

THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

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After Nanking

THE British censorship is doing everything in its power to prevent the masses from learning the truth about the destruction of Nanking, and it must be admitted that so far the censor has been very successful. In Great Britain, during the first few days after the massacre of the defenceless population of Nanking, the general public was under the impression that some sad incidents had taken place, that there were some victims on both sides, and that the Americans and British suffered most. Evidently, however, the ruling class of Great Britain are not convinced that the versions which they have circulated to justify their brutal and unprecedented crime will meet with the sympathy of the broad masses of the population. They are using the short period at their disposal, before the secret becomes generally known, in preparing the country to receive the news about the breaking out of hostilities on a wide scale.

The moulding of public opinion along these lines began the first day after the occupation of Shanghai by the national armies. The time that elapsed between the Shanghai victory and the Nanking bombardment was utilised to convince the country of the need for more decisive action and more violent methods against the victorious Chinese Revolution.

There is hardly any necessity now to prove that the Nanking pogrom was carefully prepared. It was not unexpected. The most convincing document in this connection is the appeal of the Shantung clique circulated in Nanking on the eve of the bombardment. The Shantung clique, which is in permanent contact with the imperialists, wrote in their appeal the following:

"The Great Powers will not permit that Nanking be captured by the Canton forces. The occupation of Nanking will signify its destruction. The guns of the battleships are all turned towards the town."

The Shantung predictions came true. The occupation of Nanking actually led to the destruction of great masses of the population and of some thickly populated sections of the town. The guns, of which the Shantung clique spoke, actually brought death to Nanking; this gunfire will be recorded in history as the beginning of a new great war.

The military situation supplies the strategical explanation for the destruction of Nanking. But this explanation is not sufficient alone. The military aim could have been achieved without the violent destruction of a Chinese city. The character and extent of this pogrom mark the Nanking bombardment as a reprisal for the taking of Shanghai, as an attempt at military hostilities on a big scale in order to stem the progress of the Chinese revolution.

The British press started the political preparation for the military attack on the Chinese Revolution during the first few hours after the Chinese victory. This preparation was carried on brutally, cynically, and in an organised manner. The British press called things by their real names.

The Shanghai correspondent of the "Daily Telegraph," is the well-known Ashmead Bartlett. On Monday, March 21, at 2.30 p.m., he sent a cable to this paper about the looting and atrocities perpetrated by the Canton forces. He consoled his compatriots, however, with the information that an emergency situation had been declared in the foreign settlement, joyfully emphasising that there are 1,500 American sailors among the foreign forces who will help to restore order. A few hours later he sent another cable declaring that there are no civilians in the foreign settlement, as all have donned military uniforms. He added that there are 20,000 people of various nations in Shanghai surrounded by 1,500,000 "mad Chinamen."

Ashmead Bartlett even described the sentiment of those foreigners. Here is what he wrote:

"At night our immense front is patrolled by small groups of soldiers behind barbed wire, hoping against hope that someone will attack them, for really the strain of keeping back these armed hordes by peaceful persuasion is becoming intolerable. I cannot imagine that any other troops would have shown the patience ours have displayed."

The author adds to this work of art in describing the hopes and despairs of the British that:

"It is certain that there will be disagreeable incidents during the week."

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WE have taken only a few passages from these cables published in the "Daily Telegraph," of March 22nd. Two days later we find a more definite communication in the "Times." The correspondent of that ponderous publication does not spare any colouring in describing the chaos prevailing outside the foreign settlement. He describes the revolutionary Shanghai workers as hooligans and bandits.

The correspondent knows that the "Times" is regarded in Great Britain as a Government organ. That organ is accustomed not merely to discuss but also to command, and the correspondent commands Bei Shun Shi to put down the Shanghai workers in 24 hours, with the methods applied by his predecessors in the struggle against the Chinese Revolution. This command ends with the ultimatum:

"If he permits terrorism to continue"—by terrorism he evidently means the General Strike—"it means that he is either a party to it, or is incapable of controlling it. Within the next 48 hours it will become evident whether there is a reasonable chance of a peaceful outcome."

We must add that this communication was written 30 hours before the Nanking bombardment, and that the editor made a short but very eloquent comment:

"A statement published on the preceding page gives the number of warships now assembled at Shanghai and elsewhere in China."

We can reply to the "Times" that we have found that information, and that it has fully explained to us the Nanking tragedy.

It stands to reason that the preparation of the Nanking bombardment was begun long before the Shanghai victory. When the House of Commons congratulated the government on sending troops to China, it also sanctioned the dastardly deeds the troops were to perform on the Yangtse River. On that day—that was March 16th of this year—the Labour Party also sanctioned those deeds. As "Workers' Life" has correctly pointed out "the MacDonalds and the Clynes share with the Tories responsibility for the deaths of British and Chinese workers at Shanghai this week." The Communists in Great Britain realised that a storm was coming, that "the war danger is now more serious than it has ever been before." And the Labour Party intensified this danger by giving the hangmen of the Chinese people a free hand.

March 16th is an important historical date in the preparation of the great war against the Chinese Revolution. Undoubtedly, however, the Shanghai victory was the decisive event which provoked the Nanking bombardment. After the Shanghai victory, Baldwin, in replying to a question raised by Beckett, said that the government is maintaining contact with the Nationalist Government of China. There is no doubt that the British imperialists took fully into consideration not only the strategical, but also the social and political significance of the Shanghai victory. Prior to the Shanghai victory, not only MacDonald (who declared that Miles Lampson and O'Malley were excellent diplomats) but also the ruling circles of Great Britain cherished great hopes that their agents would dissolve the Kuomintang. They anticipated that the Right Wing of that Party would be

strengthened and that a compromise would be made between the Right elements in the Kuomintang and the Northern militarists, who are the agents of international imperialism.

The Shanghai victory dealt these hopes a severe blow. The British imperialists understand perfectly well the political significance of the victories of the national revolutionary movement. They have also understood and taken into account the fact that the Shanghai victory, which came as a result of the united action of the insurgent Shanghai proletariat and the approaching Canton armies, greatly changes the social and political nature of the Chinese revolutionary movement. All correspondents of the British press, without exception, in describing the Shanghai events, emphasise the role and significance of the Shanghai victory from the point of view of the growing influence of the Communists and the strengthening of the Left Wing in the Kuomintang.

The decisions of the Kuomintang conference, prior to the Shanghai victory, caused uneasiness in the imperialist camps. But the imperialists are practical people. They are not accustomed to believe in words and resolutions. They held that if events prove favourable to their side, then Chiang Kai-Shek will soon withdraw his declarations about submission to the Kuomintang and turn towards the imperialists.

Shanghai strengthened those social elements which make compromise impossible and launched the Chinese revolutionary movement on a new path. For this reason we must now regard the destruction of Nanking not merely as a strategic move to assist the Shantung group, but also as a retaliation for the Shanghai victory.

SO far we have been speaking only of Great Britain. But we do not overlook the fact that the military leadership of the Nanking bombardment was in the hands of the Americans. Anglo-American collaboration in the struggle against the Chinese revolution is a new factor deserving the most earnest attention.

Prior to the Shanghai victory the American press adopted an attitude of expectancy. Quite serious and influential papers even allowed themselves the luxury of describing the national revolutionary movement sympathetically, and from time to time they even censured the Northern militarists for their terrorist acts. The position of the American papers was absolutely clear. American capitalism was mostly interested in the defeat of Great Britain. It cherished the hope that as a result of the defeat of British imperialism, America would easily be able to take the place of Great Britain and penetrate China through the "Open Door" policy, which would do away with the spheres of influence that the various States had secured before America had become a powerful imperialist State.

The American position in relation to the Chinese struggle resembled very much her position in the world war prior to 1917. At the beginning of the war America stood aside, warming herself at the fire of the world war and transforming the blood of the European workers and peasants into shining gold which was systematically and gradually shipped over to America. America entered the war at the twelfth hour in order to strengthen her positions and establish her world domination. American capitalism intended to adopt the same tactics in regard to China. It hoped that with the aid of honeyed

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words it would be able gradually to penetrate the economic life of China and quietly capture one position after another, as Great Britain was losing them owing to the development of the Chinese revolutionary movement.

But Shanghai caused a serious change in the attitude of the ruling class of America to the Chinese Revolution. They saw in the Shanghai victory a powerful challenge, not only to British imperialism, but to imperialism in general. The Shanghai victory revealed the possibility of creating a really united and free China, going its own way and not adopting the path of capitalism. The red spectre of Shanghai helped the British to win America over to their side in their struggle against the Chinese Revolution.

But even now we cannot yet speak of complete unanimity among the ruling class of America in their attitude to the Nanking bombardment, and to the problems connected with the uninterrupted development of the Chinese revolutionary movement. Since the Nanking events, the American press represents a multi-coloured mosaic picture, although voices are being raised with greater frequency and with ever greater force against the Chinese masses in general and the Chinese revolutionaries in particular.

To this very day we do not yet know the character and the conditions of the agreement between British and American imperialism. It is clear to us why Great Britain insisted on sharing responsibility in a war against China with other powers. The sanction granted by the Labour Party to the hangmen of the Chinese revolution is of enormous political importance. But Baldwin and Chamberlain know perfectly well that the MacDonaldis and Thomases do not represent the moods of the working masses. They knew and they know that there is some real weight in Cook's declaration, that a war declared by the Conservative Government against the Chinese people may cause the miners to retaliate by a war against the Conservative Government. Under these conditions it is difficult—absolutely impossible—to start a great war single-handed.

Great Britain was compelled to seek some reliable partner. Even prior to the Nanking bombardment she secured such a partner in the "fearless friend," Mussolini. But that fearless friend has his own ambitions and interests, and, what is more, he cannot be of much help. A partner like the United States is, of course, more interesting and more valuable.

We do not know as yet the price Great Britain paid for her new partner. But there is no doubt that joint action by the United States and Great Britain in the attack on defenceless Nanking does not yet signify the beginning of a lasting alliance. The interests dividing these two States in China are still in force. On the other hand, we must take into account the enormous significance of the factor which leads to their alliance—we have in mind the social and political character of the new stage in the Chinese revolution.

ECHOES are to be heard in many European countries of the co-ordinated action of Great Britain and America against China. In this connection the attitude of the German press is very characteristic. The

overwhelming majority of German papers described the Nanking events in the London fashion. What is most characteristic, however, is the fact that the German bourgeois press, including the "Vorwärts," follows the London example in carefully concealing the frightful results of the prolonged bombardment with the heavy guns.

The French press is not much different from the German press. Only the "Humanité" described the details of the Nanking bombardment. All other papers speak of the Nanking bombardment merely as an unpleasant incident. We may surmise that the bourgeois press of all countries supports the united front of Anglo-American imperialism in its attempt to turn the wheel of the Chinese revolution with the help of their naval forces. In order that the reader may have a clear conception of how the European press pictures the Nanking pogrom, we will quote a short leading article from the "Manchester Guardian" of March 25th. We choose the "Manchester Guardian," as this paper has a reputation as an old Liberal and neutral organ, which from time to time has taken the liberty to come out against Baldwin's policy in China:

"The story of events at Nanking is confused and the upshot is not yet completely certain, but much of what happened can be reconstructed. The Northern army retreated, as at Shanghai, in haste and confusion. It looted as it went and the advance-guard of the Cantonese looted as it came. The foreigners at Nanking concentrated on a hill near the north gate of the city, whether with the intention of remaining there until disciplined Cantonese troops entered and restored order, or simply as a temporary measure until they could be withdrawn to the ships in the river, we do not know. In this position they were shelled by troops described as Chinese "irregulars," and some of them were killed. It is unusual for "irregulars" to be equipped with guns, but in China the distinction between regulars and irregulars is sometimes a fine one, and perhaps depends mainly on the disposition of the troops at any given moment to obey the orders of their chiefs. At all events, the foreign community being in danger, the commanders of the British and American warships in the river issued an ultimatum demanding their safe delivery on pain of a bombardment of the city. At the same time, when the foreigners were shelled, the warships bombarded the quarters whence the shelling came and landed naval forces, which, at the cost of some casualties, succeeded in withdrawing the foreigners from their dangerous position. It is possible, as it is much to be hoped, that all the foreigners have now been brought safely away. The leaders of the Canton army, like the Canton Government, are no doubt ready and anxious to secure the safety of foreigners. The trouble is that they are in imperfect control not only of the auxiliaries who accompany their advance, but also, it is to be feared, of elements which are supposed to be more closely under their orders."

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THIS article needs no commentaries. The facts here are arranged in such a way as to picture the bombardment as an unpleasant and cruel necessity. Nevertheless this article as well as the entire European press is interesting and characteristic also from another point of view. It is no secret that the British Empire, in spite of the meaningless phrases of the pacifist gentlemen who endeavour to prove that the Empire is an alliance of free republics, is cemented together with the blood of the mass extermination of "aborigines" which is a usual phenomenon in the history of the British Empire. The forms and methods of these exterminations were determined by circumstances and by the development of military technique. British imperialism, as imperialism in general, held and still holds under its subjection the weaker nations primarily with armed force, with the help of which the discontented masses are being mercilessly crushed. But the European press, and particularly the British press, was compelled to maintain silence as regards the Nanking bombardment. This proves that the imperialists find it difficult under the present conditions to secure the support of the general public in their Chinese policy. The imperialists know that. This explains why their wrath is directed primarily against the Soviet Union and against the revolutionary Labour movement in all countries. Every article in the British press directed against China is accompanied by atrocious attacks on the Soviet Union and the Communist movement. All correspondents in Shanghai consider it their duty to describe the unusual influence of Borodin, a citizen of the Soviet Union, on the Chinese Revolution, and the sympathy of the Chinese Revolution for the Soviet Union.

What was and is the response of the European Labour movement to the intervention in China in general, and to the beginning of the war in particular?

We have already pointed out that the Second International has refused to give any active support to the Chinese revolution. We also know of the activities of the largest sections of the Second International. The British Labour Party has actually sanctioned the military hostilities of the occupation forces in China. The German Social Democrats tell the German workers through the "Vorwaerts" that the Chinese revolution is not their affair. The French Socialists helped Poincaré to pass the mobilisation law which enables the government to mobilise the population and to decapitate revolutionary organisations that dared to resist a war, while the Nanking bombardment was in the process of preparation.

We have before us a marvellously interesting document which characterises the attitude of the Amsterdam International to the Chinese Revolution.*

HOWEVER, regardless of the position taken by the Second and Amsterdam Internationals, and by all reformists, we have reasons to believe in the growing sympathy of the working class for the Chinese revolution. This sympathy has not yet been organised;

* See Victor Demar's article in this issue, "Amsterdam and the Proletariat of the Colonies and the East," on Oudegeest's reply to a Chinese delegation.

in many countries it has not yet taken definite shape. But the first attempts of the Communist Parties to mobilise the Labour movement for an active struggle against imperialist intervention have shown that the slogan for the support of the Chinese revolution meets with the warm sympathy of the proletarian masses. The Nanking bombardment was not a surprise to the Communist Parties. We have quoted above the British Communist organ on the growing war perils. If we analyse the documents of other Communist Parties, we will find that the Communist Parties understood that a petty war against China will, as a result of the development of the Chinese revolution, and the social crystallisation of the character of that revolution, develop into a great war directed not only against China but also against the U.S.S.R.

In the manifesto of the Eleventh Congress of the Communist Party of Germany we read:

"Never, since 1914, were the war dangers so great as they are now. . . . Be ready everywhere and particularly in the chemical and metallurgical industries, and by our transport to frustrate the war and undermine the front in the coming war."

In the manifesto of the Communist Party of France, we read:

"The road to peace lies in the unconditional support to the Soviet Union in its construction of Socialism, and in the victories of the Chinese national revolution which must be supported by the proletariat to the utmost."

This manifesto, as well as that of the German Communist Party, speak of the pending danger of a great war which must be resisted with all force.

The ideas expressed in the Manifesto of the Communist Party of France were advocated at a mass meeting on March 22nd, which, according to the French press, was, both as to the number of participants and the enthusiasm, much like the monster meetings in 1920. Semard's declaration at that meeting, that the Communist Party will not stop at anything until it turns the armed masses against the government and transformed the imperialist war into civil war and give all power to the workers, peasants and soldiers, was met with vigorous applause by the working masses.

But, it must be stated that whilst the imperialists have already gone over from words to action, we do not yet see any concrete, definite action on the part of the working class in Europe starting a real struggle against the imperialists and giving determined support to the Chinese revolution.

It seems to us that now more than ever we must remember that a war cannot be stopped with words, slogans and fine gestures. Moreover, under the present circumstances, mass action is the best agitational method. Imperialism does all in its power to keep the broad masses under its influence. The social traitors and pacifists help imperialism in that. These lackeys of imperialism must be mercilessly exposed. But exposure alone will not do. If it is true that the Nanking bombardment was the beginning of a great war—and it is absolutely true—then this calls out to the working class to exert heroic efforts in actually beginning to organise the war against war.

Amsterdam and the Proletariat of the Colonies and the East

Victor Demar

ONE of the greatest strikes in the history of the Labour movement took place in 1925 in the largest commercial and industrial centres of China. About 500,000 proletarians revolted against imperialist oppression, particularly against British imperialism. The Chinese workers suffered great losses, they were shot down, they starved—but their ranks were not shattered. They needed help from outside just as much as a year later the British miners, who were up in battle against the entire machinery and the capitalist class, needed international aid.

At the time when the struggle of the Chinese workers against imperialism (the summer of 1925) was most acute, the Red International of Labour Unions and the Communist International appealed to the Amsterdam International and proposed joint action in support of the Chinese strike.

Amsterdam refused. And the Second International at the Marseilles Congress in August, 1925 declared in a resolution on the struggle of the colonial peoples against imperialism that:

“The Socialist International resolves that the colonial question be placed on the agenda of the next Congress.”

The leaders of the Second International, apparently, hoped that by the time of the next congress, i.e., in 1927, things would have calmed down and that they would not have to break their heads about drawing up some appeal to the League of Nations on the Chinese question.

The Socialist imperialists did not guess correctly. In 1927 the national movement for freedom has attained unparalleled heights and scored giant victories. Imperialism is being dealt the first severe blow in China. From the “Chinese chaos” springs forth a definite anti-imperialist revolutionary movement, ideologically and organisationally formed, in which the leading role is in the hands of the organised working masses. The imperialists despatch their battleships and military detachments to China, but the Amsterdam International does nothing whatever to frustrate the imperialist crusade against the Chinese workers.

No Support for China

The Amsterdam International deliberately refuses to support the Chinese workers. The Chinese delegates at the anti-imperialist Conference in Brussels, Chang Kuen (the Secretary of the Chinese Maritime Workers' Union) and Lian (representing the national revolutionary army) addressed themselves to Oudegeest, Secretary of the Amsterdam International, with the question as to whether the Amsterdam International is prepared to organise demonstrations in Europe in favour of the Chinese national movement.

The International Trade Union Alliance replied to this that the question will be investigated and that it is

not an easy matter to organise demonstrations in Europe, and one should not think that they can be held every day.

“To the request of the delegation to send a committee to China, to investigate the actual state of affairs, the Amsterdam International replied, that it is not able to do this in the near future and that under the present conditions it does not consider it desirable to send such a delegation, as the trade union movement is a constructive movement with powers only in a country where there is political tranquility. The Amsterdam International does not intend to send a delegation until peace has been restored in China.*

Such was Mr. Oudegeest's reply. In plain words this cynical and vile reply means to say: “We are not going to interfere with British and the other governments in despatching military forces to China; when these forces restore order, then the Amsterdam International will look into Chinese affairs.” However, one need not think that the “ideas” of Amsterdam have no repercussion in China or in the Far East. Not only the Japanese Gompers, Mr. Bunju Suzuki, the Amsterdam representative on the League of Nations, but even the imperialists themselves are endeavouring to prove to the young Chinese Labour movement the advantages of Amsterdam “ideas” over “Bolshevik doctrines.”

Imperialists' Advice

In 1925, during the General Strike in Shanghai, the “China Press” (30-7-25), issued by American capital, published a leading article on the nature and destiny of the Chinese trade union movement. In that article, a warning is given to the Chinese trade union movement against the possible revolutionary development which “has been condemned by history and the experience of the international Labour movement” and advises the workers to follow the example of the moderate modern trade unions of Europe and America, which deserve general respect. It said:

“In view of the fact that China has at its disposal the experiences of the West, the leaders of that country (!) must avoid many mistakes which were made by the Labour movement of the West in its course of development. . . . However, what has happened in Shanghai during the last 60 days (the strike) indicates that China is inclined to fight for its salvation with the methods which the Labour organisations of the West used a hundred years ago.”

The paper went on to say that the American Federation of Labour has a lot of money and much influence, and that the labour unions possess their own banks. In

* “Het Volk,” organ of the Social Democratic Party of Holland, March 10, 1927.

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Germany, the Labour movement is concerned with social legislation, and you Chinese novices choose the road of Chartism . . . and Bolshevism.

Such was the attitude of the imperialists. They proposed and propose to-day to the Chinese workers the tested methods of American and European reformism. The Chinese trade unions repudiate reformism, they do not believe their oppressors. To this the servants of imperialism retaliate by shooting down the Chinese workers. And the Amsterdam International is patiently waiting until "order" is established in China. In short, Amsterdam does not interfere with the imperialists, and the imperialists speak in favour of Amsterdam! That is why Amsterdam refuses to organise demonstrations in Europe, and does not even think it necessary to send a delegation to China.

* * * * *

However, the American International is not always passive in relation to the Labour movement of the colonial countries.

In South Africa

Thus, for instance, on February 12 of this year, the International Bureau unanimously decided to accept the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union of Africa into the International; this is the only trade union organisation of coloured native workers of South Africa.

Moreover, the Bureau decided to expel the Trade Union Congress of South Africa, which consists of various trade union organisations of white workers. Whence does this love for the black-skinned workers come? Whence does this opposition to the white-skinned Labour aristocracy come? Wherein lies the secret of this Amsterdam "transformation"? There is no secret. It was caused by circumstances which merit the general attention of the public.

In the British colony known as the Union of South Africa, there are about three million workers. About two and a half million are coloured workers; the others had the fortune to be born with white skins. The coloured workers have no rights whatever, although they have plenty of duties. For instance, they have no right to move about their own country from one place to another without the permission of their former employers. They have no franchise and cannot participate in parliamentary elections. Only those coloured people whose skins are a little lighter, i.e., those who are not of pure African blood, have been promised certain rights of franchise. The coloured workers have not even the right to be unemployed, as anyone who is out of work more than a week is arrested; so a discharged coloured worker is compelled to work under any conditions in order to keep out of prison. The coloured worker earns an average of 3s. a day, the white worker 15s. There are very many coloured workers in Africa. Their labour power is very cheap. In the near future the number of coloured workers will become still greater, as the government of the South African Union (a coalition of the Nationalist Party with the Labour Party) is introducing a law as a result of which hundreds of thousands of small native farmers will be "freed" from their land. The imperialist bourgeoisie is preparing a reserve army of cheap labour for new industrial enterprises. The

laws of the country are directed against the black workers.

In order to be able to defend themselves, the coloured workers have created their own organisation, as they were not admitted into the trade unions of the white workers. The Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union of Africa has been in existence since 1919 and has now a membership of 45,000. During the first years of its existence, the union conducted an aggressive policy and obtained considerable benefits for the colonial workers; for instance, a general 50 per cent. increase in the wages of the dockworkers in Cape Town. A fairly influential group of Communists assumed leadership in the union during the process of the struggle. The positions of General Secretary and Treasurer were held by Communists. However, in December, 1926, the Executive Committee of the union, under the influence and on the initiative of one of the Secretaries named Clements Kadalli, decided by a majority vote to demand from the Communists that they break with their Party or that they leave their positions in the trade unions.

The Communists rejected the ultimatum and were expelled. On what grounds? From the official declaration published in the official organ of the union, the "Workers' World" (12-1-27), it follows that the Communists were expelled firstly because the Communist Party was interfering more and more in the general affairs of the union, and secondly, because the General Secretary, comrade La Guma, received a mandate from the Communist Party to attend the Brussels Conference of colonial peoples. No other reasons are indicated. It would appear strange that a union of negro workers should adopt repressive measures against people who are members of the only party which is conducting an active struggle against the oppression of the negroes. How can an organisation of oppressed people resort to repressive measures against a comrade who deems it necessary to participate in a world congress of oppressed nations?

Is it not possible that there are some external influences coming from the enemies of the coloured workers?

A Deserter

Let us state it frankly. Clements Kadalli, who inspired and initiated the repressive measures against the Communists, went as a representative of the "entire South African proletariat" to Geneva. Clements Kadalli will participate in a session of the Labour Office of the League of Nations. This is taking place in spite of the fact that the programme manifesto of the I.C.U., adopted at the same session which expelled the Communists, repeats time and again the theses about the irreconcilable class struggle and the struggle for the final liberation of the African and the international proletariat ("Workers' World," 12-1-27, p. 3). Can one go to Geneva with such a programme? No. This programme was good enough for a delegate to the Brussels Congress of the oppressed peoples. Why then does Kadalli go to Geneva and Amsterdam? One of the two: either Kadalli confused his addresses or he is confusing the minds of the members of the I.C.U. Unfortunately, we have evidence which proves that our second supposition is correct.

If page 3 of the "Workers' World" speaks of the

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irreconcilable class struggle, we find on page 4 of the same issue, the following:

"The coloured labour movement will develop on the model of the white labour movement. . . , but if the reasonable demands and ideas of the coloured industrial workers are ignored by the whites, then it is inevitable that the coloured workers will have to adopt extreme methods which will be harmful both to themselves and to the whites. On the other hand, if the demands of the black workers are taken into consideration and as far as possible satisfied by the whites, the native workers will be appeased and they will adopt the methods of organisation and constitutional agitation practised by the white trade unions."

We recall the threats of the "China Press" given to the Chinese workers. Our quotations clearly prove what the imperialists demand from the Chinese Labour movement. But Kadalli, from South Africa, "guessed" on his own what the imperialists want. He frankly declared to a reporter of the bourgeois paper, "The Star," that the Communists cause animosity between the blacks and whites and that he, Kadalli, and other leaders of the workers are true constitutionalists, very much desire that their union should be regarded as a bona fide labour organisation. But in order to bar the approach of the Communists to the consciousness of the negro workers, the capitalists must grant to the latter some concessions, otherwise Kadalli could not vouch for their noble intentions.

That explains why the Communists were expelled from the I.C.U. This also explains why Sassenbach's telegram sent two days after the admission of the I.C.U. to the Amsterdam International had already been pub-

lished, with necessary comments, in "The Star." Amsterdam must have such "oppressed people," who cause no riots and who do their best to live within the limits of the constitution of their oppressors, a constitution which gives nothing to the black man except prohibitive paragraphs. That is why Amsterdam "refrains" from interference in Chinese affairs, but does take part gladly in South African affairs.

Will Follow China

Does this signify that the capitalist slaves in South Africa trust Amsterdam Reformism? Of course not. The masses have not yet had their say. The masses know who fight for their interests. It is true they have not yet fully realised that there are white people who are willing to fight in the interests of the blacks. Hitherto the negro has known the white oppressor only. That is why the Communist Party of South Africa must be very tactful and patient. The doubly oppressed black workers will never understand the language of Kadalli and company about "constitutionalism" and "bona fide" trade unionism. This talk sounds good only to Amsterdam. The black workers of South Africa will follow the example of the Chinese coolies.

There is no other way open before them, as their position of slavery will force them on to the road of a decisive struggle. The Communist Party will help the native workers in the struggle. The white trade unions have been expelled from Amsterdam because they had ideologically dissociated themselves from that body, and even before this had come out in favour of one trade union international. The white unions of South Africa, which has already realised the necessity of world unity, must understand the necessity of working class unity, regardless of colour, on the territory of the South African Union.

Books YOU Must Read!

On The Road To Insurrection *N. Lenin*

140 pages
Paper covers, 1/6 [post free, 1/8]

IN the pages of this brilliant book we follow the mighty genius of Lenin through that intense period in Russia following the "July Days" until the final seizure of power by the Bolsheviks in November, 1917. The problems that the Russian working class met with, and, under the guidance of Lenin, solved during these months, are akin to the problems that the working class in every other country has also to prepare to face.

The Political Meaning of The Great Strike

J. T. Murphy

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The Chinese Revolution and India

J. T. Murphy

THERE are more reasons than the fact that Great Britain has over sixty million pounds invested in Shanghai to make the British imperialists deadly enemies of the onward sweeping Chinese revolution. The south-western frontiers of this revolution meet the north-western frontiers of the Indian Empire. Within the frontiers of that Empire, 350 million people have been held in subjection for many generations by British imperialism which is now so scared over the prospects of the effects of a victorious Chinese revolution.

As a writer in the "Empire Review" says in an article on "The Indian Swaraj and World Politics": "Spreading as she does from the frontiers of Burma to the Pacific, a strong China might easily become a menace to Southern Asia." This is stating the case mildly, so permit Lord Meston, an ex-Indian Governor, to say his say. Spreading himself over three columns of the Tory paper, "The Sunday Express," he says—in contemplation of the passing of Shanghai into the hands of the National Revolutionary forces—"If Shanghai falls it will not be Shanghai alone that we shall have lost. Throughout the entire Eastern world one interpretation and one interpretation only will be put upon such a catastrophe, namely, that Western civilisation has been defeated by oriental nationalism." He goes on to say: "Every blunder, every hesitancy, every weakness on our part in China goes running down the whispering galleries of Asia and weakens our whole position in the East."

He is especially concerned with India, for here he goes on to say that there is a "persistent underworld of restless, fanatical hatred of the West and all that it implies in India." He concludes "That a weak or vacillating policy in China is a danger, sufficiently great in its reaction on those countries with which we are most closely allied, to reconcile all thinking Englishmen to the measures that are now being taken."

"Slaves in Burma"

In another Tory organ of the bourgeois press, Lord Birdwood protests against any possibility of the reduction of the military budget of India and warns the world against the Bolshevik menace.

Still more direct in its relation to the important events developing in China is a visit of the British Commander-in-Chief to Burma. The British have suddenly discovered that in Burma there are slaves to be liberated and expeditions are sent there to abolish slavery in this benighted country, and incidentally, to make a military inspection of the frontier of Burma which borders the frontier of the Chinese revolution.

All these facts point conclusively to the fear which reigns in the minds of British imperialists concerning this mighty revolutionary movement. And, of course, they have good reason to be alarmed. For ten years they have seen the U.S.S.R. emerging from its difficulties, growing in strength, and by its very existence inspiring the peoples of the East to gather their forces and rise for the liberation of the masses from the power of im-

perialism. To see this mighty revolutionary movement extending to the millions in China who, in the process of their struggle, realise more and more that the great friend of their liberation is the organised dictatorship of the proletariat in the U.S.S.R., is driving them to a state of hysteria.

They know that a liberated China must perforce beckon to the millions of India, Egypt, Palestine and Africa. They know that the masses of these countries are watching every step forward of the Chinese National Army, and, steeped in a hundred years of experience of "how to deal with the Asiatics," they feel themselves impelled to discard even the semblance of liberalism in their policy and to attack the Chinese revolution with all their force. They regard the Asiatics as slaves and have determined that slaves they shall remain.

In the process they perpetrate blunder after blunder, and outrage upon outrage, not one of which passes unnoticed by the teeming millions of these countries. The Indian masses, for example, know full well their own experiences under British rule. They know the persecutions they have endured from their overlords and when they see the Chinese National Army marching from victory to victory, when they see that the atrocities of Shanghai, of Wanhsien, and of Nanking are unable to deter the revolution, but on the contrary, arouse the masses to more powerful organised action, then this is at once an inspiration and a lesson conveying new perspectives for their own future.

A Warning Voice

For example, the organ of the Swaraj Party of India, "The Forward," for the 27th of January, 1927, writes: "If Japan has been spared the fate of China, India, Persia, etc., it is only because she too has taken a leaf out of the book of European imperialists, become a votary of force and has learned to pay European nations back in their own coin. . . . The first condition of a successful stand against White Imperialism in Asia is to have a strong and independent China fully trained in the modern arts of warfare." This is at once a warning to the imperialists and a portent of coming events.

But this is not an isolated voice. In response to a speech made at a banquet by the President of the European Association in Calcutta in which this gentleman said: "A continuation of British rule in India was necessary for the good of the Indians themselves," a leader of the Swaraj Party writes: "Events in China ought to have opened the eyes of the extremely high-spirited members of the European colony. The Europeans in India should not forget that they form an insignificant minority. Half-a-million desert people would be enough to cause so much disturbance that the British would realise their unusual position in the country." This is placing the finger on the pulse of British imperialism with a vengeance.

But not only is the warning sounded. On all hands the voice of protest is raised against the intervention in China and especially against the sending of Indian troops

Chinese Revolution and India—continued

to crush the Chinese revolution. It is already reported that some of these troops have revolted and they are being taken away from Shanghai to Hong-Kong. The voice of protest extends from the most extreme right of the Indian National forces to every section of the Indian National Movement. For example, the "Bombay Chronicle," the organ of the Right Wing Nationalist elements, says in a leading article of January 25th: "The Viceroy has announced that his masters installed at Downing Street and his government had agreed to co-operate by contributing a contingent including Indian troops as India happened to be the closest port from which troops could immediately be despatched to China. Is not the Viceroy aware that India has always bitterly resented the use of her soldiers in Egypt, Mesopotamia and China, whenever they have been unscrupulously used to stem the tide of patriotism and trample down the leaders of their people? Has not the Legislative Assembly voiced the uncompromising opposition, that the people of this land object to this cheap device of using now again Indian troops as helpless mercenaries for helping selfish imperialist designs, and does not the very name of the Indian stink in the nostrils of all oppressed nations because they have been employed in sanguinary conflicts in Shanghai and Cairo? The long and shameless record of British relations with China include the long-continued opium poisoning of these people, the ruthless exploitation of its cheap labour and vast resources; and the fierce and oppressive treaties forced on its governments at the point of the bayonet disclose a purpose and a policy that cannot be called defensive."

Against Troops Going

All the leading papers of the Nationalist movement have voiced their protest in more or less strong terms, and the National Assembly itself desired to vote against the sending of troops to China. There is not the least doubt that this Assembly, the majority of whom are the most constitutionally-minded of Indian politicians, would have carried a decision reflecting the great mass sympathy of the Indian people for the Chinese revolution. But the Governor-General stepped in as the representative of the nervous British imperialists and forbade discussion of any kind on this question.

This decision at once had the opposite effect. It inflamed the Indian press and great mass meetings of pro-

test were made on every hand. The following resolution adopted at great meetings in Bombay is a duplicate of the resolutions passed at many meetings in all the great cities in India: "This meeting of citizens of Bombay desires to express the sympathy of the Indian people for the great Chinese revolution in the struggle which they are waging for their political and economic freedom. The meeting strongly protests against the proposal of the Government of India to send Indian troops for intervention in China and declares India's sense of humiliation at the use of her resources for the advancement of capitalist imperialism in the East."

"The Forward," the organ of the Swaraj Party in Bengal, dismisses with strong contempt "the claim of any man, be he Viceroy of India, to offer up the blood and lives of the sons of India to the service of Britain's mission on Chinese soil. India is not at war with China. India has no quarrel with China. If the truth is to be told, the people of India have the warmest sympathy for the Chinese in their desperate struggle against the unjust aggression of the foreign devils on her soil. Every true son of India will warmly sympathise with Chinese aspirations to recover their country from the deadly grip of unjust usurpation."

Towards Mass Action

Such are the characteristic terms used with regard to this development. But a still further concrete example of the way in which the Indian masses feel in regard to the struggle of the Chinese people can be seen in the decision of the Indian workers to send three thousand Indian ambulance men to serve with the Chinese National Revolutionary Army. The Hindu "Seva Dal" has undertaken to organise the contingent but we can say with certainty that the British Government will prevent such a contingent leaving the shores of India. Nevertheless this action will only add fuel to the flames. The Indians themselves will learn from these events that until they also pass from the path of pacifism to that of organising the power of the masses and equipping them with the means of victory, their subjection will continue to endure.

This great lesson will be learned as every echo of the Chinese revolution falls upon the Indian masses. Indeed, they are learning. It is this fact which is driving the British imperialists to frantic anger. But what are anger and stupidity in face of hundreds of millions of slaves who have learned how to fight for freedom?



The American Coal-Mining Situation*

A. G. Bosse

THE Workers' Communist Party began its campaign in the miners' union in April, 1926, in preparation for the elections for officers in December, for the convention in January, 1927, and for a possible strike the following April. In April, 1926, John L. Lewis, President of the United Mine Workers of America, and the most reactionary bureaucrat in the Labour movement, issued an expulsion order against all Communists. The Party called a conference of its members who are miners to work out a programme to save the union from being utterly betrayed and smashed, and to combat the illegality forced upon them by the reactionaries.

The Party decided to support the Left wing election slate. Later when the progressive and opposition elements in the union decided to make a campaign against Lewis, with Brophy as their candidate for president, the Left wing supported it, and the Party also offered its support to the Left wing bloc. From last summer on, the entire Party press (the "Daily Worker" and half a dozen Party foreign language papers) carried on an intensive propaganda and publicity campaign against the Lewis bureaucracy, especially through a weekly miners' page in their language papers, and daily news in the "Daily Worker." The Communists and Left wing gave their full support to the "Coal Miner," the organ of the progressive bloc.

The situation in the Miners' Union is important, not only because it is the strongest single union in the A.F. of L., but also because the campaign of the reactionaries against the Communists and Left wing in the Miners' Union is only part of a nation-wide drive in all the unions of the country, A.F. of L. and independent as well. This campaign is strongest in the needle trades, because there the Communists have captured the garment workers' and furriers' unions in New York, and threaten to capture them nationally. The A.F. of L. and Socialist bureaucrats are out to smash the Communists and Left wing, and their campaign receives the full support of the employers, the capitalist press and the courts. They will, probably fail in the needle trades, but they have been temporarily successful in the Miners' Union, due to the very bad objective situation in the industry and in the union, as well as to the weakness of the Left wing forces organisationally.

The Situation in the Industry

The production of coal in the United States has increased from 509 million tons in 1913 to 578 million tons in 1926, but in 1918 and in 1923 production was practically the same as in 1926. Considering the increase of 200,000 in the number of men in the industry since pre-war, the great number of new mines opened up, and the increased use of speeding-up machinery, still the industry is not working full capacity. This is due to the increasing competition of water power, oil and natural gas, as well as to greater efficiency in the use of coal. Production since last autumn has been at a very

high rate, as a result of the large exports following the British strike, and of the accumulation of great stocks in expectation of a domestic strike in April. The figures for 1926 are as follows:

June, 1926, 42 million tons; September, 1926, 49 million tons; October, 1926, 54.6 million tons; December, 1926, 52.7 million tons (a holiday month); January, 1927, 53.4 million tons; February, 1927 (1st half), 27 million tons.

Stocks are accumulating at a rate which it is estimated will total 85 million tons by April 1st, (68 days' supply—the largest stock pile in the history of the industry). The annual capacity of the industry is one billion tons, whereas production is below 600 million tons. Over half the mines were reported as closed in October, 1926, a time of peak production, and there is no doubt that with the ending of exports and stock accumulation, the chronic crisis in the industry will again become acute.

The number of commercial mines increased 50 per cent. between 1913 and 1920, and now totals 9,000, with 7,000 owners. Ownership is highly concentrated in the hands of the large railroads and steel corporations (owned mainly by Morgan, Rockefeller and Mellon), which own one-fourth of all the mines.

Working conditions are very bad, the average working week during boom periods being three to four days, and during depressions two to three days. Half the mines are shut down and only a small percentage of the rest work full time. Hours are 9 per day, without pay for lunch time, or for the trip to and from the working "face." Wages are very low, as a result of great unemployment and part-time, and they average from less than 500 dollars a year in the non-union districts to 750 dollars in the union districts. The minimum budget for a worker's family, as worked out by the reactionary employers' association, the National Industrial Conference Board, is 1,698 dollars. A government investigator, Basil Manley, has stated that only one-third of the miners' families are entirely supported by the husband's earnings, and the rest find it necessary for the wives and children to work, or must keep boarders. Compulsory buying at the company stores in many mining towns, at greatly increased prices, threatens to increase the cost of living.

The Condition of the Union

The situation in the union is very grave, and there is quite a likelihood that it will be smashed during the next few years. Already 65 to 70 per cent. of production is non-union, although the same percentage was union-produced a few years ago. In the South, which produces 40 per cent. of the coal of the country, production is completely non-union, and in the West and North-West the union is only a skeleton. In the central field (Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, and Western Pennsylvania), the union is strongest, but even there its condition is very bad. Of the 600,000 bituminous miners (throughout only bituminous coal is referred to in this article, unless anthracite is specifically mentioned) in the industry, less than 25 per cent. are in the union.

* Written before the strike was declared.

American Coal-Mining Situation—continued

During the eight years that Lewis has been President, his Administration has never won a strike. He has publicly advised wage-cuts and the elimination of 200,000 miners from the industry. He admitted at the last Convention the loss of 130,000 members of the union, and there is little doubt that over 200,000 have been lost to the union. He has never denied charges of having accepted bribes of far more than 750,000 dollars for having permitted mines to operate during the 1922 strike.

The progressive campaign in connection with the elections of officers for the union in December, as well as for the bi-annual Convention this last January, was carried on more intensively than any previous one. Progressive and Left wing leaders such as Howatt, Hapgood, Brophy, Keeney, etc., made tours throughout the locals, and the Progressive candidates for officers, Brophy, Stephenson, and Brennan issued much publicity in the form of pamphlets, programme statements, and special election statements. The latter came out against compulsory arbitration, for a Labour Party, nationalisation of mines, democracy in the union, honest elections, organisation of the unorganised field, reinstatement of the expelled Left wingers, wage demands, and the rest of the Progressive programme. The Lewis campaign against the Left wing and the Communists has been ruthless, extending from connivance with the operators and the government in order to send Communists to jail for long terms, to disqualifying them for office and expelling them. Progressive meetings were broken up by the reactionaries with the aid of the police.

Impossible Voting Figures

The results of the elections for officers were announced a month after they had finished, and just before the Convention, and undoubtedly in order to influence the election of Convention delegates. The vote as announced by Lewis was 173,000 for himself and 60,000 for Brophy, totalling 85 per cent. of the membership—an impossibly high figure. There is every reason to believe that the Progressive bloc won a majority of the votes, but was counted out by the padding of the Lewis vote and the throwing out of a great number of opposition votes.

During the election of delegates to the Convention, Lewis kept a squad of more than 100 "organisers," each receiving about 5,000 dollars a year, whose sole duty was the prevention of the election of opposition delegates, and the organisation of fake delegations from non-existent locals. In every possible way Progressive delegates were prevented from attending the Convention. The machine was able to control the Convention by the following means: a "red" letter which attempted to prove the connections between the Communists and the Progressives; the concentration of great numbers of organisers in opposition districts; fake delegations, probably totalling 30 to 40 per cent. of the 1,500 delegates present—for example, some Kentucky and West Virginia districts, whose delegations voted for 15,000 members where there were actually only 377 (according to the administration figures), for 5,000 where there were only five members in good standing, etc.

The machine attempted to terrorise the rank and file

by slugging a number of Progressive leaders, by unseating others in the Convention, by trying to discredit the records of the leading Progressives and Left wingers, and to isolate the Communists. Lewis' objective is to place the union on the same class-collaboration basis of worker-employer co-operation that many other A.F. of L. unions have been reduced to. The achievement of this aim was practically completely attained in the Convention by the elimination of the class struggle clause in the constitution; by gaining the power of unlimited assessment without any rank and file control; by the expulsion of the Communists and Left wingers, and the elimination of all minority opinion; by making illegal the holding of office by any foreign-born miner, though foreign-born miners make up the majority of the membership, and by eliminating all constitutional sanction for elementary rank and file democracy. The struggle of the Progressives gained real strength in the Convention in the fight against the proposal to give the officials unlimited assessment power. It defeated the bureaucrats on the matter of the 50 per cent. salary increase, although it was counted on by the machine's tellers. It defeated the machines so overwhelmingly that there was no way of counting the opposition out on the issue of making local elections bi-annual instead of annual.

How the "Machine" Wins

The Convention shows that on the elementary issues facing the union, the Progressives can rally the rank and file. However the Convention also shows that the opposition bloc suffered from organisational weakness, lack of aggressiveness and inability to capitalise to the fullest extent the blunders of the Lewis machine. It showed a lack of political clarity in its inability to broaden the struggle on such issues as the assessment power, the salary increase and the local elections, into a struggle of a more general character on the basis of the "Save the Union" Progressive programme. On the other hand the strong points of the opposition bloc were the following: a familiarity with the internal affairs of the union; its mass character, its courage in the face of the most vicious and sustained attack in the history of the American Labour movement; its programme was proved to be correct; its delegates came from the large local unions, in contrast to those of the fake machine-delegations. Part of the weakness of the Progressive forces was due to the prolonged depression in the industry, which eliminated the militants first. The recent boom, resulting in a temporary increase in employment, assisted the reactionary factors.

The role of the government as the executive committee of the capitalist class and as a strike-breaker, has been particularly evident in the coal industry. In January the Coolidge Administration tried to put through a bill to outlaw strikes and compel arbitration, but the Senators of the Southern scab operators prevented it. Coolidge advocated this measure because Mellon, his Secretary of the Treasury, and the dominant figure in the present administration, wanted it as a weapon against his Southern coal competitors. The latter, however defeated him in this question, also in the question of his nominee for the Inter-State Commerce Commission, which regulates freight rates. This matter of freight rates has been one of the chief means of smashing the union, for through lower rates for Southern

American Coal-Mining Situation—continued

operators, they have been able to ship their coal twice as far as union-shipped coal for the same price, and to out-sell union coal in its own centres.

Injunctions, laws against picketing, penalising the union for violating individual contracts, forced upon the miners by the operators, while holding that the Jacksonville agreement* was not binding upon the operators—by such “legal” methods, the government has helped the operators to smash the union. Lewis’ policy of passivity or open connivance with the operators has played right into their hands.

After the Convention the report of the Wage Scale Committee was heard and approved. It gave full power to Lewis and his Policy Committee, but omitted all the vital demands of the miners as well as all preparations for the strike. The subsequent negotiations with the operators showed how the betrayal was to be carried out. In these negotiations all groups of operators denounced the Jacksonville contract and came out for a wage scale

which would change in accordance with non-union wages, thus actually putting union wages on a scab basis. No agreement was reached with the operators and the Policy Committee decided for district agreements. Later Lewis announced that a strike would only involve the central field, a policy which would leave the mines operated by the large railroads running. Unless the railroads were seriously affected by the coal strike, it would probably fail. With the outlying union districts operating, and the Southern scab districts working, the country could be supplied with coal for many months. Union operators are reported to be leasing mines in non-union fields in preparation for the strike. The bureaucrats are making no preparations at all, though they know that either a lock-out or wage reductions are certain. Latest reports say that Lewis is opposed to a strike.

The offer of aid by the International Miners’ Committee for Propaganda and Action was rejected and denounced. Unless the Left wing and Communists succeed in their programme, the union seems doomed to extinction as a power in the industry.

The Resurrection of Italian Trade Unionism

Jules Humbert-Droz

THE Italian Communist Party has just won an important victory over Fascism which is entirely due to its own efforts. The General Confederation of Labour, the old class organisation which embodies the past and the tradition of patient organisation and heroic struggles on the part of the Italian proletariat, has just been reconstituted. A conference of organisations adhering to the C.G.L. held in Milan, on the initiative of the Communist minority, has decided to consider null and void the decision to dissolve the C.G.L. made by the old executive, not to pay any attention to those who pretend to have transferred the seat of the C.G.L. abroad without consulting its organisations, and to continue the work of organisation and struggle within Italy. A provisional executive has been appointed composed of militant reformist trade unionists, Maximalists and Communists. The latter are in a majority.

To grasp all that is implied in this news, one must briefly recapitulate the role played by our Party in this resurrection, its continuous struggle, its prudent and at the same time vigorous tactics in snatching the old trade union organisation out of the unworthy hands of the reformist leaders and of winning the confidence of the majority of the proletariat. To-day our Party reaps the fruit of several years’ persevering labour and of trade union tactics the correctness of which is fully borne out by results.

Destroyers of the T.U. Movement

Fascism had mobilised the mass of the petty bourgeoisie for the benefit of big capitalism. But the working class, in spite of its defeat and the terrorist measures which have disintegrated and weakened it, was still a formidable adversary of Fascism so long as it was

associated with its class organisations, with the C.G.L. in particular. Hence Fascism endeavoured from the very start to dissociate the proletariat from these class organisations and to draw it into the Fascist trade unions. It set against the C.G.L. the Fascist corporations, which are under the absolute control and leadership of the Fascist party and are organised on the basis of class collaboration. In spite of the pressure of the employers and the government, the working class boycotted these corporations and the attempt to create a Fascist trade union organisation on the basis of voluntary membership failed lamentably. At the factory council elections of 1924 the Fascist trade unions played a ridiculously small part and were in fact non-existent in the majority of the big labour centres.

There are two important reasons for this crushing Fascist defeat: first and foremost the political maturity of the Italian proletariat, which did not allow itself to be fooled by Fascist trade union theories and continued to look upon Fascism and its corporations as an instrument of capitalist domination and exploitation. Secondly Italian imperialism, weak and young, was not in a position, economically, to create a labour aristocracy which might have provided a basis for the corporations and could have drawn part of the working class into them. On the contrary, in order to develop the apparatus of production and to keep up economic activity Fascism was compelled to lower the standard of life of the workers for the benefit of the employers.

The economic situation in Italy compelled Fascism to be avowedly the obedient servant of big capital. This was its main *raison d’être*. It could not succeed in its effort to organise the working class on the basis of class collaboration because its entire policy added fuel to the class struggle.

In the face of this crushing defeat, Fascism had recourse to its usual compulsory methods. The State in-

* The three-year agreement signed by the union and operators in 1924, which expired April 1st of this year.

The Resurrection of Italian Trade Unionism—contd

tervened. By special legislation, introduced on April 3rd, 1926, it abolished factory councils and the right to strike, and decreed the monopoly of the Fascist corporations. Henceforth industrialists were obliged not to deal with any other labour organisation. But the Fascists were well aware that neither this monopoly, nor threats and pressure on the part of employers and the police could make the workers join the corporations voluntarily. They, therefore, changed the regime of the corporations. Membership became obligatory. Employers deduct from the wages of all workers the membership dues of the Fascist trade unions.

But the working class incorporated against its will has not altered its attitude to the corporations. It has remained hostile to them. Moreover, these corporations carry on a purely bureaucratic existence—there are no members' meetings and no internal life. The Fascist law which established the monopoly of the corporations still authorised the de facto existence of other trade union organisations, but it deprived them of the chance of negotiating with employers and signing agreements on behalf of the workers, by suppressing the right to strike, and by establishing police control over members' lists. It aimed at their complete elimination by preventing them from developing their proper trade union activity. Moreover, these legislative measures were coupled with illegal measures customary to Fascism—arrests, confiscations, and ever-increasing ill-treatment and violence against workers. The members' lists of the trade unions (which had to be given to the prefects) were utilised by the police and by employers for all manner of retaliations against workers still belonging to the General Confederation of Labour.

But Fascism would not have succeeded in destroying the General Confederation of Labour if it had not found within it executive agents, who from inside supported the Fascist policy of destroying the class trade union movement.

Liquidators of the C.G.I.L.

In the course of the last few years the reformist leaders of the General Confederation of Labour worked for the destruction of this organisation from inside, while the Fascists did the same from outside. Their great betrayal of January 16th, 1927, their going over to Fascism after winding up the General Confederation of Labour, has only disclosed all their treachery of the past years. During this period, the leaders of the C.G.I.L. did their utmost to help Fascism in its effort to demoralise and destroy the class trade unions.

They endeavoured to reduce the entire life of the Confederation to a purely bureaucratic activity. The initiative and the life of the basic organisations were systematically throttled. The Labour Bureaus (*Camera del lavoro*) in all the big towns, where they were under Communist influence, were dissolved and replaced by functionaries recommended by the C.G.I.L. executive.

The reformist leaders prevented the re-entry of the masses into the trade union organisation at a time when the working class was endeavouring to re-organise the trade union movement, they raised membership dues with the object of decreasing membership, they refused

to accept the trade unions reconstituted by the Communists, etc.

They carried on a policy of disruption with regard to the revolutionary minority, expelling many Communist representatives of federations and Labour Bureaus. Thanks to the unity tactics of the Communist Party, these provocations were not allowed to lead to a split. But they kept away from the trade union organisation a considerable number of workers disgusted with the policy of the leaders.

Policy of Surrender

This policy, carried on for several years, was a conscious and a clear policy of surrender. Reformist leaders with D'Aragona at their head had repeated *pourparlers* with leaders of Fascist corporations and with Mussolini himself, with the object of making the C.G.I.L. identify itself with Fascism. D'Aragona had to resign his post of Secretary of the C.G.I.L. after publishing an interview which was already a semi-betrayal. Bruno, reformist secretary of the Printers' Union, played the traitor quite openly by making his federation adhere to the corporations.

When at the beginning of November, 1926 another wave of brutality and reaction swept through Italy and made an onslaught on the labour organisations, the C.G.I.L. was weakened by this treacherous policy carried on by the reformist leaders and supported and vindicated by the Maximalist leaders. The Communist Party alone carried on an energetic campaign against this cowardly betrayal of the working class.

At the beginning of November, 1926, after the Bologna attempt on Mussolini's life, proletarian newspapers and parties were suppressed and dissolved, the seat of the C.G.I.L. was raided and occupied by the Fascists, and the trade union organ "*Battaglia Sindicale*" was suppressed.

But on November 9th the police put the reformist leaders again in possession of the premises of the C.G.I.L. The working class, subjected to the most terrible repression, dispersed, beaten, deprived of its organisations and its press, was demoralised by the many arrests, deportations, and desertions abroad. The reformist leaders thought the moment propitious for the liquidation of the old class organisation and the delivery of the working class to the Fascist hangmen. Instead of making use of the restitution of the premises for the resumption of activity the Executive of the C.G.I.L. decided on November, 16, 1926, "to suspend all organisational activity" and announced that as soon as possible it would make decisions necessitated by conditions in Italy.

Treachery and Desertion

During the period the liquidatory tendency of the reformist and Maximalist leaders divided into two groups: liquidators through treachery and liquidators through desertion.

(a) Treacherous liquidators: the leaders of the C.G.I.L. who had stayed in Italy prepared their great betrayal. Without consulting the federations or those organised in them, the executive council of the C.G.I.L. passed on January 4th the following resolution:

"In view of the report on the conditions of the trade union organisations, on the local offices and the repre-

The Resurrection of Italian Trade Unionism—contd.

sentative bodies and on the opinions expressed by the leaders and their trusted representatives;

"Considering that the de facto organisation of trade unionism provided for under Article 12 of the law of April 3rd, 1926, has proved useless under the other laws re police control of the trade unions, and that the distribution of membership cards for 1927 is impossible;

"The Executive Council of the C.G.L. declares its functions at an end, and requests the executive committee to proceed with the liquidation and settlement of the affairs of the General Confederation of Labour."

This liquidation crowned their activities of several years. But a few days later their treachery was also to be crowned. In fact on January 16th those who thought they had liquidated the C.G.L. in the interests of repression discarded the mask and showed their true Judas face, sold to Fascism. Rigloa, Azimonti, Calada, Colombino, D'Aragona, Maglione and Reina, all of them bona fide reformists and members of the Second International, the last two members of the C.G.L. Executive, which they had just dissolved, signed a "theoretical" declaration by which they recognise in the Fascist law and State their erstwhile ideal and principles and "associate themselves" with the regime by endeavouring to make the workers—demoralised by Fascist reaction on the one hand and the dissolution of the C.G.L. on the other hand—a party to their treachery.

Reasons for Betrayal

This treacherous document is interesting because the renegades do not deny their reformist principles; on the contrary, they find in the anti-Marxist ideology of reformism reasons which determine their betrayal. They take as their point of departure the theory widely spread among Social Democrats, of the State above class and arbiter of economic conflicts. Consequently, they say, the working class is "neither for nor against the State," but the time was bound to come when it would have to declare itself for or against: "against the bourgeois State if it considered necessary to absorb in the trade unions the very functions of the State, for the State if, on the contrary, it decided to transfer to it those of the trade unions." The conclusions derived from this basis are already evident: the Fascist State has incorporated the trade unions. It has established a Ministry of Corporations, there is a talk of the "trade union State" and other silly talk intended to deliver the working class, deceived and betrayed, to capitalism for increased exploitation. This is enough to make the reformist leaders express themselves in favour of the State. And yet there is no State in the world which has a more pronounced capitalist and anti-proletarian class character—class struggle character—than the Fascist State.

Another reformist theory is at the bottom of the treachery of D'Aragona and Co.:

"Production is not the result of manual labour alone and there is consequently a community of interests between the various socially useful factors of production. . . The practical conclusion to be drawn from this fact is that one should recognise that there are limits to class defence for workers as well as for employers."

This theory of a class solidarity which dominates

the class struggle and sets limits to it is at the bottom of the reformist practice of class collaboration and of its participation in the International Labour Office, just as the State as arbiter of the classes is at the bottom of its collaboration with the government.

Thus D'Aragona and the deserters who are with him do not deny any part of their reformist theories, they merely apply them to the Italian situation just as Vandervelde applies them to the Belgian situation. The bourgeoisie of all countries uses these theories for its own benefit and finds it an easy matter to make the Social Democratic Party an executive agent of its capitalist policy. Mussolini did not pursue the same tactics, he combatted and persecuted Social Democracy as much as Communism, had Matteotti assassinated and destroyed the reformist press and organisations. But although he never solicited their services, the Social Democratic leaders derived from the very ideology of the Second International reasons for offering their services to Mussolini, to Matteotti's assassin.

"True to Our Principles"

"We should not be true to our principles if we were against the corporative State and the Labour Charter which the Fascist regime intends to establish. One has only to refer to our past decisions and plans to come to the conclusion that we are in duty bound to contribute by our action and our criticism to the success of such experiments."

Having declared that their treachery is the outcome of their entire ideology and their entire reformist past, they shamelessly offer their services:

"Everyone knows and understands that there is in Italy a heritage of experience which could be utilised for the interests of all. There are men who through many years of labour struggles have acquired a special capacity to understand social problems and to make them accessible to the masses."

Consequently they place their capacity to betray at the disposal of the exploiter and enslaver of the working class.

It was worth while to draw attention to this document because it clearly demonstrates that the treachery of the old C.G.L. leaders is the consequence of their Social Democratic theories. In fact, it does not differ from that practised by all the parties of the Second International; it is only more apparent and more cynical because the Fascist State has discarded the hypocritical mask of democracy.

Running Away

(b) Treacherous deserters. Parallel to this liquidation through treachery, a group of reformist and Maximalist leaders have pursued the liquidation of the C.G.L. by other means which, although less revolting, are more dangerous to the Italian labour movement and more profitable to Fascism. Buozzi, Sardelli, and a few other members of the C.G.L. Executive have fled abroad and have established in Paris a Bureau of the Italian C.G.L. They do not want to liquidate the C.G.L., they intend to maintain its glorious traditions and its heroic past—in Paris. They at the same time assert that all organisation and work should cease in Italy.

This group of former C.G.L. leaders published in a

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manifesto of February, 1927, dated from Amsterdam, their programme of action, in agreement with the Amsterdam International. We will have to quote a few paragraphs of this manifesto in order to realise that this group is objectively collaborating in the liquidation of the Italian C.G.L.

"The Executive of the Confederation has realised that by remaining in Italy, it encouraged the hideous Fascist farce, the pretence that trade union liberty exists in Italy; and therefore, it has removed abroad under theegis of the Amsterdam International.

"The General Confederation of Labour has a name and a past to defend which are a symbol of the most glorious and purest traditions of the Italian proletariat. It is in duty bound to keep alive this sense of class, owing to which Italian workers have fought and won so many magnificent battles. It is also bound to intensify its propaganda in order to induce Italians to join the class organisations of the countries where they reside and receive adequate support, to make arrangements with the industrial international organisations for giving an opportunity to the workers living in Italy to join them in a manner and form commensurate with existing conditions, to develop energetic propaganda for the principles and aspirations of the International Trade Union Federation."

Grand and Pathetic

This manifesto shows clearly that those members of the executive who have deserted the struggle in Italy and have taken refuge in Paris intend to liquidate all organisational work and all struggles in Italy, for the absurd reason of showing to the world that there is no trade union liberty in Italy! As if this has not already been demonstrated, and as if it could help the Italian working class in its struggle against Fascism! The Paris Bureau which is liquidating work in Italy invites Italian workers to join individually their trade union international. Thereby it renounces all idea of keeping up a connection with the Italian workers and of giving a lead to their struggle, because these reformist and Maximalist leaders, in agreement with their party, believe that after the failure of the Aventino* it is impossible to work and struggle against Fascism in Italy, and that the liberation of the Italian proletariat will be the work of emigrés or of French bayonets. This is on their part an abandonment of the struggle on the only field where it can and must be carried on. They desert the fight and liquidate, together with the others, the C.G.L. in Italy for the sole benefit of Fascism, for to assert to the workers that it is impossible to struggle in Italy is tantamount to allowing Mussolini to exploit the proletariat to his heart's content and definitely to demolish its class organisations, is equivalent to demoralising the working class in the face of the enemy and sowing defeatism at a time when the employers are carrying on an offensive against, workers' wages and standard of living.

Bouzzi, of course, wraps up his treachery in grand eloquent pathos with respect to the past and the traditions of the C.G.L. which he wants to preserve in Paris

* The bourgeois Liberal and semi-Socialist parties, swept aside by Fascism, who met on the Aventine Hill in Rome.

as one preserves museum articles in spirit. He smothers in flowers the grave of C.G.L. which he himself has dug.

The traditions and the past of the C.G.L. cannot be preserved in Paris. Italy is the place to preserve these traditions, not in a museum, but by the struggle and trade union organisation of the Italian proletariat, in spite of and against Fascist reaction.

The Amsterdam and the Second Internationals have hastened to provide Bouzzi with the diploma of the antiquarian. On February 27th, at a joint meeting of the two reformist internationals, they declared the Paris Bureau to be the "accredited representative of the Italian working class."

They counted without their host, i.e., the Italian working class, which does not want liquidation à la Bouzzi or of any other kind.

The Reconstruction of the C.G.L.

The terrorist wave of November, 1926, dealt a severe blow to the Italian Communist Party. Its entire parliamentary fraction was arrested and deported, its best forces were imprisoned and its legal apparatus destroyed. But the Party was prepared to resist the fiercest attacks. In spite of repression it stuck to its post as leaders of the Italian working class. While Maximalists and reformists were at last realising the failure of their democratic and parliamentary illusions and were taking refuge abroad, leaving the Italian proletariat to the tender mercies of Fascist bands and to increased exploitation by the employers, our Party alone held high the banner of working class struggle and issued to the Italian masses a rallying call for the continuation of the class struggle. It repaired rapidly the breaches made in its organisation and threw down its challenge to Mussolini. "L'Unità," the official organ of the Party, was published illegally in more than 10 cities, with a circulation of 23,000—the same as in its legal days. Party and V.C.L. factory newspapers came into existence in all directions, much to the fury of the Fascist police and their chief, Mussolini.

In spite of repression, of confiscations in the factories, of mass arrests of workers, the "Unità" is increasing its circulation and can hardly cope with the requirements of the factories.

The Party's Work

Our Party could not be a disinterested spectator of the destruction of the trade union movement. The representatives of the three industrial federations under Communist leadership (woodworkers, restaurant and hotel workers and clerks in private enterprises) appealed in November and December, time after time to the Executive of the C.G.L. to resume its activity. As soon as the decision to surrender became known, the Communist Party issued a call to the working class protesting against the treachery of the C.G.L. leaders, and inviting the working class to reorganise the trade union movement: no trade union should consider itself dissolved. The C.G.L. remains! Let us all re-enter the C.G.L.; let us reorganise it on a factory basis! Long live the C.G.L. restored to the workers and to the proletarian revolution!

But an appeal to the masses is not enough. One had to regroup the dispersed forces and reorganise the entire apparatus of the trade union movement. The

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three federations took the initiative in the convocation of a conference of all organisations adhering to the C.G.L., which it was possible to bring together.

This conference was held in Milan on February 20, and proved to be an unexpected success. Thirty or so reformist, Maximalist and Communist participants, all of them active trade unionists, represented the chief Italian trade union organisations: ten industrial federations including metal, textile and woodworkers as well as builders. The hairdressers, who were not represented, sent in their application for affiliation. This conference, which was also attended by a former reformist assistant secretary of the C.G.L., expressed the determination of the labour organisations to resume in Italy the work of organisation and the class struggle which the C.G.L. leaders had either betrayed or deserted. It was an imposing demonstration of the proletarian united front against the capitalist and Fascist offensive.

Recent events in Italy had awakened a new spirit in the mass of the workers. The failure of reformism and Maximalism is so complete that there is no more room for democratic and pacifist illusions in the working class. In Italy one must choose between Fascist dictatorship and revolutionary struggle, illegal organisation for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The Choice

Bewildered reformists and Maximalists either go over to Fascism and "identify themselves" with the existing regime, as for instance the D'Aragona group, or recognise that the Communist Party was right and accept its leadership in the anti-Fascist struggle or again—if they are not yet cured of their illusions—betake themselves to France to dream there of democracy and pacifism, for in Italy the dream is a nightmare.

The Milan conference was an illustration of the state of mind of these active reformists and Maximalists who had remained in Italy, attached to their class organisations, which recognised the correctness of Communist tactics.

The former C.G.L. secretary, a reformist most hostile to the Communists, made a statement which it is worth while reproducing because it expresses a state of mind which is becoming very general in Italy.

Addressing the Communists he says:

"I have come to-day to this conference in order to tell you this: You know that I have always been among the most tenacious opponents of your organisation's ascendancy in the C.G.L. I always thought—and this was an illusion—that a clear separation between Social Democrats and Communists could have secured personal and trade union liberty at least to the Social Democrats, enabling them to continue their activity in defence of the working class in a sphere of relative freedom. I reiterate this was an illusion. But disillusion is always the result of abortive experiments. To-day I am among the Social Democratic workers who, compelled to choose between two dictatorships, prefer and choose the dictatorship of the proletariat. Therefore, I declare: I am entirely for Communism, which I knew formerly at least in theory, but which I had to combat as an organisation because I happened to be on the opposite bank. To-day this state of affairs no longer exists and what I am say-

ing now I am saying also to my Social Democratic friends. We must do our utmost to help Communism to gain the sympathy of the masses, considering that we have to reckon with a dictatorship (disguised by constitutional forms which reaction also violates) we must do our utmost to enable the Communist Party, which is spiritually and technically the best prepared Party for the struggle against bourgeois dictatorship to rally all the labour forces.

A Worker Speaks

"I put it to our friends that my mentality and habits are such that I would not make a revolution. But if revolution breaks out to-morrow I will place myself loyally at the disposal of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and I think that many Social Democrats of good faith will reason just as I do.

"As to practical organisation, I would like to say that as soon as I read the famous document of my friends I put it down not as a political but as a cowardly act, and also that when I met comrades or ex-comrades in the street I expressed to them my wish for a resumption of work. I said to myself: in spite of extremely difficult conditions it seems impossible to me that there should not be at least 100 workers throughout Italy capable of proclaiming the reconstruction of the General Confederation of Labour.

"This has been accomplished, and that is so much to the good. I am also quite willing—because of our impotence and our unpreparedness in the face of the Fascist dictatorship—to see the C.G.L. led by men who can secure considerable support from those who are opposed to capitalist rule and who can one day cause serious trouble to the bourgeois and Fascist dictatorship. That is why also, from any point of view, but particularly remembering an armed organised State force which struggles for the freedom and liberty of the people, and essentially for the liberation of the proletariat and has also technical and financial means at its disposal, I say that the C.G.L. of Italy should be at the present juncture only in the hands of men in touch with well-disciplined and organised proletarian forces.

Amsterdam Must Reply

"Amsterdam will have to be given to understand in a very clear manner that now is not the time to pay too much attention to the label. Now is the time to have at the head of affairs men who have means at their disposal and at the same time the specific intellectual capacity for carrying on this struggle. It is essential to give them freedom of action, for it is only thus that they will be able to keep up international relations between Italy and all the proletariats of Europe."

We would like to add to this rather characteristic statement by a former reformist secretary the statement of a Maximalist delegate representing the Milan Labour Bureau, who after giving information on the state of trade unions in Milan declared:

"When my friends had decided to send me here they told me: do not accept everything without reservations! But I am throwing reservations to the wind—my friends are intellectuals and I am a working man, I will do what seems to me best and I will follow my conscience. . . . As to the problem of the centre of the

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Italian C.G.L. I think that Amsterdam will have to recognise what has been done in Italy, and that is all. The place for the centre is here and nowhere else. I would like to say in conclusion that provided one sets to work in good earnest a great many useful things can be achieved. The workers expect this."

These quotations taken from the shorthand notes of the conferences show that our Party is reaping the fruit of the patient and hard labour of recent years. When times are difficult and the workers see themselves betrayed and deserted they rally around our Party and entrust it with the reorganisation of their old class struggle organisation.

The workers' united front is coming into being for revolutionary action, for there is nothing but it in Italy if one does not intend to betray or desert.

Against the Traitors

Thus the conference decided against the traitors that the C.G.L. lives and continues its activity, against the deserters that it intends to live its own life and not the life which still lingers in the memory of Buozzi, that it lives, works and struggles in Italy and that Italy alone can be the seat of its executive. It has, therefore, appointed a provisional executive; it has taken a series of organisational measures in order to do away with the bureaucratic regime which the deserters had imposed on the C.G.L. (lower membership dues, re-establishment of internal democracy, of Labour Bureaus, of election of leading organs at members' meetings, organisation on a factory basis, illegal publication of the C.G.L. organ "Battaglia Syndicale," etc.).

The conference issued a manifesto informing the proletariat of the decision to reconstitute the C.G.L. and inviting workers to re-enter their trade unions.

Finally, the conference decided to communicate these decisions to the Amsterdam International, to which the reconstituted C.G.L. remains affiliated, and to request it to declare null and void the dissolution decision made by the old executive, to recognise the necessity of transferring the leading centre of the Confederation back to Italy, and to organise in agreement with the provisional committee appointed by the conference a Nation-

al Congress of the C.G.L., which will consider all the problems of the Italian Labour movement and elect a definite executive.

Thereby the Amsterdam International is faced with a new fact. The Italian C.G.L. is alive in Italy and claims its rights as a section of the Amsterdam International. Amsterdam will have to choose between the executive appointed in Milan by the Italian workers, who are struggling against Fascism and the Italian employers, and the group of emigrés in France which claims to be the Italian C.G.L. and to speak on its behalf.

Prospects

Whatever be the reply of Amsterdam and the reply of the antiquaries of Paris, the reorganisation of the C.G.L. will proceed, because this is willed by the mass of the Italian workers. The C.G.L. cannot be liquidated or dissolved by anybody; it belongs to the Italian proletariat which needs its class organisations to carry on an every-day struggle against the employers and Fascism. The decisions of the conference of February 20 had a strong repercussion in the ranks of the Italian working class, because the economic situation of the country and the capitalist offensive against wages are driving the Italian proletariat to resistance. Unemployment is growing in all the industries which do not work directly for armaments—the textile and metal industries work only part of the week. Everywhere employers are endeavouring to reduce wages, the reductions amounting to 20 to 50 per cent. The cost of living and rent are increasing. The masses are faced with destitution.

That is why in spite of the renewed attacks of reaction the working class is emerging from the state of depression into which it was plunged during many months of 1926. Towards the end of 1926 and in the first months of 1927 numerous demonstrations have shown that an awakening is going on in the ranks of the working class. Spontaneous strikes are breaking out against wage reductions, against the deductions made from wages for the "Lictors' Loan. Dissatisfaction and resistance make themselves felt everywhere in Turin, Trieste, Cremona, Isola, Megnagno, in the metal and textile industries, in factories which only employ women workers. Open-air demonstrations, women's demonstrations, have taken place in Rome and Naples to protest against rent increase. These strikes and demonstrations show that the fighting spirit is reviving among the masses.

Thus the trade union reorganisation is taking place in a particularly favourable period, when the fighting spirit of the working class is growing, when the working class is looking for support and a lead. The task of the reconstructed C.G.L. is to reorganise its forces by struggling, by leading the everyday struggles of the working class, by making it again confident in its own strength. This is certainly an arduous and perilous task. But under the leadership of its Communist Party the Italian proletariat is well able to carry this task to the point of proletarian victory. The illusions of parliamentary democracy are dead and buried, the proletariat understands that the revolutionary path alone will lead to its liberation. In reconstructing the C.G.L., it knows that it must depend entirely on itself, on its organisation, on its class solidarity and on its revolutionary strength.

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A New Stage of the Victorious Revolution

A. Martynov

MARCH 21st will be an historic date. The taking of Shanghai is of the utmost importance to the Chinese revolution, not only because Shanghai is the key to the fertile valley of the great Yangtse river, but because it is a town with two million inhabitants, which has sprung up with American rapidity, because it is one of the biggest ports of the world, having 450,000 workers, 250 modern factories and 20 big international banks. The taking of Shanghai is not only important because it provides the revolution with a sounder financial basis; the most important thing by far is that Shanghai was taken by the proletariat itself. The proletariat in revolt fought in the streets, disarmed the police, the gendarmerie and the demoralised remnants of the Shantung army, regardless of the guns of the imperialist fleets.

Four mighty flaps of its wings and the young Chinese proletariat has soared to an enormous height; the Hong Kong workers' strike strengthened the revolutionary government in Canton; the Shanghai strike of 1925 invested the revolution with national importance and made possible the victorious Northern expedition of the Canton army; the seizure of the Hankow concessions by the workers was the first blow dealt to British imperialism; and finally, with another flap of its wings, the proletariat takes Shanghai under the very noses of the allied fleets of world imperialism.

The taking of Shanghai caused the hearts of millions of workers throughout the world to beat more quickly, filled them with gladness and pride. This is one of the biggest episodes not only of the Chinese but of the world proletarian revolution.

But it would be certainly an illusion to imagine that the most difficult part of the Chinese revolution has already been left behind and that henceforth everything will be all right.

Class Antagonisms

The Seventh Extended Executive of the Communist International pointed out that class antagonisms in China are becoming more acute, that "the Chinese revolution is on the threshold of the third stage, on the eve of another regrouping of classes, that at this stage the driving force is an alliance of a still more revolutionary character, the alliance of the proletariat, the peasantry, and the urban petty bourgeoisie, most of the capitalist big bourgeoisie having been eliminated," that at this stage it will be necessary "to give prominence in the programme of the nationalist movement to the question of the agrarian revolution" and to satisfy the workers' demands. Now, after the taking of Shanghai, this question will become even more acute. It is quite possible that while we are writing these lines, Nanking too has fallen. Thus, the revolutionary army is getting nearer and nearer to its strongest internal enemy, to Chang Tso Lin's army. Serious battles are in store, much more sanguinary than the battles with Sun Chuan Fang's and Chang Chung Chang's army.

But the workers and peasants who will have to shed

their blood in these battles will not be satisfied while the promises made by the Kuomintang in its programme declarations are not yet fulfilled, while in the provinces power is still in the hands of the Right elements who sabotage the fulfilment of the workers' and peasants' demands, while Right Kuomintang members go scot free, their heads aloft, while the armed gangs of the big landowners still play havoc in the villages, while taxes and rent are still as high as before, while workers' wages are still miserable pittance, while the workers' right to strike is still interfered with, etc. Fulfilment of the workers' and peasants' demands is for the national government a task which does not brook delay, for without it the power of the national government in the enormous territory occupied by it cannot be consolidated. It is not difficult to foresee that as soon as a serious attempt is made to fulfil these demands the big capitalist bourgeoisie will begin to turn its back on the revolution and will endeavour to come to an agreement with imperialism.

Antagonism with Imperialism

But the taking of Shanghai does not only mean greater acuteness of internal class differences, it also means greater acuteness of the antagonisms with world imperialism. It is rather significant that at the time of the seizure of power by the Shanghai proletariat, barbed wire entanglements were put up between the International Settlement and the Chinese part of the town, and that the sailors of all the imperialist squadrons, first of all British sailors, were got ready for battle. The Chinese revolution cannot be victorious unless it frees the Chinese people from the yoke of world imperialism.

World imperialism brought capitalism into China, which revolutionised social conditions in that country. But as the resolution of the Second Congress of the Comintern correctly points out, this same "foreign capitalism forced upon the Eastern peoples certainly impeded their social and economic development, deprived them of the chance of reaching the European and American standard, owing to the imperialist policy which aims at retarding the industrial development of the colonies." Imperialism has its own dialectics. Thanks to it enormous factories sprang up rapidly in various parts of China. They were built according to the dictates of modern technique, but owing to imperialism these mighty shoots of capitalism are only exceptions in the enormous territory of the Chinese State, where as is correctly pointed out by the same resolution of the Second Comintern Congress, "a pre-capitalist order still exists." The secret of this seeming contradiction is that capitalism, enforced in China, turns its back on China and its face to the imperialist robbers.

If the young, national, big industry is to develop in China and is to be able to contend with its powerful capitalist competitors, it must have State support. But on Chinese territory support is given, not to the weak Chinese industry against the powerful foreign industry, but vice versa. The various parts of China are separated

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from one another by innumerable Custom Houses. In these internal Custom Houses custom dues (likins) are exacted several times on the goods taken through by the Chinese merchants, whereas foreign goods are duty free.

In home trade the capitalist State protects itself against foreign competition by levying high import duties, whereas China is only allowed to levy the low duty of five per cent. on imported articles, about four per cent. of which goes to cover foreign debts and to pay Boxer Rising contributions.

Railways are in the hands of foreign capitalists; they were not built to serve the interests of Chinese industry, but the interests of one or other of the imperialist robbers who have in China their special "spheres of influence." Moreover, during the last ten years, with the establishment of the "New Banking Concern" railway construction has ceased entirely, and the network of railways in such an enormous country as China is only 12,000 kilometres long—a considerably smaller network than even in India. In spite of the limited mineral wealth of China, coal, iron ore, iron and steel are exported and manufactured articles are imported, with the result that the Chinese home industries are ruined.

Starving China

The table we give below shows that whereas the import of coal to China is not growing, its export is growing from year to year.

Import and export of coal in thousand tons:

	1920	1921	1922	1923	1924
Import ...	1,338	1,361	1,151	1,366	1,610
Export ...	1,970	1,886	2,377	3,108	3,202

We get a still more vivid picture with respect to the import and export of iron ore:

Import and export of iron ore in tons:

	1919	1920	1921	1922	1923	1924
Import	37,152	20,102	5,992	1,366	3,081	1,575
Export	640,159	682,660	514,888	671,220	727,683	846,833

We can see that enormous quantities of iron ore are exported from China, with dire results for any possible industrialisation of the country. At the same time China is flooded with cheap foreign manufactured articles, which get there almost duty free to the detriment of the Chinese home industry. Between 1912 and 1915 the number of workers employed in Chinese home industry decreased from ten to eight million, and production in thousands of roubles fell from 4,067,000 to 995,000.

The imperialist robbers have established themselves in China as a State within the State, in the form of "settlements" and "concessions" where foreigners have extra-territorial rights and enjoy all kinds of privileges, whereas the Chinese there have no rights whatever. The victorious Chinese proletariat has taken Shanghai. But one should bear in mind that it has only taken possession of the Chinese part of Shanghai, that the wealthiest industrial part of Shanghai, where over a million Chinese live and where all the factories and works are, is on the territory of the foreign settlement, guarded by the guns of the foreign Dreadnoughts and cruisers, and that only recently one could see in the park of this foreign settlement the humiliating notice: "Dogs and Chinese not admitted."

The Chinese revolution would be a half-baked revolution if it did not emancipate China, if it did not free it entirely from the yoke of international imperialism. International imperialism has become the greatest obstacle in the way of the economic re-birth of China, not only from the viewpoint of our conception of non-capitalist development, but even from the viewpoint of its capitalist development, which is the aim of the Chinese bourgeoisie. That is why the Chinese industrial bourgeoisie, in spite of its dread of the growing workers' and peasant movement, has not yet dissociated itself from the anti-imperialist front, but is merely endeavouring to sabotage in every possible way the realisation of the workers' and peasants' demands. But the imperialist yoke cannot be shaken off without heroic struggles and enormous sacrifices on the part of the Chinese proletariat, the Chinese peasantry, and the Chinese urban petty bourgeoisie; these again cannot be thought of unless the sabotage of the Chinese industrial bourgeoisie is frustrated. Therefore direct struggle against the forces of international imperialism is bound to make more acute the already very sharp internal class antagonisms of China, and this direct struggle is not far distant.

They Find Unity Hard

Hitherto, internal differences between the imperialist powers placed difficulties in the way of open intervention in China (disguised intervention was and is carried on by them all the time). British imperialism was the most aggressive for the simple reason that it is being gradually ousted from its economic positions in China by the United States of America, Japan and even Germany. Here is an illustration: between 1914 and 1924 the import of machinery from Great Britain to China decreased from 46 to 26 per cent., whereas the import of machinery by the United States increased from 8 to 20.7 per cent., that of Japan from 10.4 to 18 per cent., and that of Germany from 13 to 18 per cent. Unlike Great Britain, Japan is not openly rattling the sword against the Canton Government, because it has already occupied stronger economic positions in China than Great Britain—part of the railways, of the textile industry and of heavy industry, exporting from China coal and iron which it lacks—and because it has taken a firm footing in Manchuria, a province which, apart from everything else, is of considerable strategical importance to it. That is why—whilst giving secretly energetic support to Chang Tso Lin—it would in the last resource probably consent to relinquish legal privileges in China and would come to an agreement with the national government, on condition that the revolutionary army does not cross the Manchurian frontier, and that the national government keeps its hands off Japanese enterprises in China.

As to the United States, it is more liberal. Not having any important concessions, nor its own territorial "sphere of interests" in China, the United States set against the principle of "spheres of influence" and "spheres of interest" the principle of the "open door," hoping that by keeping to this principle it will succeed in the economic subjection of China by means of peaceful economic permeation, having previously got rid of the other rivals. But liberated China can on no account become reconciled either to the openly predatory methods of British imperialism or to the principle of "the open

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door," a principle which would cripple Chinese industry and would preclude its development in the face of the permeation of China by powerful foreign capital.

Stern Leadership

The Chinese revolutionary government is confronted with extremely difficult tasks. To solve them there must be stern leadership of the Chinese revolution. According to the declaration of the Seventh Plenum of the E.C.C.I., it is essential that the "driving force of the revolution should be an alliance of a still more revolutionary character" and that "at this stage of the struggle, the proletariat should take over leadership and control." The resolution of the Seventh Plenum of the E.C.C.I. went on to say that to achieve this aim the Communist Party has to place the Kuomintang on a more revolutionary basis by developing the workers' and peasants' movement and by relying on this movement, that it has to participate in the government and to strengthen its position in the army, doing its utmost to secure there some of the leading posts. The programme of action laid down by the Seventh Plenum of the E.C.C.I. is already being carried out. Some people of little faith had their doubts; those who sheltered behind left phraseology, said that the Kuomintang is already a "living corpse," that to imbue the national government with new revolutionary energy is a hopeless task, considering that it is a "capitalist government" of "bourgeois dictatorship." Although ultra-Left elements and people of little faith do not always say so openly, they would like Communists to get out of the Kuomintang, so that not being part of the government, they could prepare its overthrow. As the Chinese Communists are well aware that this would only unite the petty bourgeoisie with the big bourgeoisie into an alliance against the proletariat, that this would only lead to the wiping out of the revolution, they have chosen another path, the path laid down by the Seventh Plenum of the E.C.C.I. This path leads to the capture of strong positions in the Kuomintang as well as in the government.

A Series of Victories

We see that in a month the Chinese Communist Party has won a series of political victories with respect to the development of an organised workers' and peasants' movement, the consolidation of the Left wing of the Kuomintang on this basis, the frustration of the dictatorial ways of the generals, their subordination to the Kuomintang Party and the capture of positions in the government by the Communists.

We notice that a conference was held in Nanchang between February 20th and February 22nd by the peasants of the Shensi province which decided to affiliate to the Peasants' International, to confiscate the property of counter-revolutionaries, to disarm big landowners, to arm the peasants and to help the national government in the struggle with imperialism. It is very significant that the Commander-in-Chief, Chiang Kai Shek, considered it necessary to welcome this conference. We notice that soon after this a peasant conference was opened on March 4th in Wuchang, in Hupeh province, which was attended by 160 delegates representing

800,000 peasants, that a workers' and peasants' demonstration, 200,000 strong, was held in honour of this conference, that this conference, too, was welcomed by representatives of the government and of the national army and that it made the same decisions as the Nanchang conference.

We also notice that there was a dispute between the Kuomintang and the General Staff in regard to the seat of the government: whether it should be in Nanchang where the General Staff is, or in Hankow—a dispute which shows that there is serious disagreement on the question of whether the government is to be subordinate to the General Staff or the latter subordinate to the government and to the Kuomintang Party.

A Dispute Settled

We notice that the dispute was soon settled in favour of the Kuomintang Party—the government remains in Hankow and Chiang Kai Shek issued a declaration to the effect that the national army is to be under the control of the Party, a declaration in which he consents to the abolition of government by one person and to its substitution by a representative government. He also recognises that the individual actions of Kuomintang members should not deviate from the policy of the Party and says that the leader of the Left Wing, Wong Chin Wei, ought to return immediately to China to resume his duties. At the same time representatives of the Left wing of the Kuomintang enter the government, including the Communists; Tang Ping Tschan, who gets the Ministry of Agriculture and Hsiu Chiao Tschan, once the chairman of the Hong Kong strike committee, who gets the Ministry of Labour.

Finally, after the Shanghai rising, the workers, who not so long ago were not allowed by the Kuomintang government to organise armed demonstrations, seized arms. Not only rifles but also machine guns, hand-grenades, etc. and retained power in the Chinese part of the town even after its occupation by the 1st Division of the National Revolutionary Army. Taking advantage of this power, the workers established a government of the town of Shanghai, which is composed of several Communists and several workers as well as of representatives of the Chamber of Commerce, of the union of street merchants, of students and of intellectuals. We witness Communists and workers becoming the leaders of the revolution without infringing the united front with the petty bourgeoisie and the peasantry.

The Chinese revolution is on the right path, but there are still many difficulties in store for it which it will not be able to overcome unless the international proletariat mobilises all its forces in support of it. The imperialist exploiters are bound to do their utmost, if not by their own efforts, then with the help of the northern Chinese militarists, to drown the Chinese revolution in blood, or to disrupt and disorganise the ranks of the Chinese revolutionaries.

Proletarians of all countries must be on the alert, they must watch over the movements of our class enemies and of their Social Democratic lackeys in order to prevent them making an attack on the Chinese revolution, which is at the present moment one of the most important links of the world proletarian revolution!



Standing on His Head

"DER KAMPF" (Social Democratic Monthly, Vienna, No. 1-2, 1927).

IN the February number we have once more one of Renner's outpourings on "Economic Democracy." Renner seems to be afflicted with a specific disease—lawyer's cretinism.

We will discuss his article later in full detail in connection with his article in the January number of "Gesellschaft." Here we want to present to our readers a highly interesting article by Dan: "Geist und Gesicht des Bolschewismus" (Spirit and Aspect of Bolshevism) taken from the February number.

We know, of course, that the subject "Geist des Bolschewismus" does not give Dan any peace. On every occasion all the spirit which Dan has at his disposal is expended to present the poor "spirit of Bolshevism" in as bad a light as possible. Dan gives us now the following information: "The problem of the Russian revolution is of enormous importance, not only to the present Labour movement but also to the whole world, in as much as a fact of enormous world historical importance—the awakening of the backward East—is closely connected with the trend of the development of this revolution." A very promising beginning, as we can see, and we are eager to know what will come next. Well, next comes this: Dan's article was inspired by a book by René Füllop Miller, published in Germany, "Geist und Gesicht des Bolschewismus," a description and criticism of cultural life in Soviet Russia, with full illustrations. After himself acknowledging without any reservation the enormous importance of the Russian Revolution, Dan culls from this book information about the spirit of Bolshevism.

Let us hear what Dan can tell about the method and the substance of the book. How is the problem of the "Spirit of Bolshevism" to be approached if fully beneficial results are to be obtained? If one be a Marxist, or in other words, if one has command over the only scientific method for the investigation of social life, one approaches first and foremost the social and economic basis—and only a deep study of the social economic nature of Soviet Russia makes it possible to decipher correctly the spiritual super-structure.

Understood, but Forgotten

This is understood by Dan; to be more precise, this should be understood by him, for he says so expressly, but says it only to forget immediately all about it. For you must understand, the valuable descriptions of the "Bolshevik spirit" which Herr Miller gives him are of an utterly different nature. Herr Miller does not care a damn for the social-political and economic side of it—his subject is, as Dan says, merely the "spirit," the "psychology," the "ideology," etc. Hitherto we have been accustomed to look upon such "performances" simply as "castles in the air," as an idle game. But Dan is inclined to be lenient with Herr Miller. This is what he has to say about Miller's preposterous unscientific method: "Füllop Miller has approached the problem from a very original standpoint"; and certainly it is very original to find an inane viewpoint "original." But Dan's wise magnanimity has very good reasons.

Dan admits it himself and makes it clear to every one, through examples from the book itself, that this Miller who

reels out rank nonsense about the conditions, the character of the Party, etc., in Soviet Russia and in pre-war Russia in general, gives evidence of an astounding ignorance and lack of knowledge concerning the conditions and the language of the country which he has studied; but still he is to provide Dan with useful material against Bolshevism. Therefore, Dan wants to invalidate eventual attacks—he quotes a number of Herr Miller idiotisms and forgives them most generously in order to be able to use with impunity the arguments of his witness. Herr Miller knows, for instance, that the "Trudoviki" conceived Socialism in a religious spirit and endeavoured to express this in their life and actions. This is, of course, rank nonsense, as Dan admits.

For instance, Herr Miller wants to establish a direct connection between Russian religious sectarianism and Bolshevism, to convert the Bolsheviks into successors of the Skoptzy sect; this is, of course, even more nonsensical than the previous assertion, and Dan is compelled to admit it. Dan gives a whole series of quotations which are a convincing proof that Herr Miller is one of the most superficial, most stupid and ignorant of the many stupid superficial and ignorant scribes who have dared to attempt to cope with the mighty subject of the Russian Revolution and the Bolshevism of Soviet Russia.

Dan says with a sigh: "The merit of the work is certainly not the criticism it contains, but the presentation of things." But he is immediately obliged to add: "But even the presentation of things is not always equal in value." He goes on to say: "Some chapters and the whole of Part III. show clearly that the author has only a very superficial knowledge of the subject." It really comes to this: not only is Miller's "criticism" worthless, even his "presentation of things" is not up to much. What then is left over for Dan? He asserts that Miller has the gift "of seeing everything that is going on and of representing events in a clear and popular literary form." The literary form does not concern us; let Dan enjoy it. We merely ask the meaning of "seeing everything that is going on." Does it perhaps mean seeing psychologically? If so, there should be a corresponding mental process and "understanding." But it comes to light that by seeing, Dan means in real earnest, simply physical seeing. What puts him into ecstasies? The illustrations in Herr Miller's book. Thus a good photographic apparatus, a Kodak or something of the kind, good paper and a good publisher, such are Herr Miller's achievements up till now!

Has He Got Eyes?

Thus equipped he tackles the "Bolshevik spirit," to provide weapons for the Menshevik knights. But our readers should not run away with the idea that Miller sees even physical objects correctly; heaven forbid, he does not stand in need of this to perceive the pernicious Bolshevik spirit and to understand. For, as Dan himself points out, Miller did not see, for instance, the Alexander column in front of the Winter Palace in Leningrad, whilst Dan can see it even from Berlin.

But it turns out that although one is unable to see the Alexander column, even if one almost touches it with one's nose, one can see the "spirit of Bolshevism." What do you think? Is a certain knowledge of the language necessary to study the Russian theatre and Russian literature on the spot? Heaven forbid!

Herr Miller thinks, for instance, that there are two sects—on the one hand the "Staroobriadtzi" and on the other hand the "Old Believers." Well, as Dan himself again points out, "Staroobriadtzi" is the Russian word for Old Believer.

We see then Miller does not know Russia; he is a complete ignoramus in social and political matters; as a physical observer he is utterly unreliable; he knows about Russian history and Russian affairs as much as a cat knows about Beethoven. He confounds Vorovsky with Voronsky. All these, to quote Dan, are "inexactitudes," and Miller is supposed to have written very fine chapters, guess about what—ABOUT LENIN!!! About the masses and the dictatorship of the proletariat. Dear readers, you must not laugh! I am in dead earnest, you can see this in black on white in Dan's article.

Let us now see how Miller describes Lenin, the spirit of Bolshevism. His description is based on the silliest of well-

worn truisms to which bourgeois cretins had recourse time after time: mechanical great passivity of the "masses," suppression of any independent individual stirring, omnipotence of one person whom the rest blindly obey, and other silly talk of this kind which has been repeated ad nauseum for the past ten years. A contemptuous shrugging of shoulders was all we hitherto had for this kind of thing, and at the utmost a small contemptuous rebuke when the quarrel encroached on political ground. And now Dan repeats this contemptible phraseology by incorporating it with Miller's idiotisms and by imbuing it with Menshevik profundity of mind.

Dan tries now to find confirmation of and support for his usual well-known aspersions against Bolshevism in Mayakovsky's and in Demian Biedny's poetry and in the pictures of young Russian artists. When he sees a picture "the masses on the march," he immediately sees in this picture, which presents a whole sea of uniform figures and the gigantic form of the one and only, "the pictorial expression of the Bolshevik dictatorship of the proletariat."

The "masses," says Dan, "are not an organic conglomeration of individuals who develop their personality in every direction, who acquire an ever-growing understanding of reality and who are capable of finding independently—in the course of free ideological struggle—the way to their liberation." All this Dan did not cull from Miller, he read it—don't you see—in the "Bolshevik pictures." If one were to change the wording of the above statement, and if where Dan says "the masses are NOT," etc., one said just the opposite, then Dan would be about telling the truth.

The relation between art and social life is, of course, a rather complicated matter and Dan would have to be first of all taught the A.B.C. as to how such a problem is to be approached if one intends to study matters honestly, scientifically, objectively and without prejudice, instead of using with unheard-of frivolity and brazenness as witness for the crown a miserable scribe whose only contribution to the problem—as is the case with Miller—is a number of good photographs and some translations from Mayakovsky. What was the use of all this rubbish to Dan? Can he not read Mayakovsky and Demian Biedny in the original, and cannot he procure well-got-up illustrated material, of which we ourselves publish plenty? If Dan honestly wanted to analyse the culture of Soviet Russia, could he not study the new literature on this subject and describe to the readers the foundation and tendencies of our art and literature on the basis of real knowledge? But Dan prefers to shelter behind the back of some fool in order to deal a blow at the hated enemy, and to do it with as little expense as possible to himself. He thinks that anything can be dished up to foreign readers.

What is one to think about a person who calls himself a Marxist and a Socialist, and yet is responsible for the following? Dan sees Bolshevik posters and Mayakovsky's poetry, from which he draws the conclusion that there is here a "strong desire" for "Americanisation"—i.e., he says: "The strong desire of a poor backward country for machinery, gigantic towns, rapid development of technique, in a word, the desire for everything which is an everyday matter to the modern proletariat of the capitalist countries, and which must be overcome in the struggle for the liberation of mankind."

Birds of a Feather!

Birds of a feather flock together! If Herr Miller suddenly misses the Alexander Column in Leningrad, although it is there for everyone to see, Dan—who is a bird of the same feather—forgets a "trifle," namely, that the strong desire of the Russian proletariat for machinery, for modern technique is the strong desire of a Socialist proletariat, the strong desire of the proletariat to have its own machinery, its own technique, and not capitalist machinery and capitalist technique. Here technique and machinery mean extension of power and liberty in the face of nature and social backwardness. Over there in the capitalist countries they mean for the time being an extension of slavery and exploitation. Moreover, it is sheer nonsense to assert that strong desire for a rapid development of technique is a standpoint

which has to be overcome. This is not so, first of all technique and means of production must be in the hands of the proletariat and then even American workers will develop a "strong desire" for boundless development of technique, and this technique has nothing to do with subjection and the spiritless void of capitalism. Poor Dan imagines that he has made a colossal and "Marxist" discovery when referring to his clumsy authority, he sees in Bolshevism a mental "Chicago-ism," and according to Dan this "Chicago-ism" betrays the "historically limited substance of the petty bourgeois peasant revolution which parades in the coat of 'red' Communism."

Well Roared!

Well roared, Lion! So a strong desire for gigantic towns, technique and industry in a country where the proletariat dominates this industry and technique, is petty bourgeois peasant ideology! Up till now we always thought that strong desire for backward methods of work, hatred, indifference, and lack of understanding for technique and industry was typical of petty bourgeois peasant ideology. Now Dan comes along, the "Marxist," supported by the "great scholar" Miller, and wants to prove to us the contrary on the strength of Mayakovsky's poetry and of Soviet posters. Dan's arguments concerning the mental attitude of the proletariat to technique are certainly typically petty bourgeois.

After elaborating "scientifically" the "scientific" material supplied to him by Miller, Dan discovers something else which only his intuition brings home to him, for Miller's photographic apparatus was unable to reproduce it; the "free" and anti-Bolshevik spirit which comes to the fore in spite of everything. "Spiritus stat ubi vult." The Menshevik free spirit has materialised; Hosanna! This spirit will have no strong desire for technique and machinery. Heaven forbid! It only desires democracy. Messrs. Chamberlain and Mussolini, Briand and Stresemann, will see to the machinery; the free Menshevik spirit is, of course, not going to bother about such Bolshevik whims as technique and machinery; it is above this kind of thing.

Once upon a time, Auguste Comte asked spiritualists to tell him what a thinker who remained, even for only a few minutes, standing on his head could achieve. We do not know if Auguste Comte had at that time Dan in his mind. But we must certainly say that Dan's astounding performances in the struggle against Bolshevism can only result from this unnatural position of the body. Dan has been standing on his head not just for a few minutes, but for a considerable number of years, and we think that the poor man is in a hopeless condition. Even if you put him again on his legs, his thinking will remain perverted, for his brain has already become accustomed to such a position of the body: which is a pity not for the world but for Dan. A.M.



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