, but we cannot make a single step forward without trade union unity." That is what their main argument amounts to. The opponents of unity in the Menshevik camp make wide use of a letter from Sassenbach (Secretary of the Amsterdam International), sent to the Menshevik trade union centre, in which he expresses on behalf of Amsterdam, his "doubts" and "fears" in respect to the proclaimed unification, and indirectly advises that it be rejected, as not corresponding with the principles of the Amsterdam International.

The Obstacles to Unity

However, it seems that such arguments do not influence the workers in the Menshevik trade unions. They see clearly that *the greatest obstacles to unity are the Menshevik Party and the Amsterdam International*, while the cursed Communists are seriously and sincerely working for the definite realisation of trade union unity. And, therefore, the Menshevik trade union organisations, in the majority of towns, are against the decisions of the "Conference" and for the unification

(Continued on page 9.)

The World Conflict in China

By SEN KATAYAMA

THE Canton expedition against the North has so far been successful. The expeditionary force has captured Wuchang and Hankow. But this will not as yet prove to be a decisive victory for the Canton army, as it will have to look after its rear and flanks before making any further advance.

Chen-Chiung-ming is trying to get a chance to attack Canton from Fukien province, while Sun-Chwan-fang's position remains one of hostile waiting. A firm grip on the province of Hunan is certain to strengthen the influence of the Canton government in South China. And if only the Canton expeditionary force under General Chiang-Kai-shek avoids making a hasty advance without first consolidating its base of operations, and above all keeps Canton and the Kwantung province safe from any attack by Chen-Chiung-ming, the Canton army is sure to reap the full fruits of its victory.

Although an expedition against the North has often been discussed by the Canton Government, it has never hitherto come to anything. When Sun-Yat-sen was President of the Canton Government in 1922, he attempted an expedition to the North, establishing his headquarters at Kweilin, in Kwangsi province, but one of his generals, Li-Lieh-chun, opposed the plan. When General Chen-Chiung-ming, then Commander-in-Chief of Sun-Yat-sen's army and now one of Canton's opponents, disappeared and resigned, discontent spread through the army. Chen seized Canton, and Sun-Yat-sen had to flee for his life. Another unsuccessful attempt was made by a General Tan-Yen-kai, the former war lord of Hunan province, and another of Sun's one-time subordinates.

China a Colony

Later Sun-Yat-sen made another attempt, establishing himself at Ahoakwan, the northern terminus of the railway from Canton towards Hankow in the north of the Kwantung province, but that was all. A few shots were fired and one or two small skirmishes occurred, but the expedition was an utter failure.

Apparently the time for the expedition has been well

Trade Union Unity in Bulgaria—continued from page 8 programme and the decision to summon a unification congress. The Printers' Union, which is also discontented with the decision of the "Conference," is summoning a Congress of its own to decide in favour of unity.

The united front of the Menshevik Party, the terrorist government, the bourgeoisie and the Amsterdam International against the class unity of the Bulgarian proletariat is helping to increase the movement for trade union unity among the Bulgarian workers, and there is no doubt that this unity—at the price of a difficult and stubborn struggle—will ultimately be attained.

This case of Bulgaria again fully confirms the correctness of the Comintern position on the question of trade union unity, and may serve as a warning against the tendencies towards capitulation to Amsterdam which have made their appearance in certain Communist Parties.

chosen. The First National Army, although it has retreated, has remained quite intact, and is spoken of with admiration even by its enemies; and the Second National Army, though also defeated, is now reported to be well organised and ready at any moment to strike. But it has proved to be impossible for either of these two armies to support the Cantonese, as their bases are too far north.

Sun-Chwan-fang at Shanghai holds the key to the situation just at present. We do not know what he means to do. Like all the other generals in China (excepting those of the Canton Government and People's Armies) he has no freedom of choice; he must move according to the wishes of his foreign imperialist supporters. A correct estimation of each foreign imperialist Power and its influence is absolutely necessary if we want to judge the situation in China correctly.

China is an international capitalist colony, a dumping ground for the goods of capitalist countries. In order to keep her as a profitable market, the imperialist countries are struggling to keep her under their control. By dumping cheap goods from the industrially advanced countries into China, they make it impossible for her to start her own industries to supply her home market. In order to crush China's industries the imperialists use the "unequal treaties" which deprive China of economic freedom.

Moreover, the foreign capitalist powers are destroying the old home industries. The handicraft men, in debt, lose their tools and soon are unemployed; the peasant proprietors lose their land and also became unemployed or dispossessed—inevitable consequences of the industrial revolution in China.

The Industrial Revolution

An industrial revolution due to the inroads of foreign capital always causes misery and unemployment, but in China poverty and misery are more terrible than in any other country. The industrial revolution in China is not like what it was in England or even in Japan. Both countries were able to re-employ in their developing industries those who were thrown out of work by the change in industrial methods. In China the unfair and oppressive treaties imposed by the foreign capitalist Powers make it impossible to build up new industries in place of the old-fashioned handicraft industries. Furthermore, China's restricted income from the customs duties and salt tax is robbed from her by her foreign creditors.

In order to exploit China each of the foreign imperialist Powers supports one or another militarist general or generals, giving them cash (for rich concessions) and supplying them with artillery and ammunition. With the help of its generals, each Power hopes to unify China, and set up a central government by armed force in order to exploit China in its own interests. The competition for this among the foreign imperialist Powers has kept the country in a state of constant civil war. At the same time there is a permanent mobilisation of the counter-revolutionary forces against the national revolutionaries. As a result—permanent chaos.

The World Conflict in China—continued.
Workers and Nationalism

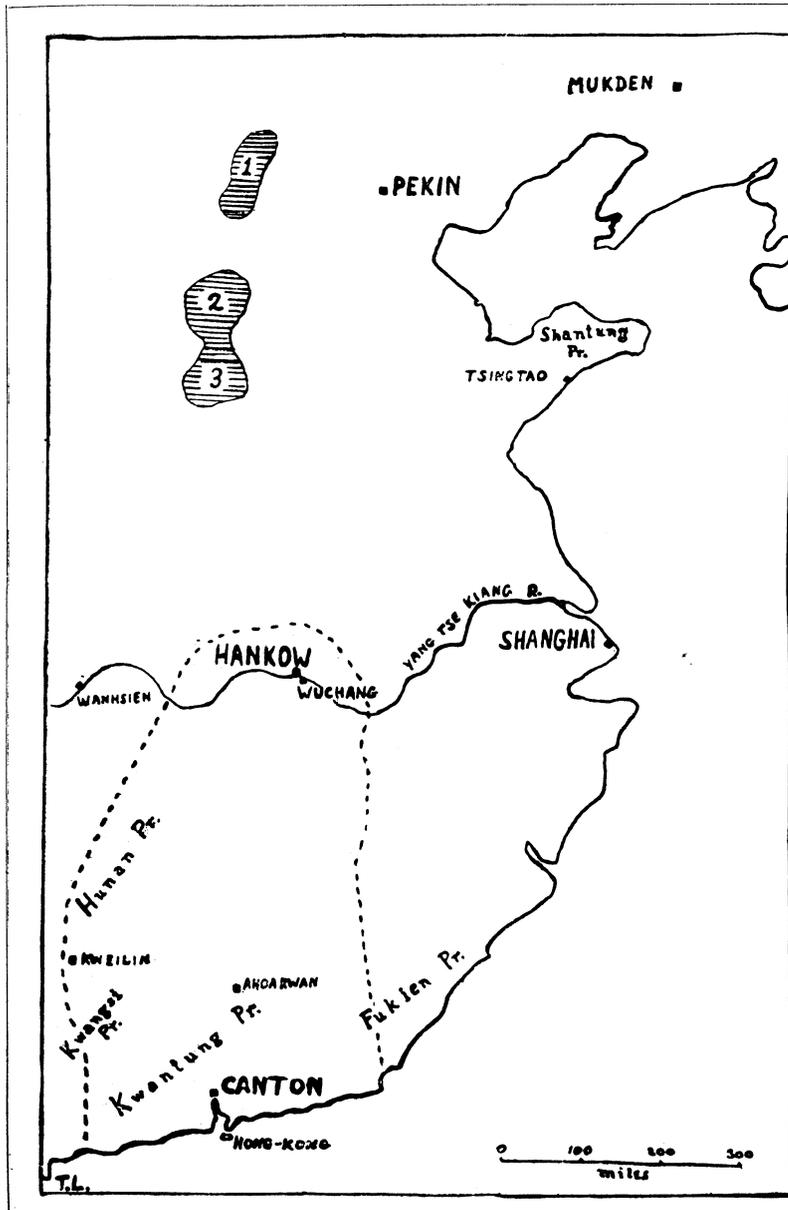
All this brings the handicraftsmen to increasing ruin, and the middle classes lose their economic independence. The number of unemployed and paupers among the handicraftsmen and middle classes is continually increasing. The direct result is an enormous increase in the number of mercenary soldiers, bandits, prostitutes and beggars. It is estimated by the highest authority in China that there are some thirty million paupers. A mere sign put up at a factory gate, "Workers wanted," will usually collect five or six times more people than is needed. A cotton factory announced it needed working girls, and within two hours, two thousand had arrived. The number needed was only three hundred.

The fact that the great Chinese factories are under foreign control, gives every labour dispute or strike the tone and feeling of the nationalist movement. But this struggle does not fall into narrow nationalism; the Chinese workers, the poor peasants and coolies have grown to be a people entirely dispossessed of nationality by their traditions and environment. The Chinese govern-

ments of the past have never show any sign of wanting to help or protect the lower classes. To the Chinese officials and bureaucrats the workers and the poor peasants are only objects of exploitation, nothing else. The bureaucrats and the rulers are all exploiters, oppressors of the masses; and the intelligentsia have also co-operated with the bureaucrats in exploitation.

Thus the workers as well as the ruling class dislike the intelligentsia: it was only an incident, or rather the influence of the "Zeit-geist" that the workers came out to support the demonstration on May 4, 1919, against the Peace Treaty. (The Treaty of Versailles gave Shantung province and Tsingtao to Japan.) The support of the workers gave a decisive victory to the movement. The Peking students started these anti-Japanese demonstrations, and also the movement against the Chinese diplomats who signed the Treaty. This took the form of a student's strike lasting a month, and obtained support from the Peking merchants, who closed their shops for a week. But until the workers came out on strike the movement did not achieve a complete victory.

The non-nationalist mood of the Chinese masses has developed into a sort of primitive Communism. The



This map, specially drawn for "The Communist International," shows all the places mentioned in the article by Sen Katayama.

CHANG-TSO-LIN holds the area round and between Mukden and Peking.

The NATIONAL ARMIES hold the shaded areas to the north-west. The First National Army (marked 1) is said to be marching south to meet the others.

SUN-CHWAN-FANG claims to rule the coast provinces between Shantung and Fukien; his capital is Shanghai.

WU-PEI-FU has retreated from Hankow towards the north.

The CANTON ARMIES control the area within the dotted line.

The map also shows Wansien, the town which the British ships recently shelled, killing 5,000 people.

The British Trades Union Congress at Bournemouth

By J. T. MURPHY and R. PAGE ARNOT

NO doubt the members of the General Council are congratulating themselves on their lucky escape at Bournemouth. Less than a score of weeks after the General Strike and right in the midst of the miners' struggle it has been possible for a Trades Union Congress to be held without any discussion of the General Council's responsibilities.

Just before the Congress the "Times," the chief organ of the bourgeoisie, anxiously asked the question: "Will the General Strike prove to be the climax of militant trade unionism, or the beginning of a new phase culminating in definitely revolutionary aims?"

Therefore it is necessary to examine what happened at Bournemouth.

The main points are:

- (1) The General Council successfully burked any discussion of the General Strike or of its responsibility therein.
- (2) The General Council successfully substituted a bureaucratic conference to be called at a date chosen by themselves, for the Trades Union Congress.
- (3) The General Council secured the agreement of the miners' leaders to these two decisions.
- (4) The increase of the power of the General Council was rejected.
- (5) The letter from the All-Russian Council of Trade Unions and its reception.
- (6) The chairman's references to International Trade Union Unity.
- (7) Purcell's attitude to International Trade Union Unity.
- (8) The General Council's attack on the Minority Movement.
- (9) The new and still more Right-wing policy put forward for the trade unions (Pugh's speech).

On the first and second points it should be understood that the General Council is elected by the Trades Union Congress and is wholly responsible thereto. It is true that in July, 1925, and also in April, 1926, the General Council summoned a special conference composed of the Executive Committees of the unions affiliated to the Trades Union Congress. But this does not by any means absolve the General Council from its duty of making a full report to the Trades Union Congress.

Such a report was not made, and the General Council escaped without any censure for devoting only a brief paragraph to the General Strike. Thus, the trade union leaders did not only escape the discussion of their responsibility; they also managed to substitute, as the highest authority in the trade union movement, the bureaucratically composed Conference of Executives for

the more representative Trades Union Congress. They were also able to secure the agreement of the miners both to the burking of discussion and to the establishment of a sort of House of Lords in the form of a Conference of officials. It was an error on the part of the miners' leaders, due to a mistaken belief that the unity of the movement could be secured by covering up real differences and hiding crimes committed against the working class.

This opportunist belief in formal unity (which contains within itself a real disbelief in the powers of the working class itself) had the gravest possible consequences. The working class was told that the General Council refused to allow itself to be put on trial—and then was informed that the Miners' Federation had connived at this policy!

Again, it was fully in conformity with this policy that the Right-wing leaders of the trade unions refused to increase the powers of the General Council. To have increased the powers of the General Council would have meant that formally and constitutionally the British Trades Union Congress would have possessed the powers which now belong only to the bureaucratic Conference of Executives. This would have robbed the bureaucrats of their retreat.

The refusal of more power to the General Council was a concrete expression of the defeatist attitude which had already been revealed by the General Strike. In point of fact this defeatist attitude had existed from Scarborough onwards. The Scarborough Trades Union Congress showed a ready disposition to pass resolutions of a militant nature, but showed also a great disinclination to pass resolutions, or even to deal with questions, that necessitated immediate action. The more urgent and practical the question, the less was it discussed at the Scarborough Congress.

At Scarborough a resolution to give more power was rejected and a resolution was carried which instructed the Council to examine the problem in all its bearings, with power to consult the Executives of affiliated unions, and to report to a special conference of the Executives concerned their considered recommendations on the subject. That special conference was never called. Now, a year later, a similar proposal moved by one of the more militant unions was rejected by a majority.

The ultra-reactionary secretary of the railwaymen, Mr. Cramp, said that the N.U.R. was opposed to any extension of the powers of the General Council because it could not be made effective. This is the same Mr. Cramp who signed a humiliating agreement on behalf of the railwaymen declaring the strike to have been wrong and humbly promising not to repeat the offence. Considerations of loyalty (to the bosses) clearly forbade him to agree to any further increase in the powers of the General Council. Thus whilst at Scarborough the resolutions on the organisational question only indicated the preservation of the reactionary character of the so-called trade union leaders under the cloak of radical

phraseology at Bournemouth the defeat of the resolution proposed by the Minority Movement unmasked once and for all the "Left" trade union strike-breakers (such as Purcell, Pugh and others).

Still another Scarborough resolution throws light upon Bournemouth. At Scarborough the Congress instructed the General Council to do everything in their power to secure world-wide unity of the trade union movement. This resolution was interpreted by the new General Council, to mean "everything in their power," a very small quantity! After the Amsterdam International meeting at the beginning of December, 1925, had turned down the unity proposals, it had been agreed by the Anglo-Russian Committee to go ahead with the calling of a world conference. But the majority of the General Council turned this proposal down, and Amsterdam had the best of it.

For some months the General Council was able to maintain the rôle of Mr. Facing-Both-Ways on this question. Then came the General Strike, when the splendid help offered by the Soviet trade unionists to the British workers transformed what seemed unreal to the trade union leaders into something very real to the working class of Britain and of the whole world. International Trade Union Unity had been translated into terms of fact for every miner, and for wide circles of the proletariat. In the eyes of the toiling masses the Anglo-Russian Committee was no longer simply a leaders' alliance, but had become the organisational expression of a direct alliance between the proletariat of Great Britain and that of the Soviet Union.

In the light of these considerations it can be understood why the General Council, after prolonged hesitation, were prepared to meet again in the Anglo-Russian Committee, but considered the Committee and its decisions of no importance and deemed it necessary to keep them secret. This also explains why the leaders of the General Council were compelled to bring forward once more the Scarborough resolution affirming the need for international trade union unity and also why they had to agree to the proposal of the Soviet trade unionists that a world conference should be summoned *within two months* of the date of the Trades Union Congress at Bournemouth.

When the letter from the All-Russian Council of Trade Unions arrived, in place of the fraternal delegation, forbidden by the British Government, and this letter was found to contain fraternal greetings and serious criticism, the General Council could do nothing but misbehave itself. They had nothing to say, so they reprinted the letter in its abbreviated telegraphese so as to make it look grotesque. They circulated this to the delegates, with an angry protest couched in solemn and pompous phraseology. The bourgeois press naturally hailed the General's Council's outburst as a "calm and dignified protest."

At Bournemouth two speakers dealt with the subject of unity. The first was the chairman, Arthur Pugh, the second was A. A. Purcell, who, besides being one of the prominent members of the General Council, holds the position of chairman of the Amsterdam International. These speeches were not exactly the same in outlook, but past experience seems to show that inside the General Council there will be no difficulty in harmonising, or at any rate, concealing differences over so long a period as to have the same effect as harmony.

Pugh said :

"We run the risk of laying too much stress upon a merely formal and mechanical unity in the field of the international trade union movement. A mere fusion of existing trade union bodies would fail to bring real unity. Unless there be a common will and purpose there cannot be a common conception of aims and methods, and of the ends to be served by international co-operation."

What does this mean? It is not difficult to guess.

Pugh's views do not differ very much from those of Oudegeest and Sassenbach. This alliance was also confirmed in Purcell's speech. "How are the difficulties standing in the way of International unity to be overcome?" asks this renegade. "It is for the Russians to ease the situation." From Purcell's lips this means "a little less Bolshevism please"!

The friction in connection with the subject of unity has shown that even in respect to this main "commanding post" of the bankrupt "Left," position after position has been handed over to Thomas and MacDonald. Purcell, Pugh and Co., have completed their full "left wheel" and come back to the starting point, finding themselves face to face with Oudegeest.

Lastly, the chairman's speech set forth the new policy of the new Right-wing of the trade unions. Pugh, dealing with wages policy said: "Has not the time arrived to consider how they could apply the principle of wages guaranteeing a corresponding index of national production?" This of course is simply tying the workers' standard of life to what the industry can afford; in other words, as the process of the decline of capitalist production becomes more acute, the position of the workers is to become gradually worse.

This is then all that reformism has to offer as a policy for the workers. A "scientific" depression of the standard of life, it contrasts in a significant way with the statement made by Pugh earlier in his address. "It had been the historic task of trade unionism to raise the standard of working class life."

The above summary of the outstanding features of the Trades Union Congress are nearly all of them apparent victories for the Right-wing. But to conclude from this that the Bournemouth Congress was in every respect a failure or a backward step would be a mistake. In the first place it is clear that in this Congress there was a very high temperature existing below the surface coolness. This fact is very explicitly pointed out by Ellen Wilkinson, in her article in "Lansbury's Weekly," where she says that 97 per cent. of the delegates were thinking of nothing but the General Strike.

Two facts attest this real position: first there is the incident when the Congress had to be adjourned for an hour because of a complete hold up of the business. The Miners' Federation objected to the choice of Mr. Bromley (who had done his best to break the strike) as the supporter of the resolution pledging the aid of the Congress to the miners. Headed by McGurk, a representative from Lancashire, one of the poorest mining areas, they refused to hear Bromley and sang the "Red Flag" until the meeting was closed down.

We have the further significant fact that on all important questions there was a steady minority of not less than 700,000. This 700,000 does not include the miners.

In the second place, even if we had not these very

significant facts, Bournemouth still would not be a failure. To register the Congress as a Right-wing success, as a step backward in the class struggle, would be to misconceive the whole position, would be to forget that there had been a General Strike.

Far from judging the General Strike in the light of Bournemouth, Bournemouth must be judged in the light of the General Strike. The significance of the General Strike cannot be over-estimated insofar as its immediate effects are concerned. But whether its effects mature rapidly or slowly it constitutes the biggest departure in the history of the British working class since Chartist times. Therefore all forces and organisations must be viewed in relation to the strike. In the short space of this article it is possible only to select three things: the General Council, the new Left-wing that is arising, and the Communist Party.

It is now clear that the General Council being nominally elected by Congress and really appointed by the respective trade unions may not represent accurately the will of the Congress, even though it may manoeuvre the Congress into subsequent acceptance of what it has done. Secondly, the Congress itself is only to a limited extent representative of the rank and file, and must have its standing orders and its constitution revised before it can be truly representative.

There now exists an alliance between Thomas and Purcell, none the less definite in that they are probably not fully conscious of it themselves. It is not intentions, but actions that matter. The General Strike was like an earthquake removing landmarks. Purcell may still measure the inches that separate him from Thomas, but their common signature to the General Council's report (published by what the "Times" called Mr. Bromley's "calculated indiscretion") removes them both miles away from the workers' struggle. However, the most important thing is the fact that the Congress has shown what a stride forward the *process of political growth* has made in the British Labour movement. The powerful growth—coming from below—of the new genuine Left-wing, which has already brought under its influence a million and a quarter British proletarians, has found its expression in energetic opposition to the General Council.

The leaders of the new Left, unknown figures emerging from the real movement of the workers, appeared for the first time on the scene during the General Strike, then in the Miners' Federation conference (where a majority showed itself more Left than Cook, rejecting the Bishops' Memorandum). They became more noticeable in the miners' activities during their prolonged struggle (the miners and the miners' wives are learning more politics this summer than they have done for thirty years and more); at the Minority Movement conferences (which expressed their growth, size, significance and tempo); in the real sympathy and solidarity everywhere shown to the Soviet workers (the five million rouble gift electrified the British working class and made them think); and finally in the influx of workers into the Communist Party.

It is of the utmost importance that this new Left should grow up as rapidly as possible, should not be allowed to stray into barren activities and policies, but should from the beginning come under the ideological influence and practical guidance of the Party, which should do its utmost towards the organisational co-ordination of the opposition.

The Communist Party

But after the General Strike vacillations *to the Right* in the ranks of the British Communist Party, or rather in its leadership, became observable, which demanded the most determined rectification.

The basis of these vacillations is an inadequate comprehension of all the tremendous profundity of the moves that have taken place inside the British proletariat. This lack of understanding was first of all displayed in a number of errors connected with the *Anglo-Russian Committee*. Whereas the viewpoint of the opposition in the Soviet C.P. demanding the *rupture* of the Anglo-Russian Committee is profoundly erroneous, so on the other hand the refusal to criticise sharply the treacherous conduct of the General Council leaders is also a grave error. Such a position, shielding "generous" endeavours to preserve the Anglo-Russian Committee at any cost, objectively means aid to the opportunists.

This tendency has several times displayed itself in the ranks of the British Communist Party. The British Communist Party has spoken a language much less clear than the Russian trade unions; the British Communist Party in particular adopted a mild attitude towards the "Lefts" of the Purcell type, although these "Left" leaders had moved to the *Right*, to an alliance with Thomas. The British Communist Party has practically not criticised Cook at all, although Cook has succeeded in making a large number of errors.

The erroneous policy of the Communist Party was particularly clearly shown at the conference of the Minority Movement and then at the Trades Union Congress at Bournemouth, not to mention the demand for the recalling of the parliamentary Labour Party from the House of Commons. This was a great error. For in order to denounce these opportunists who are so loyal to the Government, it is not a demand for withdrawal from Parliament, incomprehensible to the masses, that is necessary, but demands for defending the fighting miners, for merciless denunciation of the Government's position, etc. A much bigger error, fraught with possible grave consequences, was the decision made at the Executive Committee of the Minority Movement to restrict themselves to a mild criticism of the *General Council*. Instead of concentrating during the Congress all the force of their blows on the treacherous position of the General Council, a decision was passed having *just the opposite significance*. By this the M.M. unconsciously aided the General Council to blur over the question of responsibility for the defeat of the General Strike.

At the T.U.C. the miners' leader, A. J. Cook, vacillated sharply towards the General Council, voting against a discussion on the General Strike. The Left opposition opposed Cook. This shows the entire depths of the move *to the Left* amongst *the working masses*. After Cook had done this, he admitted his mistake, but he did not think over all its profundity to the very end.

Only superficial observers can write as the "Workers' Weekly" did on September 10th, that "as compared with Scarborough, Bournemouth is a step back." It is a "step back" only insofar as the "Left" bureaucracy, such as Purcell and Co., are drifting back. In reality Bournemouth has shown what a tremendous step *forward* has been made by the *working masses*.

A few months back Cook was the "most Left of

all." And now more than a million votes at the Congress prove to be *much more to the Left than Cook*. This should be thoroughly understood. And if it is thoroughly understood, the necessary conclusions must be drawn : vacillations to the Right must be abandoned, and all energy must be devoted to a denunciation of the traitors and capitulators still sitting on the backs of the British proletariat.

We consider it necessary to state the errors of the British Communist Party openly in the firm hope that they will rapidly and easily be corrected. The British Communist Party has a tremendous future and the fewer mistakes it makes (which are particularly harmful now in the critical phase of the movement) the more quickly will it become the great mass Party of the British workers.

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[The Editorial Board completely shares the viewpoint of comrades Arnot and Murphy on the errors of

the Communist Party. The Executive of the Communist International is of the same opinion.]

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Copy of Marconigram received from J. T. Murphy, 7th October, 1926.

"In order not create false impression as to my position please add following postscript to my article in post. It must be clearly understood that in the above criticism I do not exempt myself especially in relation to our policy regarding Anglo-Russian Committee for which probably I was more responsible than others. I have no desire to separate myself from our mistakes but only desire to participate as actively in correcting them as in making them.—MURPHY."

The above postscript has been specially sent for the English edition, and does not appear in the Russian, German or French editions.

We regret that owing to late arrival of this material it has been impossible to number these pages in the usual way.



The World Conflict in China—continued.

self-governing guilds of handicraftsmen and traders are strong. Among the lower masses these organisations have acquired in many cases very great strength and stability; all disputes and quarrels are settled within them, and they even administer death sentences. The secret societies have become a nation; within them the most rigid discipline prevails. Local organisations are federated according to the provinces.

These guilds have played and still play a big role in the people's economic life. They should be very carefully and extensively studied, in order to understand properly the economic and social life of China.

Remember the solidarity and compactness of the labour unions, and more particularly their strength in the Shanghai general strike, which developed into a national movement. The solidarity of the workers in unions formed very recently cannot be understood unless the antecedent life of the workers themselves is made clear. The Chinese workers, down to the coolies, are accustomed to secret organisational work, and have formed by long usage and custom an ineradicable habit of obedience to their organisation. This makes them very good and capable union members during strikes or persecution by the exploiters. They have been taught to be ready to make the greatest possible sacrifices for their organisation. They obey eagerly, even at the cost of their lives. They are trained in underground work, and government oppression and persecution does not make them timid or discouraged at all. For them there is no authority or State but their own organisations, which are the nation and the government to them.

There is another fact that we must not ignore, if we want to understand life and conditions in China. That is the village militia and "citizen army" organisation. Each village is usually enclosed by walls. The village forms a long street, and at each end of the street there are iron gates that can be closed to prevent attacks by bandits. Each village has its militia, armed more or less effectively, to protect it from bandits. The city

merchants have also their own militia, organised by themselves to protect the city.

Ripe for Revolution

The guild system in some places is still in full force. But it is rapidly being destroyed by the influx of foreign goods as the transport system develops. The unemployed handicraftsmen and middle class peasants in many cases become bandits, soldiers, thieves, vagabonds, prostitutes and beggars; these are a menace to the peaceful people in the farms, villages and towns. The destructive work of the industrial revolution is felt keenly throughout China. Among the masses discontent is growing, and they are awakening to a new life.

The Chinese masses, living in general chaos and disturbance, are ripe for the revolutionary movement everywhere. Irrespective of the immediate outcome of the militarists' struggles or the outcome of the Canton expedition, China's revolutionary movement will go forward.

What is most needed in China to-day is the organisation and unification of the revolutionary forces. The Labour movement is comparatively young, and not at all well organised on a national scale. The Communist Party is very young and inexperienced.

China will inevitably become the very centre of the world conflict between capitalism and Communism. Capitalism is represented there by the imperialist countries, Communism, of course, by the Soviet Union. The militarist generals will be utilised by the foreign imperialists, more and more, to crush the revolutionary movement, including the Labour and peasant unions. To counteract the combined attacks by the imperialists and the native reactionary generals, we must consolidate the revolutionary forces. The present chaotic warfare will also continue until the revolutionary forces become strong enough to annihilate the reactionary militarists, and establish a stable revolutionary government, based on a strengthened Kuomintang Party and defended by re-organised National Armies, combined with the Canton Red Army into one strong revolutionary fighting force.

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The Communist International

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Under the Banner of Leninism

A RELATIVE stabilisation of capitalism, yes! But there is no standing still in the progress of world history. On the contrary, the present period is marked by an unusual swing in the movement of the driving forces of history.

The great political antagonisms which are once more developing out of the economic contradictions of imperialism cross, and in part counteract, one another, but at the same time they are continually undermining and destroying the foundations on which capitalist stabilisation rests. In each country, one after the other, swiftly changing crises and "nervous" situations appear on the surface of politics, while in the depths a mighty ferment is brewing.

In this complicated state of affairs, it is the business of the Communist Parties to pick up their bearings quickly among the changes in their environment, and to react like fighters to every new event. It is necessary to act on the fundamental revolutionary instruction of Marx: "Face things as they are; that is, make the revolutionary interest prevail while conforming to changed circumstances."

IN practice this means that it is the duty of the Communist Parties, and of every individual Communist—above all of the Party leaders, local and national, and of the most active groups of Party workers—to make greater progress year by year in their revolutionary Marxist training. We call this "Leninist" training, for the Marxism of the era of imperialism can only be Leninism.

This training must be acquired first of all through practical experience in Party work and participation in the revolutionary class struggle; secondly through penetration into the mental arsenal of revolutionary proletarian politics—the theory and tactics, the methods and experiences of Leninism.

Comrades have justly complained that this second part of the training of our battalions has been relegated to the background to a certain extent by the need for feverish practical Party work. As a result of this need there is always a certain danger of the vulgarisation of Leninist thought, a danger of making tactics too cut and dried, of applying our slogans pedantically, of a mechanical continuation of old methods. This danger should always be kept in mind. It must be avoided by intellectual training, continually renewed.

Leninist politics never consist of sterile dogmas. They are never a dead routine. Each of us must learn, if not always to solve, at least to formulate political questions in Lenin's way; to look for solutions along the Leninist line. Each of us must learn how to oppose, with complete understanding, any deviation from the right line.

WHILE we are asking our Parties to pay attention to the need for an all-round Leninist training of Party members, we wish especially in this respect to emphasise the significance of the Communist press. Our periodicals must point the way for the Party Executives.

This is true—indeed first of all—of the organ of the Executive of the Communist International.

The internationalisation of all the important questions of the Labour movement in all countries, since the great October Revolution in Russia, proceeds further and further every year. A lock-out of the British coal-miners this year is something quite different from what such a lock-out used to be; to-day it is a world event. Questions of the Chinese Labour movement are now of vital interest to the proletariat of the whole of Europe. And the struggle of the Executive of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union against the petty bourgeois deviations represented by the "new opposition" immediately evoked everywhere, in the ranks of the Labour movements of other countries, a very lively interest. Many members of the movement outside Russia have already taken up a definite standpoint, for and against the "opposition." These are examples of the extraordinary international significance assumed to-day by questions exercising the Labour movement in different individual countries.

THIS fact brings with it the need for a much more rapid reaction than heretofore by the leadership of the Communist International to the actual main issues in the various countries. We hope that our journal, which, as the Presidium of our Executive has decided, will henceforth appear every week in Russian and German, and twice a month in English and French, will help to throw a clear light on all the international questions of the proletarian class struggle, as soon as those questions acquire importance.

"The Communist International" magazine was born at the same time as the Communist International itself. It began its course under the direction of Lenin; under the banner of Leninism it will develop into a real central organ of the whole International. This cannot be achieved in a day. This, however, is the high goal which we set ourselves. We are conscious that it can only be achieved if the Communist Parties of all countries see to it that their ablest members become regular contributors to the "Communist International." We, therefore, invite comrades from all Communist Parties to collaborate with us.

At the same time, our journal will not be a neutral meeting place for groups, cliques or tendencies within the International, no peaceful harbour for the free lances; it will fight in all openness for a clear line. This line cannot deviate from the line of the Executive; it can only be the line of unqualified Leninism.

Leninism is the theory and tactics of the proletarian
(Continued on page 13.)

The Imperialists are Preparing

By "X"

THE thing that matters politically to-day is the new danger of war. The Pilsudsky coup d'état has opened a new page in history. It means more than merely a change in foreign relations, for behind the moustache of the Socialist sergeant, who has become the great Marshal of the Polish landowners' Republic, there stands the great robber power, Great Britain—the pound sterling, the London banks, His Majesty's Government.

No matter what the renegades from the Communist International may now be saying, the Soviet Union remains the stronghold of the international Labour movement. Just for that reason the chief European enemy of the international proletariat, British imperialism (which is declining and getting more angry as it declines, but is nevertheless still powerful) is carrying out a frantic attack against the country of proletarian dictatorship.

Its outpost on the Western frontier of the Soviet Union is Poland. Marshal Pilsudsky, copying his Italian model, is arming feverishly. His first and immediate object is to annex little Lithuania. Bands of "legionaries," the Prætorian Guard of the landowners' dictatorship, are already standing under arms at the frontier. This is only the first little step up the ladder of "triumph" of which Monsieur the Marshal is dreaming. Feverish re-equipment of the army, militarisation of the railways, rapid development of the chemical industry, a colossal war budget swallowing up more than half the State's expenditure, the hasty importation of aeroplanes—all these are landmarks on the straight path to WAR.

The policy of Polish diplomacy also fits in. A secret agreement has been concluded with Yugoslavia and Czecho-Slovakia concerning the transit of arms; a military convention has been concluded between the General Staffs of Poland and Roumania, as a supplement to the Polish-Roumanian agreement of 1926 (which was first and foremost directed against the U.S.S.R.). Under the latter convention, each of the

Under the Banner of Leninism—continued from page 12

revolution. Leninism means a struggle against capitalism for the dictatorship of the proletariat. Leninism means a struggle against the lies of bourgeois democracy, against reformism and opportunism, against the "revolutionary" phrase and sectarian dogma; it stands for the unity and strength of the Communist Parties and the Communist International. It stands for winning over the masses not by demagogy or khvostism,* but by raising their class consciousness and by a correct leadership of mass movements; struggle against revolutionary romanticism and against opportunistic lack of faith in the revolution and in Socialism. Above all Leninism means a struggle against lack of principle.

This struggle is our task.

* Khvostists (Russian "khvost" means "tail") are the opportunists who "hang on by the tail." This name was given by Lenin to a group in the Russian Social Democratic Party whose theory was that the task of a proletarian party is to watch the main tendencies developing in the Labour movement and adapt its policy to them.

allies is obliged to help the other in the event of war, by means of all its armed forces. In other words: Poland will attack, and Roumania will support with her entire army. And behind these pacifist bargains (blessed be Social-Democratic perspicacity!) the peace-making, benevolent, Christian hand of the Foreign Office is also to be seen.

While Great Britain is acting through Poland in the West she is acting either alone or jointly with Japan in the East. Having whetted her appetite with the rumours of economic difficulties in the U.S.S.R., and inflamed her imagination with the "disintegration" in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Japan has this time used as her agent-general Chang-Tso-lin, who has created an extremely tense situation in the Far East. In his brazenness this general yields nothing to Marshal Pilsudsky. He has seized the fleet of the Chinese Eastern Railway, closed the Russian schools, made many arrests for "Bolshevik" propaganda, and begun to prosecute the trade unions. All this is direct provocation for war. One can only be astonished at the tremendous self-restraint of the Soviet Government, which is conducting a real policy of peace under such difficult conditions.

While Chang-Tso-lin, at the orders of Britain's ally Japan, is conducting his raids, Great Britain sends gunboats and lands troops in the Kuomintang capital, Canton. The British pirates are thus conducting an *open war* against the Chinese people, and preparing a war against the U.S.S.R. with extraordinary rapidity. At the same time this bloc of counter-revolutionary forces is supporting the remnants of the White Guard bands led by the brigand-general Semenov, General Gleboff and other scoundrels of the Russian counter-revolution.

Capitalism's "Holy Alliance"

With its main storming forces in Poland and Roumania in the one sphere, and in China in the other, British imperialism is gathering up all the available forces to encircle the Soviet Union. It has made itself a military base in Persia. To ensure the Polish lines of communication it has dragged in Germany under the cloak of the League of Nations and the "holy spirit" of Locarno. Nor does Britain disdain the smaller fry also, "keeping" the heroes of the so-called "Ukrainian Peoples' Republic," the Russian monarchists and other scum. Naturally the Franco-Roumanian treaty is also used, a treaty about which the entire Roumanian press is in ecstasy.

That is how the "Holy Alliance" of capitalism against the U.S.S.R. is at work. The creators of Versailles, the priests of Locarno, the men who starve the miners and shoot down the Indian people—these slave-drivers of humanity are threatening a new war. They are preparing it systematically and according to plan. And the international proletariat must prepare its forces equally systematically. Whoever attempts to overthrow the stronghold of the world Communist movement will themselves be overthrown by the revolt of the proletarian masses.

Russia is Becoming Socialist

By I. KRAVAL

THE transitional period through which industry is now passing in the Soviet Union is marked by a steady process in overcoming the difficulties and contradictions arising out of the conflict between different forms. This process is taking the line of the victory of Socialism.

State industry controlled by the proletariat, at the present stage of economic development, is farthest ahead in the process of socialisation. The heavy industries are 99 per cent. socialised already, and so is all railway transport, all our foreign trade, the credit and banking system, and 70 per cent. of all the trading capital in the country.

No. of Factories etc. at work

	State	Co-operative	Private	Total
1923-24	6,623	1,237	1,865	9,725
1924-25	6,593	1,711	1,717	10,021
1925-26	6,969	2,043	1,905	10,917

(This table includes factories, mines, mills, etc., of sufficient importance to be dealt with separately in the estimates and reports of the State Planning Commission)

The material basis for Socialism is the growth of the productive forces of the country. The best indication of this can be given by the growth of gross agricultural and industrial production from 15,544 millions in 1923-24 to 21,390 millions in 1924-25 and 27,715 millions in 1925-26. Thus the increase during the years has been 78 per cent.; the trading turnover has meanwhile increased by 95 per cent.

This rapidity in the development of production, unsurpassed in any capitalist country, is the best indication of the tremendous superiority of our methods (i.e., of Socialist methods) over those of capitalism.

No. of Workers in these Factories, etc.

(000 omitted)

	State	Co-operative	Private	Total
1923-24	1,390	42	39	1,471
1924-25	1,691	70	38	1,799
1925-26	2,253	104	65	2,422

On the basis of this growth of the productive forces of the country, we have had during these two years a systematic increase in the relative proportion of the sector of our trade and industry that is socialised, as compared with that which is in private hands. We can answer the general arguments of the "opposition" as to the weakness of Socialist elements and the abnormal growth of capitalist elements in our economic system by giving the actual figures to show the mutual relations of capitalism and Socialism in our economics. What is undoubtedly the decisive factor in the changes that are taking place in our economic system is the way in which the relative importance of the various sectors changes together with the growth in productive forces.

Gross Output of these Factories, etc.

(In million pre-war Roubles)

	State	Co-operative	Private	Total
1923-24	2,383	147	137	2,667
1924-25	3,739	154	167	4,060
1925-26	5,309	247	241	5,797

From the tables given above, we see that both in gross production and in the number of workers em-

ployed, the importance of the State and co-operative sections has grown considerably more rapidly than private industry, whose share of the gross production in values has decreased from 5.1 per cent. to 4.2 per cent.

If we take the *whole* of our industry, including the handicraft industry, we then find that the share of State industry and of the co-ops. in gross production rises from 70 per cent. in 1923-24 to 78 per cent. in 1925-26, with a fall in the share of private production from 30 per cent. in 1923-24 to 22 per cent. in 1925-26.

We observe the same phenomenon—growth of the relative proportion of the socialised section—if we take the entire national production of *both industry and agriculture*, as may be seen from the following figures:

Gross Industrial Production in percentages

	State	Co.op.	Total Socialised.	Private
1923-24	63.9	6.1	70.0	30.0
1924-25	71.4	5.2	76.6	23.4
1925-26	73.0	5.7	78.7	21.3
1926-27	74.0 (estimate)	5.6	79.6	20.4

Gross Agricultural Production in percentages

	State	Co.op.	Total Socialised.	Private
1923-24	15.9	0.8	16.7	83.3
1924-25	14.9	0.8	15.7	84.3
1925-26	14.8	0.9	15.7	84.3
1926-27	14.7 (estimate)	0.9	15.6	84.4

Gross National Production in percentages

	State	Co.op.	Total Socialised.	Private
1923-24	39.4	3.4	42.8	57.2
1924-25	47.1	3.3	50.4	49.6
1925-26	49.3	3.8	53.1	46.9
1926-27	50.6	3.7	54.3	45.7

These tables show us that the productive forces in the hands of the proletarian State are not only rapidly growing, but they are increasing *more rapidly* than the private capitalist productive forces in town and village. Even the slight increase in the capitalist trading tendencies in peasant agriculture, under present conditions, does not threaten us with any substantial economic complications, nor with a relative strengthening of private capitalism.

If we turn from the field of production to that of trade we see that here also we have won considerable success. The wholesale trade turnover has more than doubled within two years; the share of private trade has decreased from 21.8 per cent. in 1923-24 to 9.4 per cent. in 1925-26.

We see a similar picture also in retail trade, where the share of the private capitalist section, during these two years, has fallen from 58.5 per cent. to 38.8 per cent.. The Socialist proportion of the total trading turnover has increased from 59.2 per cent. to 76.3 per cent. in 1925-26. This is the best proof. In this field, in which the proletariat has least experience of all, we have achieved successes. The greatest successes here have been achieved in strengthening and extending the co-operative trading system, which has become the main outlet for the products of industry.

(Continued on page 15.)

Renegades "Make" History

By M. YABLONSKY

In the last issue of "The Communist International" an analysis was given of the three small groups recently expelled from the Communist Party of Germany, the followers of Katz, of Korsch, and of Ruth Fischer and Maslov. The article was headed "The Ultra-Left: or the Petty Bourgeoisie gone Mad."

IN No. 13—14 of their "Kommunistische Politik" the Korsch group has honoured us with its platform. The document is alleged to be an "explanation by the 'Lefts' of the crisis in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and in the Communist International." Despite its evil renegade smell we must recommend all our Party members to read this typical outburst by Korsch and Schwartz. In its classic shamelessness this document expresses openly that which the more cautious Maslov company dares only to indicate. And the Korsch group, which was thrown out of the ranks of the German Communist Party after Katz and before Ruth Fischer and Maslov, must be considered as the organisational and ideological centre of the "ultra-Lefts."

In the organisational "crystallisation" of the opposition, it is already obvious that they consider the Korschism as their essential kernel. If those honest proletarians who have travelled with the Urbahns and Weber group (Ruth Fischer's followers), or have joined them accidentally, become organisationally tied up with Korsch and the bourgeoisie through Ruth Fischer's obstetrical talents, they will no doubt have to dance to Korsch's tune.

Lenin taught us that every turn in history brings about changes in the vacillations of the petty bourgeoisie. What mad distortions the ideological face of these wobblers has assumed, now that the revolutionary proletariat is preparing for a new decisive gathering of its forces!

It seems that Korsch does not want to surprise us at the beginning, or let us see immediately his shining spirit in its full glory. He therefore tells us at first only that the "events in Russia," the rise of the Left opposition, etc., arise from the class differences there which are becoming ever sharper.

In order to indicate at once that he knows more than he shows, and means more than he says, he propounds to us a riddle by providing us with an "unbridgable class struggle" of the proletariat in Soviet Russia which is "original" (ursprünglich). We can cudgel our brains as much as we like; we shall never solve the riddle without Korsch's help. We shall never dis-

Russia is Becoming Socialist—continued from page 14

We thus see that both in trade and in production, the relative share controlled by private capital has fallen steadily. The development of private industry lags behind the development of Socialist forms (Socialist industry and transport, State and co-operative trade).

The nationalisation of the means and implements of production (industry and transport) the State monopoly of foreign trade, the concentration of all credit and banking systems in the hands of the State guarantee the onward march of the process of Socialisation.

cover unaided that on the mysterious little word "original" (ursprünglich) Korsch merely hangs the dictatorship of the proletariat in the Soviet Union; that by it he merely means that the class struggle of the proletariat in Soviet Russia (as the ruling class which uses dictatorship as a weapon) has not assumed any new forms and tasks but has remained "original."

Of course Korsch dare not say all this openly, for fear of spoiling his chances with all honest revolutionary workers; he therefore does it in a roundabout way.

"October" Liquidated

The dictatorship of the proletariat in the Soviet Union (that is: the proletarian character of the October Revolution) as well as the world revolution in general, are analysed by Korsch in the following scientific manner:

"In 1917 Soviet Russia gave the revolutionary leaders of the proletariat a chance to carry out the proletarian revolution and to begin the building of Socialism; with the temporary retreat of the international proletariat, the radical bourgeois character of the Russian revolution, isolated in an environment of capitalism, appears ever more clearly."

Here we see clearly for the first time why Korsch wrote so mysteriously about the class struggle in the Soviet Union being "original," why he does not once mention the dictatorship of the proletariat in the Soviet Union, why he is completely silent about the special tasks which were not "original" to the proletariat of the U.S.S.R. but came up when it assumed the dictatorship, the tasks of suppressing its own bourgeoisie, of defence against the foreign bourgeoisie, of leading and educating all the workers, including the peasant masses, to build up Socialism. For all this Korsch has no time to spare; he is in a hurry to wipe out the proletarian character of the October Revolution, in order to arrive as soon as possible at the capitalist development of the Soviet Union.

After having "settled" the October Revolution, Korsch proceeds to display to the Soviet Union its future. In this he is more consistent than the other "Lefts," who content themselves with speaking about State capitalism but are afraid to take up fully and completely the Menshevik prophecy of the unrestricted capitalist development of the U.S.S.R.

The Review that all serious
students of the Working-
Class Movement
should read
is the

Communist Review

MONTHLY

FOURPENCE

Renegades "Make" History—continued

"... With the nationalisation of the land and of big industry, and after the slowing down of the world revolution had made it impossible to build up Socialism, and after the revival of capitalist methods in production and exchange, the likeliest thing to happen was not the building up of Socialism but a rapid and thorough development of capitalism in Soviet Russia."

This sounds familiar. Let us, however, write it out once more, so that every worker may see clearly how the path goes: first, Korsch speaks of the bourgeois character of the Russian revolution and thus "liquidates," like the Russian and German Mensheviks, the proletarian character of October 1917. Secondly, the State capitalist character of nationalised big industry seems to him only a preliminary for the unrestricted development of private capitalism!

The Soviet Union absolutely *must* tread the path of capitalist development to the bitter end; it must drain this humiliating cup to the last drop; but Korsch does not wish to take the sole responsibility for this. He therefore calls on Marx and Lenin as his star witnesses: he quotes in a quiet way what Marx said as to the inexorable laws of capitalist development in Russia, as far back as the '70's of the last century, and what Lenin said about the "Second Russian revolution." Korsch has been rubbed with all the mystic ointments, and knows how to drive into a corner the "Communist nationalists," the "peasant Socialists."

One would think that in view of the services which he has rendered so far, Korsch could now rest on his laurels. But no, Korsch not only wishes to prophesy the fate of the Soviet Union; he also expresses his "judgment" on the Soviet C.P. For this purpose he uses a prescription borrowed from the Martov-Bauer Drug-store.

Sentence on the Soviet C.P.

"The Party of the proletariat, the Communist Party, which took power in Soviet Russia in 1917, has in this situation extremely difficult and contradictory tasks." It must on the one hand complete the development of capitalism, and on the other hand it must defend the independent interests of the working class and of all workers, even though these interests cut across the development of capitalism.

Korsch has put the Soviet C.P. in a really tragic plight!

In true Menshevik fashion he calls the Bolsheviks administrators of the interests of capitalist development, and characterises their belief that they represent the interests of the proletariat as an historical illusion; the Bolsheviks would like to defend the interests of all who work but cannot do so.

At this point Korsch could surely have declared his little comedy ended, and justly claimed his reward from the bourgeoisie. But he goes further! He not only "asks" questions, but "discovers," with the heroism of a real German petty bourgeois, a "new way" which will lead the Bolsheviks out of their blind alley.

Hitherto Korsch appeared in the rôle of what one might call a super-historical student of history. It is only now, when it is a question of saving the Russian revolution and the world revolution, of solving "insoluble tasks," that he shows himself a full-blooded "proletarian leader." He has ready the following solu-

tion for the differences within the Soviet C.P.: "The only solution for these differences is: for the proletarian party to make it its task to strengthen, clarify and sharpen the class-consciousness of the proletariat, and to prepare and lead the proletarian class, with full consciousness to carry out its revolutionary class tasks in connection with the progressing world revolution."

A Miraculous Way Out

So the proletariat of the U.S.S.R., which has achieved the greatest revolution the world has seen, is to declare the construction of Socialism impossible and is to take refuge in the airy realm of Korsch's class consciousness! With what a dose of infamy and impudence the renegade must be endowed, to declare that the "development of the workers' class consciousness" will be a "good enough result for the Soviet C.P." to make it worth while retaining power in the interest of capitalism! Korsch coolly declares that for the sake of this result the Bolsheviks "are not to die a premature death," they are to continue to be the stewards of an alien class and managers for capitalism.

Because the Soviet C.P. has not pursued this path of "raising class consciousness," because it has declared that the development of the forces of production is the building up of Socialism, Korsch without more ado calls it treacherous. But one must say logic is not his strong point. A few lines back he advises the Soviet C.P. to subordinate entirely all present interests to the interests of the coming proletarian revolution—by following his recipe and furthering capitalism as much as possible, in order to raise class consciousness—then he forgets all about this, and in the approved fashion of the "ultra-Left" throws charming compliments at the Soviet C.P.: "in its entire State policy and economics it is giving in more and more to the capitalist elements, making hardly any resistance," etc., etc.

Korsch winds up his cannonade of insults by declaring the Soviet C.P. to be a "State Party" which in reality represents only the interests of capitalism and of the bourgeoisie. One feels that at this point Korsch should demand—like the Anarcho-Syndicalist "Labour opposition" in Soviet Russia and all the Social Democrats—the legalisation of the Mensheviks and Social Revolutionaries, and the division of State power with them on a constitutional basis.

Having quite done with the Soviet C.P., Korsch proceeds to proclaim his solidarity with the opposition inside it. "The latter is in duty bound to carry out the tasks of the entire C.P.S.U. . . . It must not even shrink from the unavoidable disruption." After this *pronunciamento* he addresses the world proletariat, and then his voice becomes solemn and confused at the same time. To stop the threatened dissolution of the Communist World Party, already beginning, he calls for the amalgamation of the Left Centrists and Communists into another Zimmerwald. Against the liquidators: Zimmerwald! To preserve and develop revolutionary Communism and its Marxist Party: Zimmerwald and the Zimmerwald Left-wing!

This finale lifts the veil just a little, and disperses the mist created by the torrent of phraseology. Does not Korsch make it clear that he wants a Congress with the "Marxist Centre" (Zimmerwald) and that he appeals for brotherly reconciliation—the sense of the term is vague—with Noske and with Scheidemann?

BOOK



REVIEWS

Socialism By Kind Permission

By J. T. MURPHY

Socialism in our Time: By F. W. Jowett. Published by the I.L.P. April, 1926.

Trade Unions and Socialism: By F. W. Jowett. A Report to I.L.P. Conference, April, 1926.

THESE two publications illustrate the dilemmas and the dreams, at times charming, of the I.L.P. Every time the I.L.P. attempts to touch an immediate problem of the working class it is so perturbed it doesn't know what to do, and usually ends in supporting the bosses in some compromise proposal which intrigues the workers into defeat. But it can tell a nice story and weave remarkable schemes, for use under Socialism—after the capitalists have granted permission. Of course, there are so many "views" within the I.L.P. both of the "Socialism that is to be" and of what should be done immediately, that it is always difficult to fasten responsibility upon the I.L.P. as a party. It includes such contradictory elements in its ranks as the good Tory, Mr. MacDonald, who relegates Socialism to the "never—never time," Mr. Snowden of the Liberal-Labour Alliance, and workers who want a united front with the Communist Party.

The I.L.P. has not merely a left, a right, a centre and what not, but will include anybody and everybody except those who advocate hurting the boss. Habitually it draws in a deep breath, puffs out its cheeks and strikes such an attitude that anyone, especially a stranger, would think it was really going to do something terrible. But really it is nothing to be frightened at. It does not mean anything beyond a desire at least to appear strong. For proof, please read the publications referred to above.

The first consists of the chairman's speech to the I.L.P. Conference on April 4th, 1926. Mr. Jowett, quite early in his speech, declared: "open and unashamed we stand for drastic social changes which will overthrow the rule of the rich and end the exploitation of the poor." There, that is the first good puff, and it sounds as if the I.L.P. is going to become violent. A little later he again became emphatic and said:

"The right to live involves, in the first place, a living wage. Whatever the cost of a living wage, the workers should under no circumstances be content with less, and they are entitled to use all power, industrially and politically to enforce it."

What exactly is a "living wage" is not defined, but about that we will not worry for the moment. What follows is so interesting we will not delay.

"If the demand were rejected by Parliament, we

suggest that the trade union movement should put all its strength behind all sections of the workers who took industrial action to secure their demand. Mr. Churchill says that there is no reason why the present government should not live its full span of five years. If Labour united determinedly behind the living wage, this demand would gather such momentum that no government could continue in office if it failed to respond to it."

On May 1st, the General Council of the Trades Union Congress, consisting of a large proportion of I.L.P. members assisted by Mr. MacDonald, also a member of the I.L.P., led the workers into a General Strike against the Government. The I.L.P. headquarters became silent. Neither the I.L.P. Executive nor the leaders referred to, nor any organ of the I.L.P. raised the political issue, or attempted by any means to bring the Government down. On the contrary, the leaders advocated reductions of wages, denounced large combinations of trade unions, attacked the miners (who were subsequently left isolated to defend what is admittedly lower than the "living wage") and declared the policy just advocated by Mr. Jowett, and approved by the I.L.P. Conference, to be utterly futile and doomed to failure from the beginning.

Does it mean Anything?

"On the issues of Socialism and the abolition of poverty there is no room for compromise" declares the I.L.P. What it actually means by this is uncertain. Tested by the actions of the I.L.P. it does not mean anything at all. Did not the I.L.P. lay claim to be the original proprietors of the Churchmen's proposals, which were worse than compromise proposals, extending the poverty of at least five million people directly by means of wage reduction, and subsequently to the whole working class?

The shallowness and hypocrisy thus revealed is not an isolated phenomenon. For example, what does it actually mean when it says that "on rejection of its demands by parliament the trade union movement should put all its strength behind striking workers"? Does it mean transforming a sectional strike into a general strike? This would appear to be the logic of Mr. Jowett and the I.L.P. And, if so, is the I.L.P. prepared to face the logic of the General Strike and the resistance of the governing class thereto? Not at all. This we can say with the authority of the recent General Strike behind us. Its leaders stabbed the General Strike in the back, advocated more poverty for the miners and their families, and pleaded that they had no intention of

hurting anybody or any institution, indeed had no intention of bringing the Government down, as per its bold declaration of April 4th.

When faced with the issues of the class war it assumes the role of the parson and sanctimoniously says to the struggling classes: "Ah! my dear friends, compose your differences. Please don't fight, give way a little on both sides and vote for us at the next election. This is what we mean by the pressure of the unions. And when you vote for us see what we will give you—a glorified House of Commons, a Consumers' Council, a peaceful trade union movement administering industry in the spirit of co-operation, Joynson-Hicks in loving association with Harry Pollitt, the end of all forms of warfare through universal conversion of the bourgeoisie

to the sentiments of the I.L.P., and no more association with the Communist Party. On no account will we do harm to the bourgeoisie, even in our time. We beg for their consent, but fight them, never."

Whatever the role of the I.L.P. may have been in the days when it participated in the great awakening of the British working class to the necessity of independent political action, it is impossible to avoid the conclusion that it has entirely lost its proletarian character, and is now the Left-wing party of the bourgeoisie, handing out drugs to stifle all forms of mass action, and subordinating the interests of the workers to the preservation of capitalist institutions. If still more evidence is required to prove the correctness of this conclusion, read these pamphlets.

Japan Through the Eyes of A Worker

By SEN KATAYAMA

Yoko-No-Aish, by Wakizo Hosoi, Tokyo.

THIS book is really a sad and tragic story of the spinning girls in the Japanese cotton factories. It is written by a textile worker, who worked for over 15 years in the industry and married a spinning girl with whom he worked a long time together. His whole life was a tragedy and ended in tragedy. He writes his career as an introduction to the book.

"My father deserted my mother before I was born, and my mother drowned herself when I was seven. I was taken care of by my grandmother, who died when I was at the age of thirteen. With the death of my grandmother, my schooling ended, at the fifth grade in the grammar school, and I had to depend entirely upon myself. In the spring of my 13th year, I got a job in a cotton factory. I was an unskilled worker in a cotton factory for fifteen years continuously, up till 1923. The book is an exact record of the life of three million spinning girls who were exploited and ill-treated along with myself.

"It was recently that I decided to write this; formerly, I just worked. I had no critical eyes for factory organisation and life, and lived as an almost thoughtless common slave among all the workers who laboured together with me. When I entirely smashed the little finger of my left hand in the cotton mill, not only did I get not a penny for it, but I was rather scolded for my carelessness! And yet I did not feel any resentment. . . .

"In Kansai (Osaka and its vicinities) I failed in my many efforts to get a practical movement going among the workers. I was black-listed. Unable to get a job in that part of the country, I came to Tokyo in 1920 with the idea of obtaining material on the textile factories. For some time I was out of the movement. Not to arouse suspicion, I worked in the Kameido cotton factory as an ordinary worker. It was, however, impossible to write this book while in work. Just at that time there was a strike, which ended in complete victory; but I was thrown out of the factory. Soon after this came the great September earthquake which resulted in my wife losing her job, and robbed us of all means of existence.

"We left Tokyo upon the roof of a refugee train

and found a job in a small factory in the mountain district of Hyogo. There I worked 12 hours a day, and yet attempted to write this. Next spring, on my return to Tokyo, I completed the book."

This book has had a great success. The author himself died soon after its publication, worn out by his long and weary struggle against the exploiters!

As he says, he had worked in various textile factories, first as an unskilled worker, unconscious of himself like the majority of them; but his experiences taught him, and he became a Labour leader. He led many strikes, almost wherever he was employed, often left his work in order to write this book, which made a profound impression upon the masses. The book was a success, but he was poor and was exploited by his publisher. Worn out by suffering and misery, poverty and unemployment, he died a tragic death!

Prison Factories

In Japan the cotton factory girls are exploited day and night. They work 12 hours a day and have only two days rest a month. The majority of them are recruited from far away country districts. They are kept in barracks, surrounded by high brick walls in order to prevent the girls running away.

Methods of exploitation vary. Parties of girls are made to compete with one another, and the factory gives a reward to the winner of the competition, a flag or handkerchief to each girl so that they can show something to the beaten girls. After a year of such work, no girl is fit for other work, throughout her whole life.

The book gives the terrible history of a factory girl from the time when she is brought to the factory to the last moment when she falls ill and dies. Very interesting and very useful in studying the textile factory system of Japan, is the author's supplement: a collection of songs the factory girls sing while they work. The following is a literal translation of one such typical song:

The cherry blossoms are falling, but next year
April will come and they will bloom again.
Alas! When will my blossom-time come?
There is no time for my heart to blossom.

Our home is dark with poverty;
Though I am only twelve years old
They sold me to a joint stock company;
I slave in the factory for a few pennies.

But my heart has remained clean;
The lotus flower blossoms, even in a swamp;
When will my heart, like the lotus flower,
Bloom on its own high stem?

I am a working girl, a poor little bird;
I have wings, but cannot fly;
There is the sky, but I am in a cage;
A bird with broken wings.

The flowers will bloom in the month of March;
Three weary years I have been a slave;
In the autumn I shall return to my own land,
No longer fit enough for the factory.

“Americanising” Labour

By Z. LEDER

“The Labour Age,” New York.
“The Labour Magazine,” London.
“Wirtschaftliche Nach. für Rhein und Ruhr.”

Of late a lot has been said and written about the “Americanising” of the European Labour movement. The last (February) Extended Executive of the Communist International called attention to this. At this conference the conviction was expressed that in the near future attempt would be made to introduce American methods into all countries where there was a developed Labour movement. If anyone still has doubts as to this, the facts now speak for themselves sufficiently clearly. In this article we want to examine only the part played by the capitalists in these attempts, not touching (or at least only in passing) the similar endeavours being made by the reformist leaders of the Labour movement.

The American “Labour Age,” published by a group of “national,” regional and local labour unions, devotes no less than three articles in its August number to “company unionism”—the attempt of the American capitalists to introduce into their enterprises a form of organisation for the workers disguised as trade unions. These “company unions” serve as a weapon in their hands for the enslavement and increased exploitation of the workers. A particularly interesting example is given of a union of this kind in an article dealing with the International Rapid Transport Company of Greater New York.

A Fraternal “Brotherhood”

The inauguration of this “union” was fairly typical: the capitalists organised it under the name of a “Brotherhood” (as certain trade unions in America call themselves) as far back as 1916; their object was to undermine the trade unions whose members were in their employ. In 1918 a strike was called by provocateurs, and from then up to the present day “peace and benevolence” have reigned in the enterprises. If any worker or employee mumbles something about a wage increase, the majority of the “General Committee” (i.e., the puppets of the administration) decide that modesty is the best policy for the hard worker. As a result the company’s motor men and conductors receive a miserable wage (\$38.40 per week during the first year, \$49.92 at the end of six months’ service) and work 7 days per week, often with 3 to 4 hours overtime in a day. What is more, on entering the services of the company they have to sign an agreement to become members of the “Brotherhood,” to remain in it until leaving their employ, and not to enter into relations with the trade unions that cater for the railways and electric railways.

Infringement of the obligation to preserve good relations with the members of the “Brotherhood,” according to this agreement is sufficient grounds for the dismissal of the employee! But neither the company’s shameful exploitation of its employees, nor the pressure it exerts on them through his “Company Union” prevents the “impartial” press, such as the “New York Times,” from asserting that the workers and employees on the New York Elevated Railway enjoy “autonomy,” that they are “allowed to participate in the administration of industry,” and that “the completest and freest examination of all contract questions” is allowed between them and the employers.

On the New York Railway an unexpected crash came

for the capitalist gentlemen: in July about 750 motor men struck work. They formed an independent labour union, which was joined by 1,600 workers. And these only quite recently had been “their own,” “reliable” people, by whose aid “the boss” of the Interborough Rapid Transit Company, Mr. Frank Hedley, smashed the strike of his employees in 1916.

The class struggle is not stopped even by “company unions.”

Trying it in Britain

The capitalists are trying to graft the more “modern” American methods of dealing with the workers on to “old” Europe also. The August number of the organ of the British Unions and Labour Party, “The Labour Magazine,” talks about the “missionaries” of the powerful American Owners’ Association—the National Association of Manufacturers—which is preaching in England the new evangel of “company unions.” The article by Herbert Tracey in this number proves that the propaganda has been favourably received. Quoting the recently published pamphlet: “The Future of British Industry and Trade Unionism,” with a preface by the former president of the Federation of British Industries, Col. Vernon Willey, Mr. Tracey cites the following interesting facts as to the establishment of “company unions” in England as a direct result of the General Strike.

A certain John Dickinson, owner of a large paper firm, declared after the strike that in view of the “disloyalty” displayed by certain of the trade unions of which “his” workers were members, he, Dickinson, had decided not to recognise the trade unions in the future, but to form a “Union of the House of Dickinson” instead. In the “manifesto” which the owner of the “House of Dickinson” presented to his “subjects” for them to carry out and be guided by, he expounds the principles and regulations on which the “company union” is to be based. In accordance with these statutes all the directors, employees and workers are members of the “Union of the House of Dickinson.” Wages and working hours are guaranteed to be no worse than those established by the trade unions. Grants are guaranteed in case of illness, inability to work and old age, and for holidays, etc. A special paragraph declares: “Neither strikes nor lock-outs are permitted to the members of the Union of the House of Dickinson.”

That is the gist of the whole matter. The “House of Dickinson” is not loath to obtain “social peace,” even at the price of concessions to the workers (granted as a result of trade union activity). As long as they do not strike, as long as they renounce their proletarian rights! It is not for nothing that Mr. Tracey asserts that Mr. Dickinson is endeavouring by his “manifesto” to make “his” workers and employees just like ordinary blacklegs, who enjoy all the results of the struggle and the activity of the trade unions, without having made any sacrifices in this struggle and without supporting this activity with their efforts, but on the contrary sabotaging both in every way.

In Germany the attempt to establish “Company Unions” is by no means new. “Yellow Unions” and “Factory Societies” (Werksgemeinschaften) were planted here even in the time of von Stumm, who would not tolerate the very idea of a trade union on his feudal possessions—let alone a Social Democratic union. But since that time much water has flowed under the bridges and the Social Democratic gentlemen, the “enemies” of the Fatherland, of the feudal

monarchy of Freiherr von Stumm and Wilhelm Hohenzollern, have become the saviours of the "Republic" of Stinnes and Thyssen.

The latest number of the organ of the Chambers of Industry and Commerce in Bochum, Dortmund, Duisburg-Wesels and Essen, i.e., the organ of heavy industry, "Wirtschaftliche Nachrichten für Rhein und Ruhr" (No. 29 of July 21st) is specially devoted to the question of "Arbeitsgemeinschaft und Betriebsgemeinschaft." On this question are given the opinions of the representatives and servants of heavy industry, the representatives of the trade unions—Social Democratic, Christian and Democratic—and the representatives of that "neutral" power—bourgeois science.

The capitalist gentlemen are not at all embarrassed by the fact that Herr Nerpel, one of the representatives of the Social Democratic trade unions, gives rather an unfavourable opinion as to their plan, even reproaching them with insincerity and hypocrisy. The business people argue correctly: a Social Democrat protests "sharply"—in order that he may be more "respectable" in capitulating. They talk about "psychological brakes" and understand that the crisis, unemployment and their growing class pressure will do its work on the Social Democrats. And the editors, hashing up the articles they have published, come to the conclusion—based entirely on the statement of the trade unions' representatives—that "the idea of factory association has struck deeper roots in the conscience of the workers than one might have supposed at first sight!"

The representatives of Rhine and Ruhr capital are undoubtedly right if they say this of those workers whose political and social expression is still the trade union bureaucracy. Why, in this discussion the editor of the organ of the "Christian" metal workers' union, Herr Biber, refers to the "historic" service of the German trade unions in that without them the German revolution would have been transformed into "Russian chaos, dislocation and serious economic ruin." The Social Democrat, Nerpel, can find nothing better to oppose the capitalists with than a pitiful whine, an inarticulate appeal to the right of the trade unions to self-determination, a childish whimpering about the capitalists sabotaging and blackmailing the trade unions.

What are the capitalists really out for? They want to set up Company Unions and "Werks- und Betriebsgemeinschaften," if not in the place of trade unions—the time is not yet ripe for that, and for the moment it is not needed—side by side with the trade unions. These are to become the stronghold of "social peace," the rock against which all attempts to introduce a new current into the class struggle will be smashed to atoms, a weapon to render harmless any agreement with the trade unions by "adapting" it to the "peculiar" conditions of the enterprise, and removing from it everything that might hurt the capitalist. In order to maintain competition with America on the world market, it is necessary to come up to the level of America in all respects. The German capitalists are levelling up!

The General Council and the General Strike

By A. J. BENNET

The General Council's "Secret" Report on the General Strike is analysed, and its "defence" against its critics is shown to be a tissue of inventions and evasions.

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America as China's Only Friend

By P. K.

A Report of the Conference held at John Hopkin's University, September, 17—20, 1962. Baltimore, 1925, 198 pp.

LAST year's stormy events in Shanghai and throughout the whole of China set all sections of the peoples in capitalist countries thinking. The Americans of the town of Baltimore were keenly interested in these events. On the initiative of an influential group connected in some manner with China a special conference was called at which the Chinese question was widely debated.

The conference, which was attended mainly by representatives of the trade and industrial world, took place in the local university, the speakers being professors, missionaries, representatives of the Chinese diplomatic corps, and a number of other people who have lived several years in China.

The agenda was fairly extensive. It included among other things a section on the mutual relations between China and the Soviet Republic.

The book under review is an account of this conference. It gives much valuable material on the economics, the politics, and the struggle of the various imperialist groups in China.

The majority of the speakers, in discussing the mutual relations between China and the Soviet Union, were compelled to recognise the "clean intentions" of Soviet Russia. This was particularly emphasised in the Chinese speeches.

For instance, the chairman of the "National Society for the Progressive Education of the Chinese Youth," Dr. Ping-Ben-Kuo, spoke literally as follows: "The policy of the Soviets in China is quite different from the policy of other powers. The Soviets have produced a profound impression on the Chinese people, and a majority of the population are certain that the Russians have come to China with an open heart."

Naturally, not all the speakers took this attitude. Many tried to hit at the U.S.S.R. and criticise its activity in China, pointing forward America as "the only impartial friend of the Chinese people." But it is characteristic that this same Dr. Kuo mentioned above, in his report on the general situation in China, said among other things: "I feel it necessary to say, and I am sure I express the sentiments of my people, when I say that we Chinese entertain serious hopes that the verbal sympathies of America for China will eventually become crystallised into some concrete form of real aid."

Further, this keen Chinese lover of America was compelled to state that the advanced Chinese public were waiting not for the fine words that America was stuffing into China, but for deeds.

The report abounds in much interesting data. We refer the reader to the book itself.

